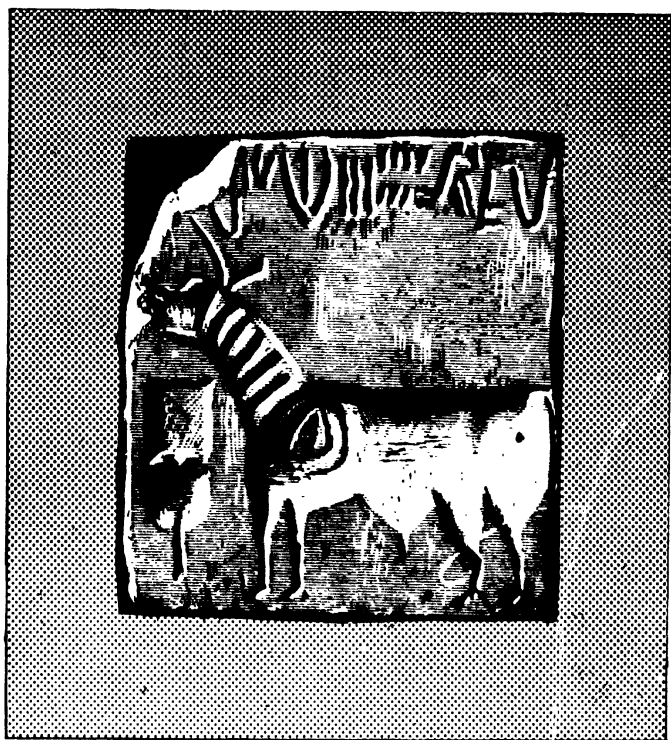


THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Edited by
NARENDRA NATH LAW



THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

IN 39 VOLUMES

The establishment of the Asiatic Society by Sir William Jones in the eighteenth century, the product of the early Europeans in India, to acquire and disseminate knowledge of Indian history, customs and manners of the Indian people left a blazing trail through its journals and proceedings. The coming centuries witnessed several savants delving deep in the subject and as a result, besides many books, several articles were published in the ever increasing journals and periodicals. To wit the untiring efforts of Cunningham, Max Muller, Stein, Pracep and others can be cited.

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**DEDICATED
TO THE REVERED MEMORY
OF
PROF. LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN**





LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN
(1869—1939)

The late Prof. Louis de la Vallée Poussin

The inexorable hand of death has extinguished one of the luminaries in the firmament of the present day oriental studies, Louis de la Vallée Poussin, whose contributions to explorations in a field in the history of Buddhism are unique and probably in some respects unsurpassed.

Louis de la Vallée Poussin was born at Liege on the new year's day of 1869, a rather remarkable date of birth. He belonged to a family of scholars, one of whom, Charles de la Vallée Poussin, is well-known as a mathematician. He had his early education at the College of Saint-Servais at Liege, where he had a brilliant academic career. He learnt Greek from Father Bodson who had at one time been a missionary at Chota Nagpur, and studied the works of Ovid with Father Auge Durand. He completed his education at the University of Liege (1884-1888), where he studied Philology with Louis Roersch and developed a taste for Dialectics from Prof. Delbœuf. In 1888, he was admitted to the degree of doctorate in philosophy and literature. On reading the *Asiatic Studies* by Charles Lyall, he made up his mind to study oriental subjects. He went to Louvain, and studied there the rudiments of Sanskrit, Pali and Zend, the principles of Linguistics with Charles de Harlez and Philippe Colinet, both of whom were much impressed by the earnestness and intelligence of the young student. He commenced studying oriental subjects in 1891-93 at Sorbonne at l'École des Hautes Études as a pupil of Sylvain Lévi and Victor Henry. He received also encouragement and scholarly help from Auguste Barth and Emile Senart. In 1893-94, he went to Leyden to study the Gatha dialect with the distinguished scholar of the time Prof. H. Kern. At this stage of

After the war, he resumed his duties at the University of Ghent. Besides his official duties and his own researches, he found time to impart training to young aspirants for research in the field of Buddhism. To name a few among those who derived substantial benefit from such training, we may mention J. Mansion, H. Ui, Akanuma, Yamabe, J. Rahder, P. Vaidya, N. Dutt, Miyamoto and E. Lamotte. He taught them both Tibetan and Chinese besides Buddhist Sanskrit texts like the *Kośa*, *Mādhyamikavṛtti* and *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*. He specialised so much in the restoration of original Sanskrit from Tibetan and Chinese that very often he held the Tibetan and Chinese texts before him and read them out in Sanskrit as if he was reading the Sanskrit original.

In 1921, he organised the Société belge d'Études orientales, which published many important works on oriental subjects under his guidance. Under the title *Bouddhisme: Notes et Bibliographie* he started reviewing the newly published works which were of interest to the indologists in general and to the students of Buddhism in particular. He directed the edition of the *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, in which several of his valuable papers were published. He collaborated also in the publication of the *Bibliographie Bouddhique* of Paris, which essayed to give a synopsis of all the works and papers published all over the world on Buddhistic topics. He published papers in several oriental journals of note, among which may be mentioned *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême Orient*, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, *Journal Asiatique*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *Revue d'Histoire des religions*, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*.*

His special field of study was Sanskrit Buddhism (Hinayāna and Mahāyāna); he was in fact a pioneer in this particular branch of

* Much of the information given here has been taken from the Obituary Notice written by the Professor's principal disciple M. l'abbé E. Lamotte and published in the *Revue du Cercle des Alumni de la Fondation Universitaire*, 1938.

his education, he commenced studying Tibetan and Chinese as he realised that knowledge of these two languages was essential for a correct survey and interpretation of the ancient Buddhist traditions.

In 1893 he became a Professor at the University of Ghent, where he taught Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin. He served in this University for about 35 years rising to its highest office as the Vice-President of the Academic Council. In 1929 when the University came under Flemish control, he retired and preferred to carry on his researches quietly at his home. At this time one or two students from India went to him for Buddhistic studies and this gave him some solace as his scholarship though not fully appreciated at home was being valued by students from abroad. Some of his countrymen did not fully realise the value of his scholarship and became curious as to why students from India should come to him to learn Buddhist Sanskrit.

During the last European war (1914-1918) he came as a refugee to Cambridge. He organised there a course of studies for the young Belgian refugees, prepared a Catalogue of Jaina manuscripts deposited in the Cambridge Library, and an Inventory of Tibetan documents preserved in the India Office (Stein Collection). He utilised this opportunity of his forced stay at Cambridge by copying out the whole of Yaśomitra's *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā ṭīkā* which later on formed the basis of his epoch-making work, the French translation of *Abhidharmakośa* replete with valuable notes. Besides the *Kośa*, he also copied out with his own hand a few other Buddhist Mss. During his stay in Cambridge, he edited the Pali text *Mahāniddeśa* jointly with Dr. E. J. Thomas.

Together with Ph. Colinet he edited and published *Le Muséon* up to 1914. Two issues of this periodical were printed at the Cambridge University Press. He delivered also a short course of the Hibbert Lectures (Oxford 1918) and the Forlong Lectures of the London School of Oriental Studies.

Buddhistic studies. His interest in Pali, Brahmanic philosophical literature and general history of ancient India was not so keen as was his interest in Sanskrit Buddhism. In this field, his noted predecessors were Burnouf, Hodgson, Rajendralal Mitra, Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, and Sarat Chandra Das, but the works of all these scholars belong to a period when very little of Buddhism was known or understood. The actual difference between Hinayāna and Mahāyāna was hardly realised and *Sūnyatā* was usually interpreted as Nihilism (see *Journals of the Buddhist Text Society*). Among the scholars who could be regarded as the elder contemporaries of Prof. Poussin and who worked in this field were the late Prof. Sylvain Lévi and Prof. Stcherbatsky with both of whom he was associated in his studies. To be more particular, Prof. Poussin's scholarship lay in a line different from that of Lévi or Stcherbatsky. He loved editing original texts and making their translations. His command over the Sanskrit language was remarkable. He edited among other works the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and *Mādhyamikavṛtti* with such accuracy that very rarely an error can be detected. This accuracy was partly due to his mastery over Tibetan and Chinese and his ability in restoring texts in these languages to original Sanskrit.

His epoch-making contribution to the studies of Buddhism is his French translation of Hiuen Tsang's version of the *Abhidharma-kośavyākhyā* in 7 parts. Before the publication of this work, very little was known of the Sarvāstivādins and their doctrines—a school of Buddhism which was popular all over Northern India. The work is not a mere translation. It is replete with valuable notes which can be written only by a scholar who had thoroughly digested the whole of the Pali Piṭaka. In short, it was Prof. Poussin who placed before the world of scholars for the first time the ethical and philosophical teachings of the Sarvāstivādins.

Another voluminous and equally arduous work is his translation of Hiuen Tsang's Chinese version of the *Vijñaptimātra-*

tāsiddhi. It is a commentary on Vasubandhu's *Triṃśikā* published by Sylvain Lévi with the commentary of Sthiramati. Hiuen Tsang's work is a translation of the commentary of Dharmapāla and nine other commentators, and contains extracts from the treatises of Asaṅga, Dignāga, Vasubandhu and others. The Professor has not merely translated Hiuen Tsang's work but added to it valuable notes throwing a flood of light on the obscure points of Yogācāra philosophy. Vasubandhu's *Triṃśikā* is so terse and difficult that even with Sthiramati's commentary it would have remained unintelligible if the *Siddhi* had not been published by him.

He has contributed several articles on Buddhist topics to the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. Each of them is really valuable, giving all the important matters that could be given within a short compass in a work like the *Encyclopædia*.

His work on *Nirvāṇa*, a brochure in 194 pages, contains the interpretation of Nirvāṇa from both Hinayāna (Sautrāntika and Vaibhāṣika) and Mahāyāna standpoints. He has included in it also the opinions of a few other Hinayāna sects and of the distinguished mediæval teachers.

In his *La Morale du Bouddhique*, he has dealt with the ethical aspects of Buddhism—a subject in which he did not feel much interest.

Very recently, he started writing on the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma texts in Chinese, which unfortunately remains incomplete, and will remain so for several years to come, as we find none at present capable of dealing with the same.

In his early days, he took some interest in Tāntrik treatises. He edited the *Ādikarmapradīpa* and *Pañcakrama* in 1898, but it seems that he lost his interest in this branch of Buddhistic studies. In the last days of his life, at the importunate request of his friend Monsieur E. Cavaignac, he wrote the *Political History of India*, in two volumes, but this was also not to his liking. Evidently his interest

lay in exploring the Buddhist Sanskrit works and their Chinese and Tibetan versions. This he did in a thorough manner and his contributions will ever remain invaluable documents for the study of Buddhism. His varied interest and contributions will be apparent from his works, a list of which is appended to this paper. India has lost in him a genius and an explorer in an exceedingly difficult field of Buddhistic studies, and the gap created by his demise is, we are afraid, not likely to be filled up in the near future. We can do no better than repeat the words of the *Mahāvamsa*:

‘Thero pi so matipadipahatandhakāro||
 lokandhakārahananamhi mahāpadipo||
 nibbāpito maraṇaghora-mahānileṇa||
 tenāpi jīvitamaḍaṇ matimā jaheyyā ti.’||

[The teacher, who has removed darkness by the light of knowledge—he, the great torch in destroying the darkness of the world—is extinguished by the dreadful wind of death, and so the wise should renounce taking pleasure in life].

Before I conclude, I should mention that I had the good fortune of meeting the savant at his house in Brussels in 1931. Our meeting was so very cordial that I feel sad to remember that he is no more in this mortal world. His personal library was full of works on Buddhism and every book contained marks of his close study, and cross-references to other works. His method of making notes and preparing index-cards was a revelation to me. His notes in every text and the index-cards are still invaluable, and any scholar with a certain amount of knowledge of the Buddhist texts will be able with the help of these notes and index-cards to produce valuable works. I wish that his students specially M. Lamotte will utilise them and give us the benefit of the labours of the savant.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

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Hyder Ali's Relations with the Marathas (1766-67)

In March 1765 Madhava Rao agreed to negotiate a treaty with Hyder and conclude his first campaign against him. In course of the negotiations Madhava Rao demanded that Harihar and Basavapattam should be included in the list of territories ceded by Hyder. The desire to retain these two outposts on the other side of the Tungabhadra pointed to a plan to occupy Bidnur, of which Basavapattam was the key. Hyder therefore got a clear indication that the Peshwa wanted to resume the offensive against him at the earliest opportunity. But he had won over Raghunath Rao and the Peshwa was prevailed upon to remain satisfied with the cession of Bancapore and the restoration of the possessions of the chieftains of Guti and Savanur along with the payment of twenty-eight lakhs as tribute.¹ But Hyder knew it quite well that the Maratha menace would reappear very soon and he knew how formidable his Maratha opponent was.

Hyder might have turned to the Nizam or the British against the Marathas. But his policy, as has been said by Khare, was like that of Sivaji in relation to Bijapur, Golconda and the Mughals.² He had an eye on the territory of all and he did not find it to his

1 *Peshwa Daftar*, vol. 37—letters no. 60, 61, 62.

2 *Aitihāsik Lekha Samgraha*, vol. III, Intro.

interest to enter into a scheme of alliance with any of them and the least of all with the British, as the Madras governor wrote to Verelst 'we must fix Hyder as a friend or overthrow him as an enemy; the former notwithstanding all our advances we have hitherto found impracticable.'³ The Peshwa had in the meantime succeeded in persuading the Nizam to join in a scheme of offensive alliance against Hyder. Nizam Ali was first induced to join hands with the Peshwa against Janoji Bhonsla who was compelled to cede a large portion of the territory secured by him earlier by his double treachery at Rakshasabhuvan. The Nizam got a tract of territory equivalent to about 15 lakhs of annual revenue ('ceded for the firm establishment of peace and friendship' as a prelude to conjoint operations against Hyder).⁴

Hyder was in the meantime plotting with the malcontent Marathas to create sufficient difficulties for the Peshwa in his own home territory. He walked in the footsteps of Asaf Jah Nizam-ul Mulk who had adopted a similar policy against Baji Rao. The Peshwa's excellent espionage system brought to his notice the fact that Babuji Naik was in correspondence with Hyder Ali and gave him presents. The Naik was asked to surrender the forts in his charge. He shut himself up in Sholapur but was compelled to submit, surrendering his possessions and contenting himself with a personal allowance of one lakh.⁵ Anticipating a quick Maratha advance, Hyder levied contributions from the chiefs of Bellary, Chitradurg, Raydurg, Harpanhalli and other places.⁶

3 Select Committee Proceedings, 16th January, 1767. p. 78.

4 Khare, *Aitihāsik Lekha Saṁgraha*, vol. III—Letter no. 602L, dated 20th September, tells us that earlier there was an understanding between the Peshwa and the Nizam that whatever big expeditions were to be undertaken would be done after informing each other.

5 *Peshwa Daftar*, vol. 37, letters no. 99, 117.

6 *Ibid.*

But before the start of the expedition against Hyder in November, 1766, Nizam concluded an alliance with the British. The East India Company engaged "a body of their troops ready to settle the affairs of His Highness's government in everything that is right and proper whenever required."⁷ Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty the British representative was informed that he required the assistance of the British troops against Hyder Ali and that he would take the field in less than a month, and would expect the British troops to join him by the end of December. He was assured that the British would use all the despatch in their power.⁸

What were the motives of the Nizam in thus securing the assistance of the British in a war against Hyder in which the Marathas were already his ally? It has been suggested in another connection that 'the Nizam would never break his relations with any. To continue negotiations with all the powers is his policy. But in the end whatever comes in practice depends upon Providence. He never tries to break off negotiations from whatever side they might come.'⁹ But such a facile explanation of his motives would be improper in this case. Grant Duff himself suggests that without British aid the Marathas would have dictated in any scheme of the partition of Hyder's territory. But now he could legitimately expect that with British aid he would be in a position to dictate himself. But Madhava Rao could not be so easily overreached.¹⁰

Without waiting for his ally, Madhava Rao crossed the Kistna in January, 1766. The first campaign of Madhava Rao had convinced Hyder that it would be improper to fight pitched battles

7 Select Committee Proceedings, 16th January, 1767, p. 58.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 77.

9 *Peshwa Daftar*, vol. 38, no. 135.

10 Grant Duff, *History of the Marathas*.

with him. He fortified Bangalore, Bidnur and Sera, remaining at Seringapatam with his troops. Along the route of the march of the Marathas, the supply of water was poisoned and corn was either burnt or buried. Wilks writes—"However efficacious against a regular army, the project is mere theory against the overwhelming mass of genuine Maratha invasion which covers the whole face of the country and almost divests of poetic fiction the Muhammadan illustration which compares them to a cloud of locusts. Such a plan may distress but cannot stop such an army." Madhava Rao came to Raidurg in February and "pushed on through the imperfect desert to Sera."¹¹ The Marathas had a front of 25 miles, marching in parallel lines. They would take fodder from housetops, leaves and roots and provided themselves with water by digging the dry beds of rivers. The Peshwa realized within the space of a month from Kanchangutta, Godwal, Bellary, Sidnur, Adoni, Kurnool, Kanakgiri, Chitradurg, Devdurg, Raidurg about 25 lakhs of rupees in hundi, besides clerkship charges that were paid separately in cash.¹²

Hyder's brother-in-law Mir Reza was in Sera. He came out of the fort and took his stand with a view to fight a pitched battle. He was defeated and forced to take shelter inside the walls. Two hundred horses of Mir Reza were taken by the Marathas, about 300 of his men were wounded and 40/50 were killed. The Marathas also seized five of the seven guns he had brought out. Sera was well-stocked with provisions and garrisoned with select troops numbering about 12,000. But as the batteries of the Peshwa advanced, Mir Sahab thought discretion to be the better part of valour, offered to desert to the Marathas, Gopal Rao Patwardhan being the mediator and guarantor for the Peshwa. Mir Sahab was given Gurumkunda

¹¹ Wilks, *History of Mysore*, vol. I, p. 302.

¹² Khare, *Lekha Samgraha*, II, intro.

his old paternal possessions on condition that he should keep 2000 men for Maratha service. This was in February 1767.¹³ Early in March the Peshwa took Madgiri. It was a mountain for very difficult to assault. Hyder was confident about its holding out. On the second day the wall was carried. Men in the fort came down for negotiations. The king and queen of Bidnur were found imprisoned in the fort. The Peshwa released and honoured them.¹⁴ The onward advance of the Peshwa continued. He succeeded in taking Chenraidurg, Madakshire, Thorle Balapur, Chik Balapur, Mirgirhe, Deonhalli, Huscote, Kolar.

These repeated blows and the news of the approach of Nizam Ali, made Hyder treat for peace. The Peshwa was also eager to conclude a treaty before Nizam Ali could intervene. It is said that the Peshwa asked the Nizam to send Rucunuddaula and Sher Jung ahead and insisted upon the settlement of some preliminaries and demanded that a distance of 40 miles must be maintained between the two camps.¹⁵

Hyder was sufficiently intimidated at the prospect of the combination and to hear the news that messengers were coming and going between the two camps. With characteristic diplomatic ability he proposed to the Peshwa through Gopal Rao a joint march against Md. Ali and the English. Madhava Rao saw through the game and said that the Nizam and through him the English were his friends. He himself would march to Bangalere and the Nizam would take Sri Rangapattam.¹⁶

Hyder had now to submit. He had to agree to pay a tribute

13 *Peshwa Daftar*, vol. 37, letter no. 141; *Atibāsik Lekha Saṅgraha*, letter no. 678.

14 *Peshwa Daftar*, vol. 37, letter no. 147; *Bombay Diaries*, p. 132.

15 *Atibāsik Lekha Saṅgraha*, III, letter no. 706—Moroballal to Gopal Rao. The treaty should be concluded before the arrival of the Nizam, so said the Peshwa.

16 *Lekha Saṅgraha*, letter no. 701.

of 33 lakhs of rupees. Sera, Chikbalpur and Kolar were to be given back to him. Madgiri, Chenraidurg, Thorle Balapur, Huscote and two parganas were kept by the Marathas. Hyder also got back Ganeshgad, Nandagundi, Gudibanda, Kotikonda, Namgandlu.¹⁷

Nizam Ali was thus deservedly overreached. Peixoto writes—“Nizam Ali much disliked the peace just concluded and asked Madu Rao what had obliged him to agree to it and to retire. He replied that he had received his tribute and made his agreements and it was already late to retire to Poona. Therefore he had determined to depart, for the Nabob was resolved to make the island of Seringapatam the seat of war and the affairs would not so soon have ended as Nizam Ali might think. Besides it was not his custom to make war with those who paid tribute.”¹⁸ Nizam Ali had expected success as a gleaner. He was completely outmanœuvred.

In connection with this second expedition of Madhava Rao several facts deserve notice. Mir Reza deserted to the Marathas, most probably because he feared that his brother-in-law would degrade and dishonour him for his failure against the Marathas. Madhava Rao did all that could be done to placate him. But an incident happened near Chenraidurg that explains how ill at ease Mir Reza was in the Maratha Camp. At Chenraidurg, one night, his camp was looted by the wicked people, the looters penetrating even upto his zenana. Some Gardi and Pindaris who were dissatisfied with Mir went to the camp of Murar Rao and in conjunction with some people there made this loot. The Maratha newsletters report that when the Peshwa heard about it, he looked like god Śiva when angry. Forty or fifty of these looters had their hands chopped off. The Peshwa in person went to the camp of Mir, sent him dresses, utensils, sweets, horses, camp equipage, even cash

¹⁷ *Peshwa Daftar*, vol. 37; *Lekha Samgraha*, III, nos. 721, 718.

¹⁸ Peixoto, V, 16.

and jewellery. Mir was on bad terms with Murar Rao and it was his suspicion that Murar Rao was personally responsible for this happening. But investigations proved that neither the troops of the government nor those of any prominent Sardar had anything to do with this unfortunate episode. He was paid about a lakh of rupees as compensation by the Peshwa.¹⁹ But in view of the bitter relations subsisting between Mir and Murar Rao the Peshwa could not perhaps remove altogether the suspicions of the former.

What were the motives of Madhava Rao I in undertaking this expedition and how far was Hyder successful in thwarting him? Wilks says that the Marathas had uniformly two objects—anticipation in plunder during the confederacy and exclusive conquest after its close. The Maratha chief “professed nothing short of the entire subversion of Hyder’s usurped authority.”²⁰ Thus according to his view the Peshwa succeeded only as a true Maratha in anticipating his ally in plunder and in nothing else. To that extent Hyder must then be considered as successful. But there is no evidence to prove that Madhava Rao actually contemplated the entire subversion of Hyder’s authority. Such an attitude is to be associated with his third expedition not with second, in which it appears that he was still feeling his way. With the undependable Nizam as his ally, no such plan could possibly have been contemplated by him. In letter after letter, written from the Maratha camp, the Peshwa’s desire only to realise tribute is emphasized. Hyder’s ambassador Karim Khan offered 12 lakhs only in December and January. He later raised the offer to 21 lakhs. The Peshwa’s demand was at first 70 lakhs. In March it came down to 40 lakhs. The Peshwa’s plan originally was that Hyder should give back all the territory of

19 *Lekha Samgraha*, letter no. 692; 8th March.

20 Wilks, *History of Mysore*, vol. I, pp. 300, 301.

the Maratha Raj and its dependants as also the state of Sunda. Besides this he expected a tribute of 75 lakhs.²¹ A modification of his war aims was inevitable in view of the change of the foreign policy of the Nizam.

N. K. SINHA

²¹ *Lekha Samgraha*, letter no. 658.

Post-Vyāsarāya Polemics

26. *Satyanātha Yati* (1648-74)

Satyanātha was the sixth in succession from Raghūttama Tīrtha (1558-96) of the Uttarādi Mutt, and the immediate predecessor of Satyābhinava (1674-1706). The latter was the Guru of Chalāri Saṃkarṣaṇācārya, grandson of Chalāri Nṛsiṃha who wrote one of his works in 1661 A.D. The tutorial and chronological relation between Satyanātha with his successor and the Chalāri family may be exhibited as follows:

1. Chalāri Nārāyaṇa
2. Chalāri Nṛsiṃha (1601) = Satyanātha (1648-74)
3. Chalāri Śeṣācārya = Satyābhinava
(son) (disciple)

4. *Chalāri Saṃkarṣaṇācārya*.

The (newly discovered) *Koṅkaṇābhyudaya* also speaks of Satyanātha as a contemporary of the Keḷadi queen Cannamāmbā (1672-98).

LIFE

Satyanātha was a forceful and prolific writer and keen for the glory of Mādhvism and the secular ascendancy of his Mutt. His former name, as given in the SK., is Raghunāthācārya. He is reported to have been a contemporary of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Tīrtha of the Vyāsarāya Mutt, as also of *Aurangzeb*. According to the account in the *Koṅkaṇābhyudaya* he visited Benares at a time when the Mughal emperor was harassing the Hindus there. Satyanātha himself seems to have suffered persecution and was helped out of a difficult situation by the High Priest of the Koṅkaṇī (Gauḍa-Sārasvat) Brahmins. It was presumably at this

time that he visited Gayā and strengthened the hold of his Mutt over the Gayāpālas who had been converted to Mādhyāism by his predecessor Vidyādhiṣa. His victorious career formed the subject of eulogy by Chālāri Saṃkarṣṇa, in his *Satyanātha-Māhātmyaratnākara*, of which two MSS. are noticed by Aufrecht. It is the same work from which the *Koṅkaṇābhyaṇḍaya* quotes passages relating to the incident at Benares. This biography of Satyanātha is not well-known in traditional circles. A good deal of historical information can be gathered from it.

Satyanātha seems to have entertained an inward ambition to outshine the great Vyāsarāya by his literary output and its brilliance. The titles of at last three of his works are reminiscent of the Vyāsatraya.¹ His energy and determination to crush out the rivalry of monism is reflected even in the choice of the titles for some of his works, four of which go by the name of "Paraśu" (the Axe). His *Abhinavagadā* is a devastating criticism of the *Madhvacamatamukha-mardana* of Appayya Dīkṣita.

WORKS

A dozen works are known to have been written by Satyanātha of which only eight have so far been attested by MSS. They include glosses on the *Khaṇḍanatraya*, the *KN*, and the *Rṅgbhāṣya*, a couple of original works and glosses again on the *Pramāṇa-paddhati* and the *NS*, and a śotra.

Glosses on the *Khaṇḍanatraya*

Of these, only the gloss on the *Māyāvādakhaṇḍana*, called *Paraśu*, is said to be available in Ms.² (4) A gloss on the *KN-tīkā*

¹ There is a particularly spicy anecdote about his *Abhinavacandrikā* and how Subhānu Rao, the then Jahgirdar of Āṇṇi refused to recognise it as equal to the famous *Candrikā* of Vyāsarāya, when pressed to do so by the Svāmi, and how he managed to convince the Svāmi of his mistake.

² G.R.Savanur reports a Ms. of this work in his possession.

known as *Karma-prakāśikā* is reported both from the T.P.L. and Mysore O.L. The number of granthas is 1500. (5) No trace of his cy. on the NS. (also called Paraśu) is to be found.

(6) *Abhinava-Candrikā* ^(m)

This (T.P.L. 7842) is a super-commentary on the T.P. of Jayatīrtha on the same lines as the *Tātparya-Candrikā* of Vyāsarāya. It runs to over 12600 granthas and is undoubtedly the author's *magnum opus*. It is not a continuation of the *Candrikā*, but an independent gloss, covering also the portions (i.e., Ch. I-II) commented upon by Vyāsarāya. The author refers in one of the introductory verses (No. 4) to the *Sattarkadīpāvali* of Padmanābha Tīrtha.

The plan of the work is the same as that of the *Candrikā*. Satyanātha sets forth the Pūrvapakṣa and Siddhānta views under each adhikaraṇa, and offers criticisms on the former in accordance with the views of his teacher Satyanidhi (Tanjore p. 10). He quotes from the *Tattvapradīpa* and *Candrikā* as well as the *Bhāvabodha* (on TP) of Raghūttama. The passages of the TP are commented upon as in the *Candrikā*. Under B.S. iii, 2, adh. 8, p. 22, the author takes note of a series of 'interpolations' in the text of Jayatīrtha's commentary. He is fond of detecting such 'interpolations' in his other commentaries also. The adhikaraṇaśāriras as made out as in the *Vivaraṇa* and *Bhāmatī* are systematically assailed.

(7) *Rg-bhāṣya-tiṣṇā* ^(m)

Here (Mysore O.L. 1903) the author is frequently on his guard against what he terms "corruptions and interpolations" in the text of Jayatīrtha's commentary on the *Rg-bhāṣya*: (Mys. pp. 7, 10, 24 etc). He carries on elaborate discussions on the grammatical form, etymology etc. of the various Vedic forms to be found in the text, and refutes certain criticisms against the *Bhāṣya* (p. 11).

(8) *Abhinavāmṛta* (P)^D

This is a gloss on the *Pramāṇa-paddhati* of Jayatīrtha running to a little over 1400 granthas. The commentary is fairly lucid. It follows the cy. of Śrīnivāsa Tīrtha, in the main which it nevertheless criticises on occasions: See p. 51, line 28 and Sri./p. 53, 26 (same edn.) and p. 54, 1. 15 Sri./and p. 52, 4 of Satya/.

(9) *Abhinava-Gadā* (P)

We have seen Vijayīndra Tīrtha's reply to the *Madhva-nata-mukhamardana* of Appayya Dikṣita. The *Abhinavagadā* is another criticism of the Dikṣita's work, but from a slightly different point of view. It runs to over 4750 granthas and is being published³ by H. H. Satyadhyāna Tīrtha Svami of the Uttarādi Mutt. There are five chapters in the work designated "Yuddhas" (battles) with an obvious allusion to the Gadā-yuddha between Bhīma and Suyodhana in the *Mbh.* The intensely bellicose attitude of the author is reflected even in the opening verse:

सदापेये दोक्षितस्य मृधे दुरभिमानिनः :

पातयामि शिरस्यथ गुर्वीमभिनवां गदाम् ॥

Unlike Vijayīndra, the author tries to silence the criticisms of Appayya, without reference, as a rule, to the opinions expressed by Jayatīrtha and Vyāsarāya, in their works. In other words, he isolates Madhva from his commentators and so confounds the critic, suggesting sometimes that the bhāṣyakāra is not to be blamed for the views of his commentators. Vijayīndra on the other hand has throughout endeavoured to treat the works of the bhāṣyakāra and those of the commentators as a homogenous whole and make them withstand the criticisms of the Dikṣita, as a united body of texts.

3 I have nearly 168 pages of the printed work with me.

Satyanātha's retort to the alleged flouting of Mīmāṃsaka rules in the works of Madhva is characteristic:

श्रीमदाचार्यैः पूर्वमीमांसाया अनश्रयणात् । टीकाकारैः पूर्वमीमांसा आश्रितेति चेन्न ।
श्रीमदाचार्यदूषणाय प्रवृत्तेन त्वया दूष्यत्वेनान्यवाक्यस्यानुदाहर्तव्यत्वात् । वस्तुतस्तु टीका-
कारवचनेऽपि दोषो नास्तीति वक्ष्यामः ॥ (p. 10).

(10) *Abhinava-Tarkatāṇḍava* ^(m)

This (Tanjore P.L. 8098-101) is another voluminous original work of Satyanātha, which, as the name indicates, is a dialectical classic expounding the nature and constitution of the logical and epistemological categories of the Dvaita system and refuting those of rival systems especially those of the Nyāyavaiśeṣikas, on the same lines as the original *Tarkatāṇḍava* of Vyāsarāya. The work runs to 11367 granthas.

The views of Raghunātha Śiromaṇi and Rucidatta, commentators of Gaṅgeśa, those of the Prābhākaras, Rāmānuja and the Vaiśeṣikas, are here quoted and refuted in detail.

Like the original *Tarkatāṇḍava*, this work is also divided into three Paricchedas. Maṅgala-vāda, the self-validity of knowledge, Sannikarṣa-samavāya, the relation between a subject and its attributes, the invisibility of Vāyu, the *pārthivatva* of gold, and Udayana's view of it, the validity of Smṛti (recollection), the definition of Inference, Vyāpti and the criticism of the second Vyāpti-lakṣaṇa formulated by the *Maṇi*, the definition of Upādhi, Pākṣatā, Avayavalakṣaṇa (p. 103), Hetvābhāsa, the subsumption of other Pramāṇas like Upamāna within the three, the validity of Śabda, its fitness to be recognised as an independent Pramāṇa, the definitions of Ākāṅkṣā, Yogyatā and Āsatti, and the examination of Gaṅgeśa's views on these, the Apauruṣeyatva of the Vedas, the eternity of sound, criticism of the Mīmāṃsaka view that (some) Vedic texts are Nityānumeya, (p. 43), the import of Injunctions (p. 47), the refutation of the Prābhākara view of "Kāryatā-jñāna as the pivot of activity,

Āpūrva, the physical existence of the gods (p. 76), Śakti-vāda, Samāsa-śakti, the import of the negative (126-28 etc.) are some of the topics raised and discussed in the course of the work. Besides Gaṅgeśa,⁴ the author refers also to the views of Śiromaṇi (i.e., Raghunātha)⁵ and Rucidatta.⁶

(11) *Vijaya-Mālā* ^(m)

This (Mysore O.L.C. 2042) discusses various topics of metaphysical, etymological and exegetical interest such as Pramāṇa-lakṣaṇa, Tārkikokta-vidhyarthaparikṣā, Śyenāgniṣomīyavaśamya-bhaṅga etc. The doctrine of the unreality of the world is severely condemned. Certain objections to the statement of the issues (Vipratipattyākāra) in the *Nyāyāmrta* are answered. Quotations are made from the *Mbb.* *TN.* and the *MK.* of Madhva.

(12) *The Vāyubhāratistotra.*

As the name implies, it is in praise of Vāyu and his consort Bhārati.

2/. *Vanamālī Miśra* (c. 1590-1655)

Vanamālī Miśra takes his place among the participators in the great Dvaita-Advaita polemics of the 16th-17th centuries. From the very beginning, the issue raised by Vyāsarāya was destined to become an all-India one to whom were attracted the best brains from all parts of India.

Vanamālī Miśra was not a South Indian.⁷ He tells us both in

4 i, 27, 103; ii, 37; iii, 2, 9, 80. (pp.).

5 ii, 54, 63, 103; iii, 130.

6 iii, 3.

7 The *Nyāyaratnakara* (Madras R. No. 1615) of unknown authorship, however, make him a descendant of the family of Taraṅgiṇī Rāmācārya, which is obviously mistaken. Rāmācārya belonged (as tells us in his *Taraṅgiṇī*) to the

उपमन्युगोव Cf. [मयो जातजटाजपावनसरिद्रोदावरीनीरते

x x x x

व्यामाख्या उपमन्युगोवजबुधास्वेष्वास यो...]

his *Śrutisiddhāntaprakāśa*⁸ and his *Madhvamukhālamkāra*, that he was descended from a family of Brahmins belonging to the Bhārgava-gotra, and settled at the village of Triyugapura in the vicinity of Bṛndāvana (Muttra). With the westward expansion of the Bhakti movement of Caitanya in the days of the Gosvamis, Bṛndāvana became the centre of attraction and the home of a number of Bengalis. Vanamāli Mīśra was presumably descended from one such family.⁹ He was a life-celibate. Beyond these meagre details, we know nothing more about his life or career. A Ms. of his *Māruta-maṇḍana* (Deccan College Coll. XV of 1882-3) is found dated 1741 Samvat (1685 A.D.) This gives us the *terminus a quem* of his date. We may venture to place him roughly between 1590 and 1655 and his literary activities between 1620 and 1655.

WORKS

Over ten works are known and extant in the name of Vanamāli Mīśra, of which only three have been printed.

(1) *Brahmasūtravṛtti* (*Mārīcīkā*)^(m)

Aufrecht (II, 130) mentions a Ms. of this work.

(2) *Gītānigūḍhārtbacandrikā*^(m)

Stein 193 and Peters vi, 292, are said (Aufrecht ii, 89) to refer to a commentary on the *Gītā* by Vanamāli, called *Gītānigūḍhārtbacandrikā*.

8 While Vanamāli was born in the भारद्वाज गोत्र :—

अगोविन्दविहारभूषितभुवो वृन्दावनात्प्राग्दिशि
कोशान्तात्त्रियुगे पुरे मुनिभरद्वाजीयवंशोद्भवाः ।
श्रीमन्नाहमुचो वसन्ति विबुधा वर्णा लभन्तकुले
सम्पूर्णः श्रुतिमद्ब्रह्मो विरचितोऽयं तेन कृष्णेच्छया ॥

9 Another tradition makes him a Hindi-speaking Brahmin of U.P. (presumably of Gayā). The Gayāpalas were converted to Mādhvism during the time of Vidyadhara Tirtha and Vanamāli Mīśra might well have belonged to this group.

Controversial Works.

His (3) *Madhvamukhālaṃkāra* (P)¹⁰ is a defence of the Pancādhikarāṇi-interpretation of the *B.S.*, by Madhva, as against the criticisms of the Madhvatatavidhvamsana of Appayya Dikṣita. It is divided into the following seven sections: सदसच्छास्त्रप्रवर्तकनिर्णय (Introductory); जिज्ञासाधिकरण, जन्माधिकरण, शास्त्रयोनित्वाधिकरण, समन्वयाधिकरण, ईक्षत्यधिकरण and a general survey of the rest of the Sūtras (शेषब्रह्ममीमांसातात्पर्यवर्णनम्). The author is indebted very much to the *Madhvatantaramukha-bhūṣaṇam* or *Kaṇṭakoddbhāra* of Vijayindra Tirtha and most of the arguments are taken over from Vijayindra. But of the two works Vanamāli's is the more readable one.

(4) *Taraṅgiṇī-saurabha* (M)

This is the *magnum opus* of Vanamāli (Mysore OM. 522) criticising the *Gurucandrikā* of Brahmānanda Sarasvatī, and forming the last treatise in the series of Dvaitādvaita polemics, and yet to be surpassed in keenness and subtlety of arguments. It may have been composed about 1645.

(5) *Caṇḍamāruta* (M)

Yet another controversial classic of the author is reported under the above title by Dr. Nagaraja Sarma, in his *Reign of Realism*. (1931 p. 25). It is said to be a criticism of some unknown Advaitic work:

मायावाद्यङ्घ्रि पञ्चस्युत्थापितो वनमालिना ।
यथैण्डमाहस्तस्य परिच्छेदोऽयमादिमः ॥

(6) *The Nyāyāmṛta-saugandhya* (P)¹¹

Is a further criticism of the *Advaitasiddhi* and the *Brahmānandiya*, which has recently been published in the Calcutta Skt. Series No. IX, by Mm. Aanatakrishna Sastri.

10 Sarasvatī Bhavana Texts, No. 68, 1936. (Benares).

11 Quotes from the *Dīdhi* (C. 1500-50) p. 341.

Constructive Works

His (7) *Vedāntasiddhāntamuktāvalī* is preserved at the Mysore O.L. (A 447) and so too his (8) *Śrūtisiddhāntaprakāśa*¹² (Mys. C346) containing two chapters. (9) His *Viṣṇutattvaparakāśa* (Mys. O.L. C350) is a short prose tract in 600 granthas establishing Viṣṇu as the supreme Brahman on the basis of Śrūtis and Smṛtis. The claims of Śiva are repudiated. (10) His *Bhaktiratnākara* ^(m) is preserved with a commentary by an unknown hand in the Deccan College Coll. (No. 710 of XV of 1882-3). It is divided into 9 Prakaraṇas and runs to about 650 granthas. His *Mārutamaṇḍanam* ^(m) also formed part of the Deccan College Collection. It has a total of 2079 granthas, and the Ms. itself is dated 1741 Samvat. It is referred to in the closing versed of the *Madhvamukhālāmkāra* and from the manner of the reference it would appear that the *Mārutamaṇḍana* and *Madhvamukhālāmkāra* are not in reality two different works, but one and the same.

श्रीगोविन्दविहारभूषितभुवः श्रीगोकुलात्प्राग्दिशि

कोशान्तं त्रियुगे पुरे द्विजवरा वंशे भरद्वाजतः ।

श्रीमन्नाहमुचो भवन्ति विबुधा वर्णां कुलेऽभूततः

ग्रन्थो मातृमण्डनोऽस्ति परितः पूर्णः कृतोऽविघ्नतः ॥

Four more works of Vanamālī are mentioned by name by Gopinath Kaviraj. in his Preface to the *Madhvamukhālāmkāra*: (11) *liveśvarābbhedadbikkāra*¹³ (presumably a reply to the *Bhedadbikkāra*); (12) *Pramāṇasaṅgraha* (Benares Skt. Coll. Lib.) (13) *Abhinavapari-mala* (Ben. S. Coll.) and (14) *Vedāntadīpikā* (Ben. S. Coll.). The *Advaitasiddhikhaṇḍana* (Bh. 1882 p. 102) mentioned by Mr. Kaviraj, is evidently the same as the *Taraṅgiṇīsaṅgraha*.

12 Presumably the same as the *Vedānta (Śruti) Siddhāntasaṅgraha*, Choukh. 1913.

13 Benares Skt. Coll. Library, Mahidhara Collection.

28. Gauḍa Pūrṇānanda *alias* Pūrṇānanda Cakravarti
(C. 18th century).

Pūrṇānanda Cakravarti was a native of Bengal (Gauḍa).¹⁴ Nothing is known about his date or life. He describes himself as a disciple of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa.¹⁵ He may without difficulty be placed in the 18th century when the influence of Madhva philosophy was the strongest in Bengal.

His most famous work is the *Tattvamuktāvalī* otherwise known as *Māyāvādaśatadūṣaṇī*—a metrical piece in 120 verses vigorously attacking the cherished views of the Advaitins. It is quoted by Śrinivāsa Sūri in his commentary on the *Bhāgavata* (X. 87, 31).¹⁶ It was edited and translated by Cowell in the *J.R.A.S.* (New Series) XV, pp. 137-173 of 1883.

The *Tattvamuktāvalī* is a very elegant performance, almost unique of its kind in the history of Dvaita literature. There are of course some earlier works of the same kind such as the *Nyāyaratnāvalī* of Vādirāja (which is a more erudite work). The burden of the song in the *Tattvamuktāvalī* is that the identity of Jīva and Brahman claimed by the Advaitin is a metaphysical impossibility. It is fraught with serious and terrible consequences to the moral and religious life of man (verses 88-89, 91-4). Pūrṇānanda pleads that "Aham Brahmasmi" should be interpreted only figuratively:—

अग्निं माणवकं वदन्ति कवयः पृथोन्दुर्विम्बं मुखं

नीलेन्द्रीवरमोक्षार्णं कुचतटीं मेरुं कर्म पञ्चवम् ।

He draws a very lucid picture *a la* Vādirāja, of the limitations of man and the infinitude of god and queries with mystic naïveté how two beings which are so widely different in essence can ever be equated with each other? (12-17). He observed that there are insurmountable difficulties in the way of offering a monistic interpretation of

14 He is called "Gauḍa" Pūrṇānanda in the colophon to his work.

15 Verse 117 of his *Tattvamuktāvalī*.

16 Brṇḍāvana edition, p. 1105.

the Tattvamasi text, as the Brahman in the Advaitavedānta is avowedly beyond the sphere of utterance, and no lakṣaṇa can operate in such a case (20-22). He therefore thinks that texts like Aham Brahmāsmi should be viewed as having been prescribed for purposes of meditation (upāsanārtha, 65), and that Tattavamasi should be interpreted as implying the elision of the genitive case termination: Thou Art His (6) Servant. In the illustration of the several fruit-juices, there is no case for the disappearance of individuality; for the very fact that the essence resulting from their mixture is able to cure one's bodily disorders arising on account of the disturbance of the three humours, is proof of their persistence in honey (81-83).

Among his (?) other works mentioned by Aufrecht are:—

1. *Yogavāsīṣṭha-sūratikā*.
2. *Śatadūṣaṇi-yamana*, etc. (*Catal. Cat.* 344).

B. N. KRISHNAMURTHI ŚARMA

Durlabhrām a Prominent Bengal Officer of the Mid-eighteenth Century

The territorial, official, and mercantile aristocracy of Bengal exercised a potent influence on the history of the province during the transitional period of the mid-eighteenth century. So minute, careful and sound investigations into the careers of Maharaja Krishnachandra of Nadia, the Seths of Murshidabad, the Zamindars of Birbhum, Burdwan, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Tikari and Bhojpur, Raja Jānikrām, Raja Durlabhrām, Raja Rājballabh of Dacca, Raja Rāmnārāin, Raja Shitāb Rāy, and Raja Kalyān Singh of Patna, and some others, would bring to light many facts of historical importance pregnant with lessons for to-day. In this paper I have attempted to trace the career of Durlabhrām from a study of some contemporary sources.

Durlabhrām was a son of Raja Jānikrām, an able and devoted officer in Alivardi's government. He began his official career as a *peskār* or agent of Mustafā Khān's uncle Abdul Nabi Khān, when the latter had been appointed deputy governor of Orissa after Alivardi had driven out the Marathas from Orissa for the first time¹. After the rebellion of Mustafā Khān and the desertion by his followers of the Nawab's party, the post of the deputy governorship of Orissa was conferred on Durlabhrām (1745 A.D.), who was also promoted to the "rank of three thousand horses."² But Durlabhrām, writes Ghulām Husain, "was unfit for such an office."³ He was excessively priest-ridden and unduly devoted to the Brahmins and *Sānnyāsīs*, many of whom were Maratha spies. This contri-

1 *Siyar*, vol. I, p. 406.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 445. At the same time father was governing Bihar and was the recipient of similar honours.

3 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 2.

buted to the weakness of the government of Orissa, and when the Maratha spies reported this to Raghuji, the latter appeared once again in Orissa. Quite unprepared for such an emergency Durlabh-rām was captured by the Maratha soldiers, who took him to Nāgpur and kept him there in confinement for one year and a few months. He approached Visājī Bhikājī to secure the Peshwa's mediation for his release.⁴ But he was released by the end of the year 1746 only on the payment of a heavy ransom amounting to three lacs of rupees,⁵ which was at first lent by some bankers but later on repaid to them by the Nawab.⁶

Durlabh-rām sometimes acted for his father as deputy *diwān* of the military department in the Nawab's government and also as Agent at the court of the Nawab of Raja Rāmnārāin, who had succeeded Raja Jānkīrām as Deputy Governor of Bihar in 1752 A.D. Towards the end of Alivardi's regime, Durlabh-rām's influence in the affairs of the state increased considerably. This excited the jealousy of Sirāj-ud-daulah, who could not, however, do any harm to him at that time because he had the army under his control and the old Nawab's favour for him. After his accession to the *masnad* of Bengal, Sirāj-ud-daulah remained equally jealous of Durlabh-rām, but instead of curbing his influence all at once, he tried to utilise his services in his conflict with the English. The new Nawab sent Durlabh-rām with 3,000 soldiers to capture the English factory at Cassimbazar, the chief of which, Mr. Watts, surrendered himself to him, and the factory fell into his hands on the 4th June, 1756.⁷ Durlabh-rām received Mr. Watts and his followers politely⁸ and took care to see that no harm was done to them.⁹ But he demanded from Mr. Watts 20 lacs of rupees, to which the latter replied that

4 *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, vol. 20, No. 37.

5 *Ibid.*, no. 46.

6 *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 6.

7 Hasting's MSS. No. 29209, quoted by Beveridge in *Calcutta Review*, 1893.

8 Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, vol. I, lix.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 131.

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"he had no powers to treat, but if the *duan* (*diwān*) would permit him to write to Calcutta he should then be able to inform him." This request "the *duan* absolutely refused, but told him if any proposals of accommodation were made first from Calcutta he might then write as often as he pleased."¹⁰

Durlabhram rendered his services to Sirāj-ud-daulah also on many other occasions. He took a leading part in the fight between Sirāj-ud-daulah and Shaukat Jang of Purneah on behalf of the former, was the commander of the Nawab's forces during the siege of Calcutta by the latter,¹¹ shared in the defeat of the Nawab's troops at the hands of the English at Chitpur,¹² and put his seal along with that of Mir Jafar on behalf of the Nawab¹³ on the treaty of the 9th February, 1757, between the Nawab and the English.

But very soon events took such a turn as to destroy the chances of a permanent friendly alliance between the Nawab and the English. The latter in view of their hostilities with the French proceeded to capture the French fort at Chandernagore. The Nawab could not remain an idle spectator of this movement on the part of the English. As precautionary steps he sent 10,000 men under Durlabhram to Plassey or to Agradwip¹⁴ as well as 4,000 or 5,000 men under Mānikchānd near Chandernagore, and posted a strong garrison under Nandkumār at Hugli.¹⁵ But nothing could prevent the capture of Chandernagore by the English and the ultimate expulsion of the French from Bengal. The English were now certainly placed in a better position. When Durlabhram proceeded towards Hugli, Colonel Clive objected to this and wrote to him on 22nd March, 1757:—"I hear you are arrived within 29 miles of Hugli. Whether you are come as a friend or an enemy I know not. If as the latter say so at once, and I will send some people to

10 Hill, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 103

12 *Ibid.*

14 *Ibid.*, vol. I, ch. XIV.

11 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 69.

13 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 247.

15 *Muzaffarnāmah*, f. 123B.

fight you out immediately. If as the former, I beg you will stay where you are, for we can conquer the enemies we have to deal with here if they were ten times stronger.....”¹⁶ To this Durlabhrām replied on 29th March:—“The news was false and untrue, and I wonder that you should have wrote me in such a hurry. The Bishenpore Raja having a great balance of his revenues to pay which he refuses to do; a great balance of the Burdwan country. The report of Mons. Bussy’s coming to the assistance of the French by the route of Cuttack, in that case to support Rājārām Singh’s army and Sirnaum Singh Zamindar, who is with a large force and great provisions of warlike store at Balasore and Midnapore. It was for these causes the Nawab sent me here the first of the noon of Rajab, that I might be at Cutwar (Kātwa) the 8th. My thoughts are based on these things. My being come as your enemy is false.”¹⁷

The course of events soon changed, and Durlabhrām became a firm friend of the English. The events that transformed the relations between the Nawab and his officers are too well-known to be repeated here. The latter began to devise means for the removal of Sirāj-ud-daulah from the *masnad* of Bengal, which was to a large extent responsible for the conspiracy of May-June, 1757,¹⁸ in which Durlabhrām took an important part. Besides the other provisions the secret treaty of the 4th June, 1757, it was also decided that the money found in the Nawab’s treasury would be divided equally between the English and Mir Jafar by Rai Durlabhrām, who would remain in charge of the treasury and would himself receive 5 per cent on the sum received by both the parties. The Nawab remained ignorant of these movements and still trusted

16 Hill, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 288; *Bengal and Madras Papers*, vol. II.

17 *Ibid.*

18 *Krishnachandracharita* by Rājiblocana, pp. 45-50; *Kṣitishavamaśāvalicharita*, ch. XIII; *Bengal: Past and Present*, 1932; *Siyar*, vol. II, 226-229; *Riyāz-us-salātm*, pp. 370-372; *Muzaffarnāmah*, fs. 126A-127B; *Orme, Indostan*, vol. II, pp. 149-75.

Durlabhrām and the other officers. He sent a party of his troops to Plassey under the command of Durlabhrām, "with orders to prepare an entrenched camp, and everything necessary for defence and war. That commander remained thither, and in appearance, seemed busy in executing the orders he had received, but in fact he was only intent upon his own business; for he not only entered into a private agreement with the English, but also added some more articles to their treaty with Mir Jafar Khān, whilst at the same time he was daily gaining to his party some officers amongst the troops he commanded under promise of doing for them something according to their own wishes."¹⁹ In fact, the treachery of Sirāj-ud-daulah's officers was the chief factor in causing his defeat at Plassey, and it would not be too much to say that the foundation of the political supremacy of the East India Company in Bengal was laid with the support of prominent Bengalees like Durlabhrām and some others.

Durlabhrām and Mir Jafar re-entered Murshidabad on 25th of June, 1757, accompanied by Mr. Watts, Colonel Clive and his secretary Mr. Walsh. They held a *darbār* there on the 29th of June, when Mir Jafar was installed as the Nawab of Bengal and Durlabhrām invested with the title of Maharaja Bahadur was made his *Diwān* or Chief Minister.²⁰ Durlabhrām's brothers, Kunjabehari and Rāshbehari, were appointed accountants at Murshidabad and Dacca respectively.²¹

Durlabhrām soon became the "centre of all transactions"²² in the new Nawab's Government, and his friendship proved to be of immense help to the English East India Company in the gradual consolidation of their position in Bengal. Clive wrote to him on the 21st July, 1757:—"The weight of the Government's affairs is now on you; you have our friendship in your power, don't look

19 *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 230; *Muzaffarnāmah*, f. 129A.

20 *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 230.

21 *Muzaffarnāmah*, f. 134A.

22 *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 230.

on it as of little consideration, for by your friendship and protection we shall tread firm. I always persuade myself, you look on the Company's business as your own. I therefore write you that there is nothing in this world that I have so much at heart as to drive out the French. I have just now received news that Rāmnārāin, regardless of what the Nawab and myself have wrote, instead of stopping the French has let them go on to Patna, and there is even now one innocent residing at this factory, and their broad-cloth and many other goods are sent to Meer Absub's house and he has received them. The Nawab's honour and mine are one, and I look on it that Rāmnārāin is acting contrary to what we both wrote has affected us both.....I write to you as a friend, that you send express orders to have the above Frenchmen seized and sent to me, their factory laid even with the earth, and their goods sent here, that they may be delivered to Juggat Seth to pay off their debts." Durlabhram replied on the 22nd July:—"Now that by blessing of God our friendship is grown strong, what signifies the French. If Rāmnārāin does not obey us we together will finish him. Nevertheless I write to the Raja in the most express terms as you desire me. If he obeys, it is well, if not they both shall be assured of this, that I am yours, equally absent or present, and that I shall look on your business as my own."²³ Clive wrote to Nawab Mir Jafar on the 2nd October, 1757:—"If you value your safety and honour in all things follow the advice of the Seats (Seths) and Roy Durlabh (Durlabhram) and all will end well."²⁴ Durlabhram was ill for some time in the month of October, 1757, when Clive made regular enquiries about his health, and wrote to him after his recovery, on 13th December, 1757:—"I have many matters of great consequence to talk to you about. I set a great value on your friendship and desire you will firmly rely on mine."²⁵

23 *Bengal and Madras Papers*, vol. III

24 *Ibid.*

25 *Ibid.*

When at the request of Mir Jafar, Colonel Clive went to Patna, early in January, 1758²⁶ in order to settle some disturbances there, Rāi Durlabhrām, reconciled with the Nawab after a temporary alienation, accompanied him there with 10,000 men.²⁷ 'Colonel Clive complained before him on the 25th January, 1758, that the *Chowkies* (customs-stations) of Sakrigali and Teliagarhi (near Sahebgunj on the E.I. Ry. Loop Line) "have behaved in a very insolent manner. They have refused to pass two horses belonging to Mr. Pearkes (Chief of the English Factory at Patna), have confined two or three pairs of my *cossids* (messengers). As you are *Diwān* I look upon it that these people are under your orders, therefore desire you will order them not to do so again."²⁸ In some other affairs, such as the suppression of the mutinous army of Mir Jafar, or effecting a settlement with Raja Rāmnārāin, the Deputy Governor of Bihar, Colonel Clive frequently sought the advice of Rāi Durlabhrām.²⁹ The Colonel wrote to him³⁰ again and again, from February onwards,³¹ for the money that had been promised to the Company by Mir Jafar and also for a *parwānah* granting to the Company the sole purchase of saltpetre in Bihar. Durlabhrām succeeded in obtaining for the English the *sanad* for the monopoly of saltpetre manufacture and trade in Bihar, signed and sealed by Nawab Mir Jafar, and sent it to Colonel Clive on the 7th March, 1758. The Colonel wrote to him on the same day:—"Your obliging letter enclosing the sanad for the saltpetre, I have received with pleasure. By this I am persuaded your friendship for me is sincere. By the favour of God for the friendship you have shown for me, I hope God will

26 Letter from the Select Committee at Madras to the Secret Committee in London, dated 17th January, 1758.

27 Beveridge, *Comprehensive History of India*, vol. I, p. 648; Mill's *History of British India*, vol. III, p. 272; *Muzaffarnāmah*, f. 136b.

28 *Bengal and Madras Papers*, vol. II.

29 *Ibid.*

30 *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 252.

31 *Bengal and Madras Papers*, vol. III.

long preserve you, and that I shall have an opportunity of showing the friendship I have for you."³²

But Durlabhrām was soon confronted with a difficult situation due to the opposition of the Nawab's son, Miran, who being impatient of his growing influence³³ had been trying to remove him by all means.³⁴ Apprehensive of Miran's designs, Durlabhrām's brother Kunjabehari, acting as deputy Diwān at Murshidabad when his brother had gone to Patna with Colonel Clive, had entered into an agreement with a *jamādār* of the Nawab's to secure his help in defending their house against Miran's attacks.³⁵ Conscious of risks for Durlabhrām's family, Colonel Clive also wrote to Mt. Hastings, who had succeeded Mr. Scrafton as agent of the Company at the Nawab's *darbār*, on the 20th April, 1758:—"If Rāi Durlabh should apply to you for a guard of sepeys to escort his family down to Calcutta you will let him have them."³⁶

Clive returned from Patna to Murshidabad, along with Rāi Durlabhrām, on the 15th of May, 1758, but went away to Calcutta on the 24th of that month.³⁷ By this time Miran's hostility towards Durlabhrām had grown more intense. Further, Nandkumār, who though previously in the confidence of Durlabhrām, had later on become so much displeased with him that he poisoned the mind of the Seths,³⁸ and also assisted Miran, against him. On the 26th of July, 1758, Durlabhrām was ordered by Miran to make over the charge of his office to Rājballabh, previously *diwān* of Nawāzish Muhammad Khān (a nephew of Nawab Alivardi) at Dacca but appointed Miran's *diwān* on the 24th July, 1758.³⁹ To save himself

32 *Bengal and Madras Papers*, vol. III.

33 Scrafton, *Reflections on the Government of Indostan*, pp. 107-114.

34 Orme, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 353.

35 *Ibid.*

36 Gleig, *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, vol. I, p. 59.

37 Orme, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 352; Mill, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 277; Beveridge, *Comprehensive History of India*, vol. I, p. 651.

38 Orme, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 357; Mill, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 277.

39 *Ibid.*; *Siyar*, vol. II, p. 253; *Muzaffarnāmah*, f. 137b.

from further insults and injuries Durlabhrām sought leave of the Nawab to proceed to Calcutta with his family and wealth, but Miran refused to grant him the solicited permission unless "he had furnished a sum sufficient to satisfy the troops."⁴⁰ One day he sent Shaikh Hedāitullah, and some of his followers, to the house of Durlabhrām on the pretence of asking pardon but really to do away with him if they found an opportunity.⁴¹ Rāi Durlabhrām's life was saved through the timely intervention of Mr. Watts, who took him away to Calcutta.⁴²

But to remove Durlabhrām's relatives from Murshidabad did not prove to be an easy task. During his absence Miran had posted guards over his house, and the houses of his three brothers, who had been employed in the revenue department of the Nawab's Government. Hastings "was afraid of giving offence to the Nawab, if he should employ the English troops at Cassimbazar to protect them, and was equally unwilling to advise Rāi Durlabh's family to remove without this aid, lest the women should be stopped and the insult produce a fray between their retinues, and the troops by which they were beset."⁴³ He wrote to Colonel Clive on the 24th of August, 1758:—"If Roy Durlabh's family should apply to me for an escort of sepoy, I shall send them to him, agreeably to your orders. There are some circumstances which oblige me to desire your further directions on this subject, as it may not be in my power to afford them the assistance they may require at least without occasioning some very bad consequences. The Chuta Nawab (Miran) has placed hircarrahs (spies) in every passage leading to Roy Durlabh's house, and one upon each of his boats, to prevent the removal either of his family or effects.....The removal of Roy Durlabh's family with all effects and moveables belonging to them, is not so easy to be effected, or with the same just pretence,

40 Orme, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 357.

42 Orme, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

41 *Muzaffarnāmah*, f. 137b.

43 *Ibid.*, pp. 358-359.

as the departure of Roy Durlabh was, you will see the necessity I am under of waiting for orders before be speedily favoured with.”⁴⁴ Clive, convinced of the necessity of protecting the family of Durlabhrām whose friendship was so much helpful to him, replied to Mr. Hastings on the 31st August, 1758:—“Your apprehensions of matters coming to extremities in case a guard be sent to bring away Roy Durlabh’s family are founded on reason. I never intended you should use force, but only furnish them with a party of sepoy to escort them down to Calcutta; you are not acquainted with the connection between Roy Durlabh and the English and that they are bound not only to protect him but his family also. You may remonstrate with decency, as often as opportunity offers that it is unjust to keep the mother and daughter from the father.”⁴⁵ Pressed by Colonel Clive and Mr. Hastings, Mir Jafar at last gave his permission, early in the month of September, 1758, for the removal of the members of Rāi Durlabhrām’s family,⁴⁶ who started for Calcutta, on the 12th September, under the escort of a body of English Sepoys.⁴⁷ Karam Ali writes that, due to Rāi Durlabhrām’s departure from Murshidabad, many “creatures of God lost their employments in one day and one part of the city became desolate.”⁴⁸ This is a testimony to the immense influence exercised by him in the affairs of the Murshidabad government.

Rāi Durlabhrām remained all along since 1757 a sincere friend of the English in Bengal. On the 18th April and the 8th July, 1759, he expressed a desire to pay his respects to the Company’s Governor in Calcutta.⁴⁹ It appears that he had managed to secure for the Company a loan of 4 lacs of rupees, which should have been repaid by the latter on or before the 2nd September, 1760.⁵⁰ On the 3rd of

44 Gleig, *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, vol. I, p. 60.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 61.

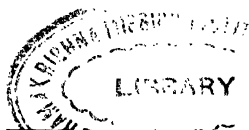
46 *Ibid.*, p. 62.

47 Orme, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 359.

48 *Muzaffarnāmah*, f. 137b.

49 *Calender of Persian Correspondence*, vol. I, pp. 17, 18.

50 *Ibid.*, p. 34.



November, 1760, he wrote a letter to the Governor in Calcutta expressing satisfaction at the removal of Mir Jafar from the subāh-dārship of Bengal.⁵¹ But the new Nawab, Mir Kāsim, not well-disposed towards him, complained to the Company's government in bitter terms "on the infidelity" of Durlabhrām,⁵² stationed guards on his house⁵³ and removed him from the government. At this the Company's government examined all the papers relating to Durlabhrām, but did not "find him culpable."⁵⁴ After Mir Jafar's restoration as the Nawab of Bengal on the 6th July, 1763, the Company's governor recommended to him the reinstatement of Durlabhrām in his post.⁵⁵ Durlabhrām rendered valuable assistance to the English during their war with Mir Kāsim by communicating to them the necessary information regarding his movements. The Company's Governor wrote to him on the 25th August, 1763, that he had "received his letter saying that the enemy (Mir Kāsim's forces) have entrenched themselves at Udaunala (near Rajmahal) and that the English army is encamped at a mile's distance from them. Hope the enemy will soon be defeated. When that is done, the Raja's business will be settled in a proper manner."⁵⁶ He was again informed by the English on the 25th October, 1763, that as their enemies had retired to Patna they expected that the conflict would be soon decided for them, that Nawab Mir Jafar would "doubtless reward his loyalty,"⁵⁷ and that they had already written about him to the Nawab and to Major Adams, Commander of the English troops at Patna. 143164

For the useful services rendered by Durlabhrām to the English on critical occasions, Messrs. Vansittart, Carnac and Hastings vowed, on behalf of the East India Company, that "until the family of Roy Durlabh should live on earth, we should take due care for

51 *Calender of Persian Correspondence*, vol. I, pp. 17, 18.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 53.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 228.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 67.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 234.

54 *Ibid.*

57 *Ibid.*, p. 248.

their honour, support, dignity etc. generation after generation.”⁵⁸ Durlabhrām informed the Governor of the Company on the 10th January, 1764, that on the 26th of Agrabhāyana (i.e. in December) the Nawab had given him “betel and invested him with the Nizamat, ordering a tent to be pitched to serve as his cutchery” but that “all the affairs of Bengal were then dependent on the Khālsā under the control of Nandkumār and so he expected no improvement.” He further noted that Mir Jafar had agreed to remit to the Delhi court 28 lacs of rupees, half of which was to be sent immediately along with a *nazarānā* of five lacs of rupees, but as the money could not be procured he had become offended with Nandkumār and had for the last three or four days been most gracious to himself (Durlabhrām) “sending a *Chobdar* (mace-bearer) twice a day to call him, and conferring with him upon all affairs.”⁵⁹ The Governor wrote to him on the 18th February, 1764, to accompany the Nawab to Calcutta,⁶⁰ and instructed him on the 20th of April, 1764, “to set his mind at ease and to apply himself with diligence to the affairs of the *sarkār*.”⁶¹

On the eve of the battle of Buxar, Durlabhrām supplied the Council in Calcutta with lots of information regarding the advance of Nawab Shujāh-ud-daulah with Mir Kāsim and the indecisive engagements (commencing since April, 1764) on the borders of Bihar between their troops and those of the Company under Major Carnac. He wrote two letters to the Council in Calcutta during the month of April, 1764, “intimating that in a skirmish 14 of the enemy’s horsemen were killed, two taken prisoners, and a good many wounded, and that Major Carnac returned triumphant.”⁶² The Council in Calcutta replied to him on the 2nd of May, 1764,

58 *Kāyasthapatrikā, Śrāvāṇa*, 1312 B.S., p. 9.

59 Long, *Selections from the Unpublished Records of the Government*, vol. I, p. 353; *C.P.C.*, vol. I, p. 272.

60 *Ibid.*, p. 284.

61 *Ibid.*, p. 301.

62 *Ibid.*, p. 306.

expressing satisfaction "on this first success, and asked him to set his mind at ease and to exert himself to root out the enemy."⁶³ As a matter of fact, he continued to help the cause of the Company as before and intimated to the Governor in Calcutta on the 9th of May, 1764, that Major Carnac had sent Captain Wemyss's detachment to Patna and that Shujāh-ud-daulah "wished to treat with him."⁶⁴ On the 23rd May he expressed much gratification on hearing that the Governor had dispatched troops to Jharkhond.⁶⁵ On the 10th June, 1764, Shah Alam II, eager for an alliance with the English, wrote to Durlabhrām that the Wazir (Shujāh-ud-daulah) and himself "were well disposed towards the English. Mir Kāsim shall be brought to punishment."⁶⁶ Durlabhrām replied to him on the same day thanking him for his friendly disposition towards the English and communicated the contents of his letter to the Governor of the Company in Calcutta,⁶⁷ whose permission he solicited for going there personally.⁶⁸ The Governor replied to him on the 16th and 24th June, 1764, approving of his reply to the Emperor of Delhi and informing him that he could come to Calcutta along with the Nawab who had been repeatedly asked to do so.⁶⁹ Durlabhrām "expressed satisfaction (9th July) at his being ordered to accompany the Nawab to Calcutta."⁷⁰ The Company's Governor wrote to him on the 27th July that he would "be glad to see him if he comes to Calcutta with the Nawab, but if his Excellency commits any business to his charge and orders him to remain there he could do so with security of mind."⁷¹ Durlabhrām had some share in the negotiations for the *chauch* of Bengal between Bhawāni Pandit, the Maratha *Diwān* of Cuttack, and the English Company.⁷²

63 Long, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 353.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 309.

67 *Ibid.*

70 *Ibid.*, p. 324.

65 *Ibid.*, p. 313.

68 *Ibid.*, p. 320.

71 *Ibid.*, p. 323.

66 *Ibid.*, p. 318.

69 *Ibid.*, p. 321.

72 *Ibid.*, pp. 344, 345, 366, 367.

On the 29th August, 1764, Durlabhrām informed the Governor in Calcutta of his arrival at Murshidabad with Mir Jafar.⁷³ But he left that city before the expiry of that year, though the Nawab considered his presence there to be indispensable. The Nawab wrote to the Council in Calcutta on the 26th of December, 1764, that, as the payment of the cavalry, the *topkhānah* (artillery) and the officers of his household wholly depended on the accounts of Raja Durlabhrām, his absence from Murshidabad would cause troubles and loss to his government, and so requested that he should be directed to return there.⁷⁴ On the receipt of Mir Jafar's letter, the Company's Governor informed Durlabhrām of its contents, whereupon the latter sent to Murshidabad his staff of subordinate officers in the company of one of his brothers named Brindāban. He also expressed his desire to return to Murshidabad as soon as possible, assured the Governor that he was "ready to perform all the duties of a faithful servant to the *sarkār*," and requested him to report his views to the Nawab.⁷⁵ He incidentally mentioned that he had advanced a considerable amount of money to the Nawab. The Nawab again informed the Company's Governor on the 26th of January, 1765, that "as to Raja Durlabhrām he may look upon His Excellency's House as his own. There is not one to contradict him. But if he will not come, His Excellency is without remedy. (His Excellency) has repeatedly written that in case he delayed in coming, the business dependent on him must be greatly prejudiced. Consequently the sooner he arrives the better. The difference between his transacting the business himself and its being left to the management of another is most evident. As to his saying that he has made some disbursements on account of the *sarkār*, so far as His Excellency knows, he has not expended a single *Kauri*. The wages of the men with him have been paid by the *sarkār* and the pay of

73 Long, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 333.

74 *Ibid.*, pp. 366, 371.

75 *Ibid.*, p. 374.

those men is entirely at his disposal whether he keeps them with him or not."⁷⁶ Evidently there was at this time some misunderstanding between Mir Jafar and Durlabhrām on the question of money.

Mir Jafar died on the 6th February, 1765, and his son Najm-ud-daulah was then placed on the *masnad* of Bengal.⁷⁷ Durlabhrām returned to Murshidabad towards the end of February⁷⁸ and early in March saw the new Nawab who "received him with great kindness."⁷⁹ But some residents of Murshidabad, jealous of Muhammad Rezā Khān and Durlabhrām, incited Quaim Beg, Commander of the Nawab's troops, "to set on foot a disturbance under the pretence of arrears and take measures for cutting them off."⁸⁰ Muhammad Rezā Khān adopted strong measures to suppress it, and Durlabhrām wrote to Mr. John Spencer, the Governor in Calcutta, on the 21st March, 1765, requesting him "to take such measures as may prevent any disturbance taking place."⁸¹

The relation between Najm-ud-daulah and Durlabhrām did not, however, prove to be friendly. The Nawab accused the latter of carrying on 'treacherous' negotiations with Shujāh-ud-daulah of Oudh and did not want to retain him in his government. The Company's Governor naturally took up the cause of Durlabhrām. He informed the Nawab on the 9th April, 1765, that Mir Jafar had a high regard for Durlabhrām, who, in his opinion, "deserved it for he was a faithful servant to him from the beginning." "He has besides," observed the Governor, "all along shown an uncommon attachment to the Company. It would therefore be proper to keep his past services in remembrance and not to be influenced by the people who speak ill of him. He is acting under the recommendation of the Council who are of opinion that not the least

⁷⁶ Long, *op. cit.*, vo. I, p. 376.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 390.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Vansittart had returned to England in November, 1764.

inconvenience can result therefrom to His Excellency or his affairs."⁸² As regards Shujāh-ud-daulah's correspondence with Durlabhrām, complained of by the Nawab, the Governor opined that "a letter from the Wazir unless corroborated by circumstances of a glaring nature does not incriminate him," and the Council in Calcutta urged the appointment of Durlabhrām to the post for which it had recommended him.⁸³ But Nawab Najm-ud-daulah, highly indignant with Durlabhrām, replied to the Governor on the 21st April, 1765, that "the employing of such a person will be a means of throwing the affairs of the Nizamat into confusion."⁸⁴ Mr. Johnstone, the Company's Resident at Murshidabad, and Muhammad Rezā Khān, pleaded much on behalf of Durlabhrām, but the Nawab observed that "he would by no means have any friendship with the Raja or consent to his being put in office."⁸⁵ Durlabhrām, on his part, requested the Governor on the 21st April, 1765, "that after proper enquiry positive orders may be sent, that there may be no room for interested people or for His Excellency (the Nawab) to set them aside, that the gentlemen being heartily in the affair may procure him a *Khilat* and establish him in his office in order that his desire being so fulfilled, he may show his attachment as long as he lives."⁸⁶ At this the Company's Governor again wrote to the Nawab on 24th April, 1765, recommending Durlabhrām "as a capable servant for a share in the collection of the revenues" and expressing his opinion that he did not "consider the letter from Shujāh-ud-daulah, even if it be genuine, a proof of his carrying on a treacherous correspondence with His Highness."⁸⁷ But now he did not press his point as before and observed that as the "matter of collecting the revenues were entirely left to him (the Nawab)," he might "dispose of the branch of employment proposed

82 Long, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 399.

83 *Ibid.*

86 *Ibid.*

84 *Ibid.*, p. 400.

87 *Ibid.*, p. 401.

85 *Ibid.*

for the Raja in such a manner as will be most beneficial to the *sarkār*.”⁸⁸ The Nawab thereupon divided Durlabhrām’s “share in the collection of revenues into five parts,” one being allotted to Gopāl Krishna, son of Raja Rājballabh and the remaining four to Hirā Lall and some other old *muttsaddies*.⁸⁹

Durlabhrām-Najm-ud-daulah episode is highly significant from one point of view. It is well known how the treaty of the 20th February, 1765, between the Company and Najm-ud-daulah reduced the powers of the Nawab to such an extent as to render him virtually dependent on the former for all affairs of the Government, even in the choice of his officers. In fact, the Diwāni of the 12th of August, 1765, was in a sense a logical sequel to this transaction. But the facts, narrated in the preceding paragraph, show that the strict enforcement of all its articles could not become possible for a comparatively weak personality like Spencer. It was reserved for a stronger man, Lord Clive, to throw the full weight of the Company’s influence on the Nawab.

Rāi Durlabhrām got an opportunity after the arrival of his old patron, Clive, on the 3rd May, 1765, as the Company’s Governor in Calcutta for the second time.⁹⁰ He wrote to the latter on the 12th of May that he was “rejoiced to hear of his Lordship’s arrival. As the parched earth is refreshed by the blessing of rain and as the budding flower after the hard weather recovers its beauty and fragrance by the sweet breeze of spring so has this news afforded relief to his anxious mind,” and also sent to him “a congratulatory *nazarānā* of two gold *mohars*.”⁹¹ Leaving Calcutta on the 24th June, 1765,⁹² Lord Clive went to Murshidabad, where he effected some modifications in the treaty concluded with the Nawab at

88 Long, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 401.

89 *Ibid.*, pp. 403, 404.

91 C.P.C., vol. I, p. 405.

92 *Ibid.*, p. 403; Beveridge, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 691.

90 Mill, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 392.

the time of his accession.⁹³ Durlabhrām and Jagat Seth were now associated with Muhammad Rezā Khān in the administration of the Nawab's government,⁹⁴ and "a vigilant superintendence" over all the three was to be maintained by a British Resident at the Nawab's court. The Select Committee in Calcutta wrote to the Court of Directors on the 3rd September, 1765:—"As Muhammad Reza Khan's short administration was irreproachable, we determined to continue him in a share of the authority, at the same time that each became a check upon the conduct of the other. Accordingly we fixed on Jugut Seth and Roy Durlabhand we have now the pleasure to acquaint you that the business of the Government goes on with unanimity, vigour and despatch." Durlabhrām duly informed Lord Clive of the affairs at Murshidabad and wrote to him on the 12th August, 1766, that "by the blessing of God and His Lordship's unbounded favour matters with respect" to him were "in a very good state."⁹⁵ Muhammad Rezā Khān consulted him in almost everything.⁹⁶ Through Lord Clive's recommendation Durlabhrām received about that time the title of Mahindra Bahadur and some "rich and opulent districts" in Bihar as Jāgirs.⁹⁷ In January 1767, his salary for his post in the Nawab's government was fixed at 2 lacs of rupees per annum.⁹⁸

Lord Clive left Bengal for home on the 26th January, 1767, and Mr. Verelst succeeded him as the Company's Governor in Bengal. Durlabhrām congratulated the latter on his appointment through a letter, dated the 12th February, 1767⁹⁹ and also set him a *nazar* of 5 gold mohurs.¹⁰⁰ Well-disposed towards Durlabhrām, Mr. Verelst left him temporarily¹⁰¹ in charge of the

93 Long, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 403; Beveridge, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 691.

94 C.P.C., vol. I, p. 418.

95 *Ibid.*, p. 425.

96 *Ibid.*, p. 431.

97 *Ibid.*, p. 455.

98 *Ibid.*, p. 465.

99 C.P.C., vol. II, p. 18.

100 *Ibid.*, p. 21.

101 Saif-ud-daulah, a son of Mir Jafar, had succeeded his brother on the *masnad* of Murshidabad in May, 1766. He died on the 10th March, 1770.

administration at Murshidabad, when Muhammad Rezā Khān had been summoned to Calcutta to answer a charge against him.¹⁰² In the year 1767 Durlabh-rām paid Rs. 11,10,000, on account of the *khāzanā* and *nazarānā* of the Nawab's government to the Chief of the Cassimbazar factory.¹⁰³ In the month of April of the same year he sent to Mr. Verelst a congratulatory *nazar* of 5 gold mohurs after the latter had received fresh honours from the Delhi Court.¹⁰⁴ In August next he himself obtained from Nawab Saif-ud-daulah, through the intervention of Diā Rām Pandit, Muhammad Rezā Khān and Mr. Sykes (the Company's Resident at Murshidabad), 50 gold mohurs and a string of pearls.¹⁰⁵ He wrote to Mr. Verelst on 29th January, 1768, that his "chief ambition" was to "pursue the interest of the *sarkār* and to persevere with heart and soul in the execution of the affairs of his department" and hoped that he would "be regarded with the eye of bounty and upheld by the hand of graciousness."¹⁰⁶ He also sent to the Governor at the same time a present of some pieces of shawls, the receipt of which was acknowledged by the latter on 16th January, 1769.¹⁰⁷ Further, according to the instruction of Mr. Richard Becher, the then Resident at Murshidabad, he remitted 4 lacs of rupees to Calcutta.¹⁰⁸ He again wrote to the Governor on 12th July, 1769, that in accordance with his orders he was "wholeheartedly engaged in the discharge of his duties and considers his chances of promotion and happiness to lie therein,"¹⁰⁹ and in another letter to him, dated the 12th of December, 1769, he acknowledged "the numerous favours received by him from the Governor" and requested him to "recommend him to the Gentlemen of the Council."¹¹⁰

Mr. Verelst resigned his office on 24th December, 1769, and

102 C.P.C., vol. II, Supplement, p. 5.

103 *Ibid.*

104 *Ibid.*, pp. 99, 100, 133.

105 *Ibid.*, p. 137.

106 *Ibid.*, p. 217.

107 *Ibid.*, p. 336.

108 *Ibid.*, p. 336.

109 *Ibid.*, p. 383.

110 C.P.C., vol. II, Supplement, p. 5.

was succeeded by Mr. Cartier. Durlabhrām congratulated Cartier through a letter, dated the 22nd January, 1770, on his appointment as Governor, and sent him a *nazar* of five gold mohurs¹¹¹ and some warm cloths through one Rām Sewak.¹¹² Towards the end of February, 1770, Maharaja Durlabhrām heard from Mr. Cartier that he would "retain the favour of the English by continuing to attend to the Company's business diligently."¹¹³ He held his post till the time of Nawab Mubārak-ud-daulah, and his name is associated with the treaty concluded between the said Nawab and the East India Company on the 21st of March, 1770.¹¹⁴ He died either towards the end of May or the beginning of June, 1770. Muhammad Rezā Khān informed the Governor in Calcutta of his death through a letter dated the 3rd of June, 1770.¹¹⁵ The Governor replied to this letter on the 16th of June expressing sorrow at his death,¹¹⁶ and wrote to his son Raja Rājballabh on the 18th of June that he was "greatly concerned to learn of the death of his father Maharaja Mahindra. As the latter was a faithful servant of the Company, the English *sardars* will help and protect not only the addressee (Rājballabh) but all the members of the bereaved family."¹¹⁷

KALI KINKAR DATTA

111 Mill, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 450.

112 C.P.C., vol. III, p. 7.

113 *Ibid.*, p. 25.

114 Atchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sannuds etc.*, vol. I, pp. 68-69.

115 C.P.C., vol. III, p. 72.

116 *Ibid.*, p. 77.

117 *Ibid.*, p. 78.

Pārijāta-dhvaja of the Marāṭhā King Sambhaji

(mentioned by his Court-poet Hari Kavi in A.D. 1685)

An exhaustive study of Indian banners from the earliest times up to the present day based on contemporary sources is yet a desideratum in spite of the references to banners recorded in literary and other sources. In the present paper I propose to record two verses containing a reference to the banner of the Marāṭhās in the 17th century. These verses read as follows:—

Folio 74 of the *Sambhurājacarita*¹—Battle scene

करस्फुरदनगेलप्रवरचंद्रहासप्रभा-
विभासितदिगालिभिः सुभटकोटिभिः प्रोद्धटः ।
स भूपतिशिखामणिद्युतिमरीचिमालार्चितः
सुगुप्तिमकरोद्गरोस्तदनु पारिजातध्वजः ॥६१॥

1 Vide my paper in the *Annals* (B.O.R. Institute) vol. XVI (1935), pp. 262-291. The only MS. of the *Sambhurājacarita* so far known is No. 191 of 1875-76 in the Govt. MSS. Library, at the B.O.R. Institute, Poona.

In the *Sivabbārata* (composed between A.D. 1661 and 1674) of Kavindra Paramānanda there are references to banners which may be noted here:—

Chapter XXIV, 56—अग्रतः प्रचलन्तीनां पताकानां समंततः

कान्तिभिः सकलं व्योम तदा कीर्तिरतां दधौ ॥५६॥

Chapter XXIV, 63—श्लिष्यद्भिः क्षितिमपि बद्धमुष्टिभावा-

त्रोन्मुक्ताः कचन पताकिभिः पताकाः ॥६३॥

Chapter III, 13—स्वैः स्वैः सैन्यैः परिवृताः पुरः प्रोच्छ्रायितध्वजैः

Chapter VI, 16—केतनोन्नमनं बोच्चैश्चारुचामरबीजनम्

Chapter XI, 13—तरलाभिः पताकाभिस्तडितः परितर्जयन्

Chapter XII, 9—कम्पयन्त इवाकाशं पताकापटमण्डलैः

Chapter XII, 79—सपताको ध्वजश्चापि; 85—पताकिनीपाल

117—न पताका न च ध्वजः

Chapter XIV, 5—पताकोर्मिविराजितम् ; 35—पताकिनी

Chapter XXII, 60—पताकाभिर्ध्वजैरपि ; XXIII, 62—पताकिनीम्

Chapter XXIV, 24 } पताकिनीम् ; XXVIII, 13—ध्वजिनीं ताम्रवक्त्राणाम्
29 }

In the above stanza the word गुरोः refers to Kavi Kalaśa,² the minister of Sambhāji. The word चंद्रहास possibly refers to the Bhavānī sword³ in the hand of Sambhāji and the expression पारिजातध्वज appears to refer to the *Bhagavā Zenda*, the banner of the Marāṭhās. The verse describes Sambhāji as surrounded by the army of the enemy. Kavi Kalaśa, the *guru*⁴ of Sambhāji is represented here as accompanying his royal disciple. Sambhāji, therefore, tried to protect his *guru* as also the royal banner called here पारिजातध्वज by the poet. In this battle scene Sambhāji's wife Campā,⁵ the heroine of the *Sambhurājacarita* is also shown by the poet to be by his side in the royal chariot on their return from Surat, where the marriage⁶ of the heroine took place. The poet refers again to the पारिजातध्वज in the following verse on folio 79 of the *Sambhurājacarita*:—

अये किमिति दीपिते मम कृपाणकालानले
भटा ननु पतंगतां समधिगंतुमागम्यते ।
भवत्सुदयते ह्यसिर्मम गवेषयाम्यद्भुत.
प्रचंडतरकर्मकं तमिह पारिजातध्वजम् ॥१०८॥

As the expression पारिजातध्वज represents in the foregoing verses

2 Kavi Kalaśa is called Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita by Hari Kavi in verses 124 and 125 on folio 82 of the MS of the *Sambhurājacarita* (यस्यास्ते गुरुक एव सुनिधिः कृष्णो गुणांघ्रिबुधिः"—v. 125 and श्रीकृष्णात्पंडितात्कस्त्रिभुवनविषये कोविदक्लेशहर्ता—v. 124).

3 Verses 126, 127, and 128 on folio 82 of the *Sambhurājacarita* MS. describe the Bhavānī sword in the hands of king Sambhāji (वीरश्रीशोभमानः करतलविलम्ब-चंद्रहासो भवान्यां (न्याः)—v. 126).

4 Cf. folio 74—समेत्य सचिवैः समं तदनुमानसं भूपति.

ईधार गुरुनोदितो निजवरूथिनीसज्जने

5 Cf. folio 78—बचाल चललोचनां समुपवेश्य चंपां रये

6 History knows no wife of Sambhāji of the name Campā. Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes to me under date 21st May, 1936:—"I am inclined to think that Campā was the mother of that Madan Singh, an illegitimate son of Shambhājī, who was kept a prisoner in Aurangzeb's camp along with Shahu after the fall of Raigad in 1689."

the banner of the Marāṭhās⁷ in the 17th century we have to determine its exact significance and ascertain if it is identical (or otherwise) with the orange-coloured *Bhagavā Zēṇḍā* of the Marāṭhās so popular in the Mahārāṣṭra.

In the absence of contemporary descriptions of the Marāṭhā banner⁸ recorded in monographs we have to make the best of the expression used by Hari Kavi viz. पारिजातध्वज.

The *Pārijāta* flower proper is *white* but its stalk is of *orange* colour. How can we prove, therefore, that the expression पारिजातध्वज means the *Bhagavā, Zēṇḍā*, the orange-coloured banner of the Marāṭhās? I shall however, record the evidence collected by me in favour of the identity of the *Pārijāta-dhvaja* with the *Bhagavā Zēṇḍā*. This evidence is as follows:—

(1) Hari Kavi was a Deccani Brahmin resident of Surat as he himself states in his works, fragments of which have been pre-

7 Vide p. 161 of *Śaka-Kartā Shivāji* by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, 1935. Dealing with *Symbols of Royalty* Rao Bahadur Sardesai observes:—“*Shivāji* made current certain special symbols of Royalty connected with the royal throne (*Simhāsana*). Certain royal symbols like *Jaripaṭkā, Daṅkā* etc. were used in ancient times. These were renewed by Shivāji at the time of his coronation after giving them proper authority of the *Śāstras*. The *Bhagavā Zēṇḍā* was formerly used by many warriors. The Marāṭhā Sardars used this flag generally while proceeding to battle. *Jaripaṭkā* was a dignified transformation of this flag. It was Shivāji who first made it a symbol of royalty, though it was later adopted at several places in the Marāṭhā Empire. The *Jaripaṭkā* was not meant to be used at all times in warfare but it was displayed on special occasions during processions. The *Bhagavā Zēṇḍā* was used before Shivāji's time by his father Shahājī. The foregoing genesis of our flags as it has come down to us appears to be acceptable.” (This is the substance of Rao Bahadur Sardesai's remarks in Marāṭhi about Royal Symbols).

8 Vide p. 280 of *Shivāji and his Times* by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, 1919—Description of a street procession at Raigarh: “(Shivāji) rode through the streets of the capital in full military procession.....with two royal banners *Jaripaṭkā* and *Bhagavā Zēṇḍā* borne aloft on two elephants walking in the van.”

James Douglas on p. 173 of vol. I (1893) of *Bombay and Western India* writes:—“Shivāji's standard Bhagava Zanda was swallow-tailed and of a deep orange-colour but on a big day like this the *Jaripaṭkā* or golden streamer the national ensign of the Marathas no doubt waved from the great arch which still crowns the highest plateau of Raygarh.”

served in the Govt. MSS Library at the B.O.R. Institute. He composed the *Śambhurājacarita* by order⁹ of Sambhājī's minister Kavi Kalaśa whom he calls Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita. He also composed his *Haihayendracarita* and its commentary *Śambhuvilāsikā* by order¹⁰ of Sambhājī himself as stated by him in this work. It is, therefore, reasonable to infer that he knew Sambhājī's banner very closely and consequently his description of it as *Pārijāta-dhvaṇja* is based on a direct knowledge of the banner.

(2) Hari Kavi was a resident of Surat in Gujarat, where the orange-coloured stems of the white *Pārijāta* flowers are crushed for dying pieces of cloth.¹¹ The method of preparing red or orange-colour from the stems of the *Pārijāta* flower appears to have been current from ancient times. *Pārijāta* trees grow wild in large numbers on the Deogarh hill situated in Deogarh Baria between Dohad and Godhra in Gujarat. In view of this it would be reasonable to conclude that Hari Kavi meant by his expression "*Pārijāta-*

9 Vide verse 172 on folio 233 (20) of *Śambhurājacarita*:—

यः श्री शंभुमहीपतेराप गुरोस्तस्यैव कृष्णारुचया

विरुचयानस्य निदेशनः वरमिदं काव्यं व्यधादद्भुतम् ॥१७२॥

10 Vide verse 10 of *Haihayendracarita* and commentary (MS. No. 829 of 1875-76):—

तस्याज्ञयैव विबुधान्प्रति नैजभाव-

प्रोद्धोषनाय हरिणा किल तन्यतेऽस्य ।

11 I am thankful to Mr. S. P. Sukla, a Vaidya in Poona, for supplying me the following references from botanical works regarding the *Pārijāta*:—(i) "पारिजातक N. C. Cleinace, L. *Nyctanthus arbortristis* Linn—Native women and children collect them and separating the orange-coloured tubes from the white petals, dry them in the sun and preserve them for dying their clothes a beautiful buff or orange-colour"—(Page 190 of *The Materia Medica of the Hindus* by Uday Chandra Dutt).

(ii) "The flower stalks yield a fine, but fleeting buff or orange-colour. To extract the dyes the dry flowers are boiled in water, one pound of flowers requiring ten gallons of water, which are evaporated till one gallon is left; the cloth is then dipped into the liquor and hung out to dye. Five yards of muslin can thus be dyed with one pound of flowers. Silk also takes the colour fairly well."—(Page 247 of the *Botanical Volume, Bombay Gazetteer*).

dhvaja” the orange-coloured banner of the Marāṭhās known to us as the *Bhagavā Zeṇḍā*.

(3) In this connection it is interesting to note the association of the *Pārijāta* flower with red colour as recorded in literature as early as the 5th century A.D. In a Jain work, called the *Rājaprasānīya-sūtra*,¹² which is the 2nd Upāṅga of the Śvetāmbara Jain canon, *Sūtra* 15 mentions “पालियाय कुसुमे” (पारिजातकुसुम) among the standards of comparison for red-coloured objects, the other standards being (1) उरग्रहधिर (blood of a ram), (2) शशहधिर (blood of a hare), (3) नरहधिर (human blood), (4) बराहधिर (blood of a boar), (5) माहिषहधिर (blood of a buffalo), (6) बालेन्द्रगोप (young Indragopa insects), (7) बालदिवाकर (early morning Sun), (8) संध्याभराग (red glow of evening clouds), (9) गुञ्जार्धराग (red colour of the half of the Guñjā seed), (10) जपाकुसुम (the red *Japā* flower), (11) किंशुककुसुम (the red *Kimśuka* flower) etc.

In view of the references recorded above and in view of the influence of the classical Sanskrit literature on Hari Kavi's writings, the association of the *Bhagavā Zeṇḍā* or the banner of the Marāṭhās with the *Pārijāta* tree (with all its legendary associations) appears to me to be the happiest one devised by our poet to signify in one and the same expression not only the orange colour¹³ of the banner but its desire-yielding virtues as the *Pārijāta* tree is called *Kalpavṛkṣa*.¹⁴

The references to the Marāṭhā banner viz. the *Bhagavā Zeṇḍā* in contemporary sources¹⁵ will throw more light on the subject of

12 Ed. by Prof. N. V. Vaidya, of the Fergusson College, Poona, 1938, p. 64.— I am thankful to Prof. Vaidya for having directed my attention to this passage.

13 The *Pārijāta* colour is said to be a substitute for Saffron Colour. Sir George Watt (on p. 430 of his *Commercial Products of India*, London, 1908) gives substitutes for Saffron: “Indian Chief Substitutes are: *Carthamus* and *Nyctanthus*” (*Pārijāta*).”

14 Kālidāsa refers to it in the *Raghuvamśa* (कल्पद्रुमायामिव पारिजातः— VI, 6). It was one of the five trees of Paradise (said to have been produced at the churning of the ocean and come into the possession of Indra from whom it was wrested by Kṛṣṇa and planted in the garden of his beloved Satyabhāmā.

15 The Bombay Gazetteer (vol. XVIII, pt. ii, pp. 228-9) records the tradition

this paper viz. the *Pārijāta-dhvaaja* mentioned by Hari Kavi in A.D. 1685. I have not been able to trace any such references though in later sources we find some references to the *Jari-paṭkā*. I shall, therefore, record these references in this paper with a request to the scholars of the Marāṭhā history to publish contemporary references to the *Bhagavā Zēḍā* and the *Jari-paṭkā*:—

(1) A.D. 1776—In a letter¹⁶ dated Śaka 1698 (*Pausa Suddha*) from Raghunathrao Peshwa to Narasingrao Govind the *Jari-paṭkā* is referred to twice. Here the Peshwa assures the addressee that the *Jari-paṭkā* would be presented to him when he has proved his competence for receiving it.

(2) A.D. 1782—In *Yādī* No. 13 (p. 79 of *Treaties Agreements and Sanads*¹⁷ 1914) there is reference to *Jari-paṭkā* lost on the battle-field. A clause in this agreement provides for the restoration of this *Jari-paṭkā* but the opposite party is unable to restore it as it was lost on the battle-field and could not be traced.

about the *Bhagavā Zēḍā* current in the *Mahārāṣṭra*:—"He (Shivāji) chose the celebrated Rāmdās Svāmi as his spiritual guide and aspired to a high character for sanctity. He is even said to have offered all his territories to Rāmdās Svāmi. The Svāmi had no need of lands but asked Shivāji to use the colour of his clothes in the *Bhagavā Zēḍā* or *Saffron Banner*."

16 Vide p. 66 of *Trītiya-Sammelan-Vṛtta* (1916), B.I.S. Mandal, Poona—Papers of the Bondhale family, ed. by B. V. Bhat—"अंगरेजास विलायतचा हुकुम आला-म्हणजे मसलत सुद्ध होईल तुम्ही जरिपटक्या विषई अर्ज सांगोन पाठविलात त्यास पंढर-पुरपावेतो मुलकाचा बंदोबस्त करोन चाकरी बजाऊन दाखविणें फितुरियाचा फौज तुम्हावर आल्यास ताराज करणे म्हणजे तुम्हास जरिपटका सरकारातून बहालच केला जाईल" Cf. Surendranath Sen: *Administrative System of the Marathas* (1925), p. 639-- (Reward for Military Services):—"Aftagir was conferred by Shivāji on his generals and officers of lesser rank as early as the seventeenth century. Similarly the honour of carrying *Jari Patākā*, the golden standard conferred on distinguished Maratha generals, was also quite in accord with the Mughal custom."

17 Published by Vad and Parasnis.—page 79

हत्ती जरीपटके हुजूरचे नेले आहेत ते हुजूरपाठबावे कलम ?

लढाईत गेले त्याचा ठिकाण नाही ।

This document is dated 'इसन्ने समानीन मया व अलफ' (=A.D. 1782).

(3) c. A.D. 1770—In the *Keladinṛpavijaya*¹⁸ of Liṅgaṇa Kavi the following flags are mentioned:—

- (i) *Yellow flag*—Symbol of the Patshahas of Bhāgānagar
- (ii) — Do —Nizam Patshah.
- (iii) *Red flag*—Barid Patshah (of Bedar)
- (iv) “उपरगयाचे निशाण”— Hasan Gangū Bommanna Patshah.

(4) A.D. 1673—Jayarāma Kavi in the *Paṇḍalaparvatagrahaṇā-khyāna*¹⁹ or the story of the capture of the Panhālā fort near Kolhapur describes Shivāji's visit to the temple of the goddess Bhavāni on the Pratapgad (Ch. IV, 24). This temple was adorned with flags (पताकाभिः अलंकृतम्) This poem describes the visit²⁰ of Shivāji to Rāmdās Svāmi but it does not refer to the current tradition about the *Bhagavā Zenda* viz. that Rāmdās Svāmi asked Shivāji to use the colour of his clothes for his banner.

Kavindra Paramānanda who composed his *Śivabhārata* by order of Shivāji between A.D. 1661 and 1674 informs us that at the age of 12 Shivāji was despatched by his father Shahāji to take

18 *Śivacaritra-vṛttasamgraha*, P. B. Desai, B.I.S. Mandal, Poona, 1938 (Kānaḍi Vibhāga, Khaṇḍa I).

19 Ed. by S. M. Divekar with Marāṭhi Translation, B.I.S. Mandal, Poona, 1923, p. 28.

20 *Ibid.*, ch. IV, vv. 16-20:—

ततः पौलस्त्यनगरे परमानन्दनन्दितैः ।
 रसैस्तु पञ्चदशभिः कवीन्द्रैर्वर्धितैर्द्विजैः ॥१६॥
 गीयमानं यशः स्वोयं श्रुत्वा श्रुत्वा शनैः शनैः ।
 नरयानादवातीर्य चतुःशालं मनोरमम् ॥१७॥
 मन्दिरान् समासाद्य एक एवाग्रगोऽभवत् ।
 गोस्वामिचरणद्वन्द्वं नन्दयामास मन्दिरे ॥१८॥
 गोस्वामी च ततस्तस्य हस्तं विन्यस्य मस्तके ।
 पूर्णसाम्राज्यदात्रीभिराशीर्भिः पर्यतोषयत् ॥१९॥
 यथोचितानि वस्त्राणि रत्नानि विविधान्यपि ।
 विन्यस्याग्रे स नृपतिर्नमस्कृत्य पुनः पुनः ॥२०॥
 प्रयायौ सैनिकैः सार्धं पौरानानन्दयञ्छ्रुतैः ।

“Gosvāmi” in the above verses refers to Svāmi Rāmdās.

charge of the province of Poona (X, 23—पुरयदेशाधिपत्येन शाहः शिवमयोजयत्). At this time he was provided with all the paraphernalia²¹ of his office including tall flags (ध्वजैः उच्चैः), but we have no means of visualising the colour of these flags.

P. K. GODE

21 *Sivabhārata*, ch. X, 25-27.

ततः कतिपयैरेव गजवाजिपदातिभिः ।
मालैराप्तैरमात्यैश्च ख्यातैरध्यापकैरपि ॥२५॥
बिरुदैश्च ध्वजैरुष्णैः कोषेणापि च भूयसा ।
तथा परिजनैरन्यै रनन्यसमकर्मभिः ॥२६॥
समवेतममुं शाहभूपनिश्शोभने दिने ।
प्राहिणोत्पुण्यदेशाय पुरयकारिणमात्मजम् ॥२७॥

Since this article was sent to the press Mr. S. N. Joshi of the Bhārata I. S. Mandal, Poona, has published a note on the Management of Rāyagadh fort in later Peshwa times (pp. 155-200 of *B.I.S.M. Quarterly*, XX, No. 3—January 1940). In this paper Mr. Joshi gives details of the dead stock on the fort at the beginning of A.D. 1773 and the expenditure incurred on the upkeep of the guns, the royal throne, the outposts, piquets, guards, buildings, office establishment, patrolling, national flag, holiday functions, worship of the deities, the contingents of soldiers etc. during the period 1773-1815 A.D.

The entry about the national flag (niśāna) is found on p. 189 in a list of A.D. 1813. It shows the expenditure on "foi" cloth and "Kāu geru" and oil for painting the flag. In the *Sivakāvya* composed in A.D. 1821 by Puruṣottama the *Bhagavā Zēṇḍā* is called "*Gairikākṛta paṭa*" or cloth besmeared with red-chalk (*Gairika*) colour. This *Gairika* is identical with "*Kāu geru*" colour mentioned above. Puruṣottama (born A.D. 1756 and died 1856) describes the meeting of Rāmādāsa and Shivaji and Rāmādāsa's giving the *Bhagavā Zēṇḍā* or "*gairikākṛta paṭa*" to Shivaji:

गैरिकाकृपटाङ्गुनं ध्वजं दत्तं प्रगृह्य सः ।
यं यं देशं ययौ राजा स स देशो वशोऽभवत् ॥२३॥

(The *Siva-kāvya* is published by K. N. Sen and J. B. Modak in *Kāvyetiḥāsasamgraha*—1884-87. A MS. of this *kāvya* is in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute—No. 81 of 1907-1915).

The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India (1206-1290 A.D.)

The 'Early Turkish Empire of Delhi' lasted from 1206 to 1290 A.D. It is popularly, but inaccurately, called the 'Slave Dynasty' and is sometimes also known as the 'Pathān' or 'Afghān Dynasty'; all these terms are misnomers. Contemporary as well as the later authorities do not contain a word with regard to such appellations, for which European writers are alone responsible. The rulers of the 'Early Turkish Empire of Delhi' were styled by contemporary historians as Mu'izzī, Qutbī, Shamsī and Balbanī kings, after the names of the prominent sovereigns, who placed themselves first on the throne from Sulṭān Shahābuddin of Ghor to Sulṭān Mu'izzuddin Kaiqabād.¹ There is no doubt that they had been, at the outset of their careers, slaves, or slaves of such slaves or sons and daughter of slaves. Nevertheless, 'slave' and 'king' are contradictory in terms; a slave is no longer a slave when he is manumitted by his master, and no slave could ascend a throne unless he had obtained a letter of manumission (*Khatti-āzādī*) from his master. Sulṭān Qutbuddin Aiybek was sent a letter of manumission and a canopy of state by Sulṭān Mahmūd, the nephew and successor of his master, Sulṭān Shahābuddin of Ghor,² Qutbuddin's slave and successor, Sulṭān Shamsuddin Iltutmish got his freedom from his master before the latter's death.³ The successors of Iltutmish were not slaves, but the Sulṭān's own sons and daughter. The next ruler, Balban belonged to the 'forty Turkish slaves of Iltutmish' better known as 'Chahelgānī' or 'Forty', and was liberated along with them.⁴ Sulṭān Mu'izzuddin Kaiqabād, the last

1 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, pp. 135, 157, 164.

2 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, p. 140.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 170.

4 Zia Berni, *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhi*, p. 26.

of the Dynasty, was Balban's grandson. It is clear, therefore, that none of these rulers was a slave when they ascended the throne.

Secondly, they were Turks and not Afghāns or 'Pathāns,' Qutbuddin was brought from Turkistān and sold to Qāzi Fakhrud-dīn 'Abdul Aziz Kūfī.' "Even if the Turks have no status, nobility, or position of their own", says the author of the *Nisbat Nāmā*, "it is a source of pride, for the king of Islām (i.e. Qutbuddin) is a Turk."⁵ Both Iltutmish and Balban belonged to the renowned Albarī tribe of Turkistān.⁶ Further all the Sultans did not belong to any one dynasty.

The Turkistān of the mediæval historians was an extensive country; it was bounded on the east by China, on the west by Rūm, on the north the walls of 'Yājūj and Mājūj' (Gog & Magog) and on the south by the mountains of Hindustān;⁷ and was famous for its rare and precious products such as musk, rich cloth, fur, horses and camels. The Turks, as a people, were divisible into two sections—the civilised town-dwellers and the backward migratory tribes, still trekking across the desert or wilderness, between whom there was often a good deal of friction. The development of the Turkish race cannot be discussed here. But the following remarks of Fakhruddin Mubārak Shāh may be noticed in passing. "The Turks possessed books and alphabet of their own, knew logic and astronomy and taught their children how to read and write." The Turks living in the forest of Lūrā (Lawra) had peculiar customs, and whenever a son was born to them, they used to place a dagger by his side so that when he grew young he might make it a means of his occupation. Some burnt their dead, others buried them in earth."⁸ He also mentions a quaint totemic survival: "All men lived on one

5 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, p. 138.

6 Sir E. D. Ross, *Tārikh-i-Fakhruddin Mubārak Shāh*, p. 37.

7 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, pp. 166 & 281.

8 Sir E. D. Ross, *op cit.*, p. 38.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 44.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

side of the river and all women on the other, and no system of marriage prevailed. However, a night was fixed in the year, when women crossed the river and went over to the men and returned to their original homes the next morning. With the exception of that particular night, no man at any time was allowed to visit a woman, and if he did, his teeth and his nails were cut off and he was put to death. ”¹¹

The various tribes of the Mongolian race—Turks, Tātārs, Turkomen, Tibetans, Chinese and Mongols extended from Anatoliā to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. With the extension of the Muslim frontier to the north and west of Persia, one Turkish tribe after another came under subjection, and attracted the attention of their conquerors by the bravery of their men and beauty of their women. Alone among the unbelievers converted to Islām, the Turks did not hanker after their original homes and relations, and turned out to be orthodox Mussalmāns and zealous warriors.¹² Also unlike other races, the Turks enjoyed no special power or prestige so long as they remained in their homelands, but when they migrated to foreign countries, their status increased and they became *Amirs* and generals. “Since the dawn of creation upto the present day,” says the author of the *Nisbat Nāmāh*, “no slave bought at a price has ever become a king except among the Turks.”¹³ Afrāsiāb, a legendary Turkish king, is said to have remarked that “the Turk is like a pearl in its shell at the bottom of the sea, which, when it leaves the sea, becomes valuable and adorns the diadems of kings and the cars of brides.”¹⁴

Thus the period under review is marked by the ascendancy of Turks, who had slowly and steadily replaced the Persians from the ordinary post of royal body-guard to the highest officers of the state, and through sheer force of military efficiency became the absolute

11 Sir E. D. Ross, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 41.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 36.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

14 *Ibid.*; p. 37.

masters of the 'Abbāside Caliphate. It is interesting to recall how Mu'tasim took the fatal step of introducing the Turkish element in the army. The fact that the Turks were the virtual masters of the Caliphate can be well illustrated by a story related by the author of *al-Fakhri Ibn Tiqtaqā*, who says, "The courtiers of Mu'tazz summoned the astrologers and asked them how long his Caliphate would endure. A wit present in the gathering said, 'so long as the Turks please'; and every one present laughed."¹⁵

A despotic form of government cannot exist long without an efficient bureaucratic machinery for its executive work, and it was soon discovered that the young slaves brought from Turkistān and Māwaraon Nehr formed an excellent material for such a corps. While the bureaucracy owed its classification from the decimal system of the Turks, its origin may, however, be traced to the slaves purchased and trained by the 'minor dynasties' of Persia from the time of the Sāmānide. Slave trade thus became one of the most profitable business ventures of the age. The slave dealers left no stone unturned in the selection and training of Turkish slaves and they were handsomely paid for their investment and labour. The best slaves were purchased by kings and princes and had prospects in life, which were denied to free-born subjects.

The great quality of a Turkish slave was the efficiency of his work. Starting with an education, which was seldom within the reach of middle-class free man, he gradually won his way up the strings of the bureaucratic ladder. In those days of anarchy and confusion, governments were not stable; provincial governors were too prone to declare independence and their subordinate officers followed their example. A bureaucracy of Turkish slaves was the only remedy possible. Torn away from his tribe and kinsmen and stranger in a strange land, no consideration interfered with his devo-

¹⁵ Ibn at Tiqtaqa, p. 333.

tion to his master's person. His whole course of training inculcated loyalty and submission. The slave was the property of his master; for him there was honour in bondage. Though the Apostle had commanded the slave to be clothed and fed like the master,¹⁶ he, nevertheless, fell legally in his master's power. Every sphere of his life, public or private, was under the personal control of the monarch. He could neither marry nor hold pleasure parties nor even visit his fellow-officers without the master's consent. And curiously enough, when he died, he was inherited not by his sons but by the monarch, who, as a compensation, looked after the children of the deceased slave-officer and very often employed them in his service. Consequently, the progress of a slave depended upon the degree of loyalty he showed to his master. And to be a slave of the king constituted a special title of respect.¹⁷ "The slave of today is the Sultān of tomorrow" was a time-honoured proverb. Everything depended upon his merit, intellect, sagacity and skill, and should he be found wanting at any stage, his fate was sealed. No favour or partiality was shown; those who were really competent

16 *العبد رعا في بده امواله ** (the slave and what he possesses is the property of his master).

17 In Arabic slave is called 'Abd (عبد) or Mamlūk (مملوك). The term used in the *Qurān* for slaves is *مملكات ايمانكم ** (That which your right hand possesses). The commandments of the *Qurān* with regard to slavery are as follows: -

"Honour God and be kind.....even to your slaves" ch. IV. 40. "And slaves, who crave a writing (i.e. a document of freedom) write it out for them, if ye know any good in them" ch. XXIV, 33.

Mishkātul Masālib, *Sahibul Bokhārī* and *Sahibul Muslim* account as follows:— "When a slave of yours has money to redeem his bond, then you must not allow him to come into your presence any more."

It is incumbent upon the master of the slaves to find them victuals and clothes. "The Prophet strictly enjoined the duty of kindness to slaves. Feed your Mamlūks," said he, "with food which ye eat, and clothe them with such clothing as ye wear, and command them not to do that, which they are unable to do."

rose from the humble post of *Khāsādār* (king's personal attendant,) to positions of power and sovereignty.¹⁸ Merit and not favouritism was the test and the slave-system, in a way, secured the survival of the fittest.

The career of Sultān Shahābuddin of Ghor is generally dismissed as a side-issue in the general history of Muslim Asia. His defeat at *Andkhud*¹⁹ spoiled his reputation, and his former conquests presented an insignificant and hollow contrast to the extensive empire established by the Mongols in Asia or Europe. For part of the oblivion that has befallen him, Shahābuddin Ghori is himself to blame. Unlike many other warriors, he was no patron of letters, had no cultured court, no society of educated men. Still he was a man of action, full of life and energy and unfailing resources. His success in life was due to an insatiable ambition backed by a tenacity of purpose, such as few men have ever possessed. His real achievement lay not in his conquests but in the organisation of a system, according to which his generals and descendants continued to govern Hindustān for about a century after his death. When during the latter part of Shahābuddin's reign, a bold courtier condoled²⁰ him on the lack of a male off-spring the Sultan contended himself by saying that he had several sons, *i.e.*, Turkish slaves, to rule after his death. But for his slaves, there would have been, perhaps, no Turkish rule in India. The example of the gallant Sultān Shahābuddin of Ghor bred heroic followers and his slaves Tājuddin Yilduz, Nāsiruddin Qabāchāh and Qutbuddin Aiybek rose to power and command in the Afghān mountains, on the Indus and at Delhi respectively.

The Turkish government of the thirteenth century was composed of several elements, borrowed from various countries. The

¹⁸ Examples of Qutubuddin Aiybek, Shamsuddin Iltutmish and Ghiāsuddin Balban may be cited in this connection.

¹⁹ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, p. 123.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 131, 132.

king and his courtiers breathed the atmosphere of Persian paganism;²¹ the army was organised after the manners of the Mongols and the Turks, and below the central government was the old Hindū system of local government. The Indian Empire, which the early Turkish Sultāns inherited from their master was a 'flimsy structure.' Unloved by the people and dependent on a Turkish oligarchy, it had neither the material strength nor the moral prestige, requisite of a permanent government. But the emperor-sultāns of Delhi knew of no legal limitations to their power. Practical limitations there were—riots, civil wars, palace intrigues, disloyalty of the officers and above all an armed and militant class of the subject-races. However, the will of the Emperor was very often, really, supreme over all causes, judicial or administrative.

Medieval kingship was a hybrid institution, un-Islamic and non-Hindu. Muḥmūd of Ghaznī, Shahābuddin of Ghor and Shamsuddin Iltutmish were not inspired by the democratic ideals of the early Saracens. The Muslim Caliph was elected by the faithful; his power originated from the people below and not from God above. But the Sāssānian emperors of Persia had claimed 'divinity' and an exclusive right of their family to the throne. The Muslim king, on the other hand, was symbolically the 'shadow of God on earth.' (*Zillullāh*), and not a divine incarnation. Yet the medieval kingship was essentially a secular institution; its power was based on Persian tradition²² and not on Islamic law.

In spite of its limitations the 'new monarchy' fared well for sometime. The death of Shahābuddin and the extinction of his dynasty left his slaves and officers without a master, and the tie of 'salt and sonship' was broken. As a consequence, a triangular duel commenced between Qutubddin Aiybek of Delhi, Nāsiruddīn Qabāchāh of Sindh and Tājuddīn Yilduz of

21 Zia Berni, *Tārīkh-i-Firoz Shāhi*, p. 26.

22 *Ibid.*

Ghaznī,²³ and when the Mongols snatched away the dominion of Tājuddīn and Ilutūmish and overpowered Nāsīruddīn, the Turkish slave-aristocrats took to intriguing against one another. Their object as a class was two-fold—first, to prevent the crown from becoming too powerful and, secondly, to monopolise the offices of government. As a result of the mystic propaganda of the *Chishtis* and the *Subwardis*, a large number of Hindus had been converted to Islām by the end of the thirteenth century, and the *shari'at* of Islam gave an equal status to all Mussalmāns. But the Turkish aristocracy strictly forbade an equal treatment, and held the new Muslims in scorn and contempt.

The Turkish officers were successful at first, and to a large extent held the crown in check. Qutūddīn died without suppressing his rivals.²⁴ Shamsuddīn Ilutūmish could, with great difficulty, retain his storm-tossed throne, but his sons were set up and pulled down with bewildering rapidity and the heroic Raziyyā gave up her life in a vain attempt to subdue the spirit of aristocratic lawlessness.²⁵ The Turkish officers struck both at the crown and the people, and were themselves divided into bitter factions. Every one of them said to the other what art thou? and what shall thou be, that I shall not be.²⁶ Thus the reigns following the death of Ilutūmish were very much disturbed by the rivalry and insubordination of Turkish Maliks. All was panic and confusion, and Delhi became the scene of a series of tragedies. To reform the corrupt condition of the kingdom and to infuse fresh vigour into the government, Balban resolved upon devising more effective schemes. For the rebellious Maliks and Amīrs, he thought, the assassin's dagger or poison was the only remedy possible, and got

23 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, p. 40. 24 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, pp. 140-141

25 *Ibid.*, p. 190. "اے دیس قوی کہ مرے نہ ام تو کہہ باشی کہ مرے نباشم"

26 Zia Berni, *Tārīkh-i-Firoz Shāhī*, p. 28

rid of most of the 'Forty' by a liberal use of both, and in order to infuse into the remnant a sense of their inferiority, he made them stand motionless in his presence with folded arms and humiliated them with petty rules of etiquette. Frequent executions and even massacres restored the loyalty of the people and their governors, and the state slowly recovered from its ruinous condition.²⁷

Balban was after all a Turk, and desired the subjection, not the annihilation, of the aristocracy. Soon after his death, the Turkish officers again began their factious intrigues. Balban's grandson was a pleasure-loving, mild, cultivated and humane prince. He gave himself up to the pleasures of the senses, indulged in gross vices and never shook off sloth and luxury.²⁸ The officers abandoned every pretence of submission to the Sultān's authority, but nevertheless maintained that reckless racial vanity was the medieval birth right of the Turks. The family of Balban was to some extent their rallying point. But circumstances had changed, the Khilji opposition was strong and the revolutionary forces, strengthened by an ever increasing number of converts, were gaining ascendancy. The Turkish Amīrs, though divided in many groups, were unified by a common hatred of the Khiljis. To the proposed insensate persecution of the Turks, the Khiljis replied with the assassin's dagger.²⁹ The feeble representation of the once mighty empire³⁰ of Delhi offered an easy prey to the hardy warriors of the Khilji clan and their low-born Indo-Muslim supporters. One by one the Turkish Amīrs were assassinated, and Mu'izzuddin Kaiqabād was murdered in the Kailū-gheri palace.

27 Ziā Berni, *Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhi*, pp. 26 ff.

28 *Qirān-us-Sa'idain*, p. 56.

29 Compare for example a رباعی sent by Bābar to the ruler of Biānā.

با ترک ستمگران ممکن اے میر بیانہ * چالاکی و مردانگی ترک عیان است
گر زرد نیائی و نصیحت نہ کنی گوش * آنرا کہ عیان است چہ حاجت زیباں است

30 Badāuni, pp. 163, 164; *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, pp. 60, 61.

With him the 'Early Turkish Empire' came to an end.³¹ The revolution was complete. The government had passed from the foreign Turks to the Indian Mussalmans and their Hindu allies. India was henceforth to be governed by administrators sprung from the soil. The new aristocracy had not its origin in slavery, but all the servile conditions were imposed upon servants recruited from a free-born population by the ruthless 'Alāuddīn Khiljī, and with the Khiljī revolution the period with which we are concerned comes to a close.

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31 Zia Berni, *Tārīkh-i-Firoz Shāhī*, p. 173.

Vāsudeva Śārvabhauma

Vāsudeva Śārvabhauma was by tradition the foremost scholar of his days in Bengal. An authentic account of this great man as of other Sanskrit scholars of Bengal is yet a desideratum. The only scholarly notice about him was taken by Mm. Gopīnātha Kavirāja in his famous study on the History and Bibliography of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika.¹ We shall attempt a review of the learned but short note of Mm. Kavirāja, adding a few scraps and details.

Vāsudeva belonged to the *Vandya* family as stated by himself. A distinguished scion of this family, Ākhaṇḍala by name, ranked among the foremost *Rādhiya Kulinas* of his days and figured in the 14th Samikaraṇa or Peerage List, which evidently refers to about 1300 A.D.² It is not clearly stated in the books on genealogy how his descendants lost their rank and turned *Vaṁśājas*. Throughout the province of Bengal there are numerous families who claim descent from this Ākhaṇḍala and sometimes incidentally from Vāsudeva also, but none of them are able to substantiate their claims.³ The late Mr. N. N. Vasu published a pedigree of this family on the basis of a single Ms.,⁴ but it is in hopeless conflict with the authentic history of one famous line of this family, the *Naldanga Raj*,⁵ and cannot thus be relied upon, though hitherto almost every scholar has pinned his faith on this pedigree. Vāsudeva was born at

1 *Saraswati Bhavana Studies*, vol. IV, pp. 61-69.

2 *Mahāvamśa* by Dhruvānanda, Ed. N. N. Vasu, p. 14.

3 It becomes all the more difficult to trace a genuine Ākhaṇḍala family, as according to the famous genealogist Nulo Pañcānana (*vide* his poem published in the *Sambandhanirṇaya, Pariśiṣṭa, Vaṁśāvali*, p. 126) it was usual for the Banerjees of doubtful origin to fix upon *Ākhaṇḍala* as their ancestor.

4 *Castes and Sects of Bengal*, by N. N. Vasu, vol. I, part I (2nd Ed.) pp. 248-49 & 255.

5 S. C. Mitra: *Hist. of Jessore and Khulna*, vol. II, pp. 460-62.

Navadvīpa" and there is almost a universal tradition current thereabouts that the Banerjees of village Ārbāndi in the district of Nadia are descended from Vāsudeva. We had occasion to examine the interesting records of this distinguished family which descends lineally from Mahāmahopādhyāya Govinda Nyāyavāgiśa (c. 1660 A.D.), but Govinda's descent from Vāsudeva could not be verified and remains yet uncertain. As it is, the question remains open whether Vāsudeva's family is still surviving in Bengal or not.⁷

At the present state of our knowledge we are able to start only with the name of Vāsudeva's father, Narahari Viśārada, who is thus referred to by his son in his commentary on the *Advaitamakaranda*:

শ্রীবন্দ্যন্বয়কৈরবাস্তুত্বচো বেদান্তবিদ্যাময়াত্

মদ্রাচার্য্যবিশারদান্নরহরেয্য()প্রাপ মাগীরথী ।

The second line according to our interpretation gives us the names of Vāsudeva's parents, Narahari and Bhāgīrathī.⁸ Narahari

6 Cf. *Sābitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 1317 B.E., p. 225:

তথাহী জম্মিলা সার্বভৌম ভট্টাচার্য্য ।

গৌড়মণ্ডলে যত পণ্ডিতের বর্ষ্য ॥

7 We are indebted to Messrs. A. C. Banerjee & Narayanadas Banerjee for giving us facilities to examine their family records at Ārbāndi. A printed copy of another family from vill. Tarā in Manikgunje, Dacca, has come to our hands, but the pedigree, though showing a 'Viśārada' and one of his sons a childless 'Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma', gives us none of the other famous names of the family.

8 MM. Phanibhūṣaṇa Tarkavāgiśa, whom we had consulted on the point believes the correct reading to be 'য: প্রাপ মাগীরথী' i.e. the family migrated to the banks of the Ganges from the time of Narahari. He surmises on the authority of the *Nadiā-kāhinī* (p. 157 f.n.) that Narahari Viśārada was Vāsudeva's grand-father and Maheśvara, also a Viśārada, was his father. That both the father and the son shared the same title is a very doubtful proposition. As we had stated above, no family exists who can correctly state their pedigree from Vāsudeva, not to speak of remoter ancestors. So the statement in *Nadiā-kāhinī* is only a careless surmise, not pressed, as we find, in the body of the book (p. 110). MM. Tarkavāgiśa regards the wording of Vāsudeva's reference to his parents as 'clumsy.' The wording, however, is not unique and we cite one parallel line that presently occurs to us: 'गौर्ध्या गिरीशादिव कालिकेयो, यो धीरया चन्द्रपतेरलम्भि' (आलोकदर्पण of Maheśa). Moreover,

seems to have had another name Maheśvara which occurs in Caitanya literature. He was also a great man of his age. Vāsudeva's grandson Svapneśvara in the concluding verse of his famous *Bhāṣya* on the *Sāṅḍilya Sūtras* extols him as 'famous in the whole of Bengal' :

গৌড়চন্দ্রাবলয়ে বিশারদ ইতি খ্যাতাদভূদ্ভূমণেঃ
সর্ব্বোর্ব্বাপতি-সার্ব্বভৌম-পদমাক্ প্রজ্ঞাবতামগ্রণীঃ ।
তস্মাদাস জলেশ্বরো বৃধবরঃ সেনাধিপঃ চন্দ্রাবতী
স্বপ্নেশেন কৃতং তদজ্জজুশা সদ্ধক্তিমোমাংসনম্ ॥

Vāsudeva's son Vāhinipati in the 2nd introductory verse of his commentary on the *Śabdāloka* describes him as an incarnation of Viṣṇu : (Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Ms. No. 358, Benares Sans. College)

কংসরিপোরবতারে বংশে বৈশারদে জাত-
মুত্সং খলু পুংসা() তং বন্দে সার্ব্বভৌমাত্ম্যং ॥

An important personal fact about Viśārada has been recorded by Vaiṣṇava writers viz. he was the class-fellow of Caitanya's maternal grand-father Nilāmbara Cakravartī," who must have been born about 1420 A.D. inasmuch as Caitany's mother Śacī Devī (b. c. 1445 A.D.) had lost 7 or 8 daughters before her first son Viśvarūpa was born (c. 1475 A.D.). Viśārada was also apparently of about the same age and his son Vāsudeva was born about 1450 A.D.

An oversight on the part of the late MM. Vindhyeśvariprasāda of the Benares Sanskrit College led Mm. Kavirāja to surmise that Maheśvara, identical with Vāsudeva's father, was the author of a commentary on the *Cintāmaṇi*, of which a fragment exists in Ms. in the library of the Benares Sanskrit College. We examined this ms. with the kind permission of the present Principal Dr. Śāstri and

Viśārada has been mentioned by many subsequent descendants by his title alone, but nowhere there is the remotest suggestion that we have to count two Viśāradas, a father and a son.

9 *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, *Madhya*, Chap. vi:—

সার্ব্বভৌম কহে নীলাম্বর চক্রবর্তী ।
বিশারদের সমাধায়ী—এই তাঁর খ্যাতি ॥

it proves to be a good copy without beginning or end of the *Āloka-darpaṇa* (*Pratyakṣa-khaṇḍa*) of Maheśa Ṭhakkura. Fortunately there are two other mss. of the same work both with the beginning in that library, with which we have successfully compared the ms. of the so-called *Pratyakṣa-maṇi-Māheśvarī* (Ms. No. 301 of the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika*). In the very beginning of the latter Ms. we read : —मणिनामधारणोपयोगिमणिसारूप्यमाह यन इति । प्रसङ्गादिति स्मृतस्योपेक्षानर्हत्वादित्यर्थः । केचिदिहोपोद्धातः सङ्गतिः निष्फलस्य उक्त्यसम्भवेन उक्तसिद्धार्थत्वादितच्चिन्ताया इत्याहुः । This passage exactly corresponds with ll. 7-8, fol. 2a of Ms. No 351 and with ll. 2-3, fol. 3a of Ms. No. 350 of the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika*. On fol. 42b of the Ms. No. 301 there is a quotation from Pragalbha corresponding to l. 1 of fol. 44a of Ms. No 351.

A Viśārada, most probably identical with Vāsudeva's father, had written a treatise on *Smṛti*, cited among others by Govindānanda and Raghunandana. We shall refer to another writer who has frequently quoted from this long-lost work of Viśārada—Haridāsa Tarkācārya *alias* Rāmacandra Nyāyavācaspati, author of a commentary (*Pradīpa*) on the *Śrāddhāviveka* of *Śūlapāṇi*.¹⁰ His date is beyond question as the following sentence of his commentry will

अत एव चतुर्विंशत्यधिक-चतुर्दशशके संवत्सरे मधुमासेऽपि मलमासोऽस्माभिर्दृष्टिः

मलमासत्वेनेव व्यवस्थापितश्चास्मद्गुरु-धरणीधराचार्यमिहचरणैः ॥ (fol. 30^b)

The year 1424 Śaka is also mentioned similarly by Govindānanda¹¹ and following him Śrīkṛṣṇa Tarkālāṅkāra, but both of them mention in addition the year 1443 Śaka (when there was a *malamāsa* in Kārtika), which, therefore, very probably falls after the date of composition of Haridāsa's *Ṭākā*.¹² Of the dozen references to Viśā-

10 Sanskrit Ms. No. 1591 of the *Vangīya Sabītya Parisad*, Calcutta.

11 *Suddhikaumudī* (Bibl. Ind. Ed.), p. 268.

12 A *Smṛti* Ms. of L.S. 399 (1513 A.D.) bears the superscript (fol. 46a)

‘श्रीरामचन्द्रभट्टाचार्यवाचस्पतीनां नवद्वीपनिवासिनां पुस्त्रीयम् ।’

(*Descr. Cat. of Sans. Mss.*, A.S.B., vol. III, p. 13). He is probably identical with Haridāsa.

rada by Haridāsa we quote the most interesting one, which supplies a sure date for Viśārada :

তথা গৌড়প্রৌঢ়পরিবৃদ্ধে বারবকে রাজ্যং শাসতি সপ্তনবল্যধিকত্বয়োদশশতানীমিতশকাব্দে
চান্দ্রাশ্বিনমংকান্তি কৃৎবা প্রতিপথেব সঁচর্য্য রবেরমাবস্যায়া কুম্ভসংক্রমে প্রতিপদি মীন-
মংকান্তাবেকস্মিনব্দে দ্বয়োঃ মংকান্তিশূন্যত্বং দৃষ্টামিতি বিশারদেনোকঁ (fol. 34^b-35^a)

In several places Viśārada is found opposing the views of Śūlapāṇi while in two places, according to Haridāsa, Śūlapāṇi also anticipated Viśārada :

বিশারদদৃষ্ণং চিন্ত্যং (fol. 33^a)

বিশারদাদিমনং তন্নিযুক্তিকমিতি বহ্যামঃ (fol. 36^a)

বয়োদশে সপ্তিঙনং ন স্যাদিতি বিশারদদৃষ্ণগমাশঙ্ক্যাহ—হেনুরবেতি (fol. 34^a)

বিশারদাদিমতমাশঙ্ক্যাহ—তথেনি (fol. 37^b)

Viśārada may, therefore, be taken as a younger contemporary of Śūlapāṇi and he wrote his work soon after 1476 A.D. It should be noticed that this date does not conflict with the statement of Jayānanda in his *Caitanyamaṅgala* that he repaired to Benares before the birth of Caitanya. We cite the whole passage as it contains a most valuable list of contemporary scholars of Bengal :

বিশারদস্বত্ সাবর্ধভোমভট্টাচাৰ্য্য । সবংশে উৎকল গেলা ছাড়ি গৌড়রাজ্য ॥
উৎকলে প্রতাপরুদ্র ঞ্চক্ষুশ্চয় রাজা । স্বর্ণসিংহাসনে সাবর্ধভোমে কৈল পূজা ॥
তার ভ্রাতা বিছাবাচম্পতি গৌড়ে বসি । বিশারদ নিবাস করিলা বারাণসী ॥
বিছাবিরিকি বিছারণা নবদ্বীপে । ভট্টাচাৰ্য্যশিরোমণি সভাব সমীপে ॥ (p. 7)

The mention of Pratāparudra makes the exact chronology of Jayānanda doubtful but the inclusion of Viśārada in the list makes impossible either to bring them down further than the last decade of the 15th cent. Moreover, when Caitanya met Sārvabhauma at Puri c. 1510 the latter had been long established there already.

Vāsudeva was proficient in all the six systems of philosophy as his verse (No. 99) cited in the *Padyāvali* proves. Vāhinipāṭi who evidently wrote in the lifetime of his father begins his work not

with the usual *maṅgalācarana* but with a magnificent panegyric in two verses upon his father. We have quoted the 2nd verse above and the 1st verse is as follows :

नैगमे वचसि नैपुणं विधेः सार्वभौमपदसाभिधं महः ।

जीर्णतर्कतनुजीवनाषधं जैमिनेर्जयति जङ्गमं यशः ॥

This refers to his proficiency in the *Vedānta*, *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* and *Mīmāṃsā*. He is credited traditionally with the foundation of the *Navya-Nyāya* school of Navadvīpa, where evidently he wrote his commentary on the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*. We had a look into the only existing fragment of this work now preserved in the Benares Sanskrit College. It is of the *Anumānakhaṇḍa* and is unfortunately wanting in 3 folios at the very beginning. It goes right up to the *Bādha* section of the work and is longer than the corresponding portion of the *Didhiti*. We failed to discover the name of the commentary (*Sārāvālī*) written recently on the cover. The marginal superscripts are “चि० सा०,” “सार्व०” or “सार्व० टी”. The peculiar manner of schoolmen of citing the views of their predecessors not *verbatim* but in a very much improved and changed form (‘बहुधा परिष्कुर्वन्’) makes it almost impossible to verify genuine quotations. We are, however, in a position to declare this book as the great work of Sārvabhauma, which was often criticised in the *Didhiti*. We give here results of our investigation on two references.

(i) According to Kṛṣṇadāsa Sārvabhauma (*Anumāna-Didhiti-prasāriṇī*, p. 40) Raghunātha expounds the first definition of the *Vyāpti-pañcaka* as a *Tatpuruṣa* instead of a *Karmadhāraya* to meet an objection of Sārvabhauma: साध्याभावपदवैयर्थ्यमिति सार्वभौमदण्डमुद्धर्तुमाह साध्यवद्विन्ने य इति । The necessity of the 2nd definition is thus stated in the present Ms. (fol. 12a):—

साध्याभावपदस्य वैयर्थ्यमाशङ्क्याह साध्यवदिति ।

(ii) According to most of the commentators Raghunātha stated the views of Sārvabhauma under the heading केचित् in the *Simha-*

vyāghrī, but Raghunātha has changed the wording almost beyond recognition :

Sārvabhauma (fol. 12b): साध्यासामानाधिकरणं साध्यसामानाधिकरण्या-
भावस्तदनधिकरणत्वमित्यर्थः ।

Didhiti: केचित्तु साध्यासामानाधिकरणं हेतुतावच्छेदकसम्बन्धेन हेत्वधिकरणे
तेनैव सम्बन्धेन साध्यवद्भूतत्वाभावस्तदधिकरणमिन्नत्वमर्थः, तेन.....इत्याहुः ।

Fortunately, one of the earliest commentators of the *Didhiti* named Raghunātha Vidyālaṅkāra in his *Anumāna-didhiti-pratibimba* (fragment in the Benares Sanskrit College) clearly noticed this change of wording: (fol. 56b)

ननु सामानाधिकरण्याभावस्तदनधिकरणत्वमित्येवं सार्वभौमोक्तं किमित्युपेक्षितमित्यत आह तेनेति । Mm. Kavirāja has collected the rare references found in this work of Sārvabhauma. Yajñapati is found quoted more frequently than others.¹³ In two places he has quoted the views of his own teacher; these are partly reproduced below :

(i) अत्रात्मदगुरुचरणाः—साध्यतावच्छेदकप्रकारेण प्रकृतसाध्यव्याप्त्यवगाहिपक्षताव-
च्छेदकप्रकारक-पक्षतोपरक-पक्षधर्मतावगाहिजन्यजन्यो साक्षात्कार्यशब्दोऽनुमितिरेत्यर्थः ।
इत्थमपि तु.....इत्याहुः (fol. 8-9)

(ii) अत्रात्मदगुरुचरणाः—धूमादिहेतो व्यञ्जनवत्त्वाद्युपाधितानिरासाय व्यभिचारो-
न्नयनसमर्थत्वे सतीति विशेषणीयं, न चैवं साधनाव्यापकपदवैयर्थ्यं.....इत्याहुः ।
(under *Upādhivāda*, fol. 98b). We are yet unable to identify this teacher. Besides these, he has referred to many other views of unknown scholars under headings like *Uttānāh* (fols. 14a & 20a), '*iti mūrkhā-pralāpo*' (fol. 25a), *kāścid-vipasinmanyō*' (fol. 98b) etc. A perusal of this work leaves an impression that Sārvabhauma cannot be the pioneer of *Navya-nyāya* studies in Bengal as popularly believed. Anachronistic revival of legends was a common thing in medieval days. The current legends connected with the oft-quoted line "किं गवि गोत्वमुतागवि गोत्वम्" are ascribed to Gaṅgeśa, but Vācaspati Miśra (15th cent.) has referred it in the *Khaṇḍanoddhāra* far back

¹³ More than a dozen times. Mm. Kavirāja has noted 7 places, we add 5 more: — fol. 39a, 66b, 71a, 80a & 168b.

to Dharmakīrti (p. 149). Similarly, the legends about a forgotten scholar of Bengal who first introduced *Navya-nyāya* here must have been fathered upon Sārvabhauma. He could never have composed his commentary before 1475 A.D. and it is almost absurd, therefore, to suppose that for more than a century the Bengali scholars shut their eyes against the epoch-making work of Gaṅgeśa.

Sārvabhauma left Navadvīpa for Puri apparently before the dawn of the 16th cent. A.D., winning the patronage of Pratāparudra. It is very likely that the meteoric career of his pupil Raghunātha made his position untenable in Bengal and he cleverly sought foreign laurels. His long residence at Puri is marked by two notable events—the composition of the commentary on the *Advaita-makaranda* of Lakṣmīdhara and his so-called conversion to the cult of Caitanya. The commentary was written at the instance of Śrīkūrma Vidyādhara, a minister of Pratāparudra, to whom it is dedicated with the following words:

कर्णाटेश्वर-कृष्णारायणपतेर्गर्वाग्मिनिर्वापके
यत् न्यस्तभरोऽभवद् गजपतिः श्रीरुद्रभूमीपतिः ।
तस्य ब्रह्मविचारचारुमनसः श्रीकूर्मविद्याधर-
स्यानन्दो मकरन्दशुद्धिविधिना सान्द्रो मयामन्दतः (?) ॥

(L. 2854, concluding verse)

It is a pity that no attempt has yet been made to trace and examine the Ms. of this valuable work of Sārvabhauma, which was written before he came under the influence of Caitanya, as the most uncompromising non-dualism expressed in the *maṅgalācarāṇa* proves:—

देवो निजाज्ञानवशेन साक्षी जीवो मनःस्पन्दितमीश्वरश्च ।
जगन्ति जीवानपि वीक्षते यः स्वस्थः स्वयं ज्योतिरहं स एकः ॥

The first meeting between Caitanya and Sārvabhauma took place according to Vaiṣṇava writers in 1509 A.D. This date must be rejected in view of the fact that in the above-quoted verse of dedication there is a clear reference to a successful conflict with *Kṛṣṇa Rāya* of Vijayanagara whose coronation took place in 1510 A.D.

The latter's campaign against Orissa commenced in 1512 and probably Sārvabhauma wrote the book in 1511. There are conflicting accounts in the Vaiṣṇava works about the so-called conversion of Sārvabhauma by Caitanya, but it is an undoubted fact that for more than two decades he was counted among the staunch admirers of the latter.

Sārvabhauma left Puri before the death of Caitanya. In the last Act of the *Caitanya-candrodaya* of Kavikarṇapūra, in which the events happening in the year of Caitanya's demise have been dramatised, there is the following passage in the mouth of Sārvabhauma: हठादेवाहं वाराणसीं गत्वा भगवन्मतं ग्राहयामीति । This visit of Sārvabhauma to Benares is also mentioned in the table of contents in the *madhya-khaṇḍa* of the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, though, curiously, the incident has been left out in the body of the book. He survived Caitanya and must have passed his last days at Benares, as usual with devout Bengali scholars. A piece of evidence is forthcoming regarding his residence at Benares. Rāmānanda *alias* Caitanyavana, the famous author of a commentary on the *Kāśī-khaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa*, very probably belonged to Bengal, as he frequently gives word-meanings and place-names current in *Gauḍa*.¹⁵

14 In a subsequent passage of the same Act the poet has recorded an important chronological datum viz., there was a 'महाज्येष्ठीयोग' in that year. There are two dates within this quarter of a century when this combination took place—1521 and 1532 A.D. So, according to Kavikarṇapūra, Caitanya died in 1532 A.D. *not* 1533. Kavikarṇapūra is quite consistent here, for in his *Caitanyacaritāmṛta Mahākāvya*, written in 1542 A.D. when he was only 16, he stated that Caitanya died at the age of 47 only, not 48:—

इत्थं चत्वारिंशता सप्तभाजा श्रीगौराङ्गो हायनानां क्रमेण ।

नानालीलालास्यमासाद्य भूमौ कीडन् धाम स्वं ततोऽसौ जगाम ॥ (Canto XX, v. 41).

15 E.g. (reference to the 2nd Bombay edition of 1829 Śaka)

Vol. I, p. 7 तवत्यो लबावल्लीति गौडे प्रसिद्धाः ।...मल्लिकाया मालतीति
गौडे प्रसिद्धायाः ।

p. 8 जीयापोता इति गौडे प्रसिद्धाः (re. पुल्लिङ्गः) ।

p. 11 श्रीशैलो...मन्दरमधुसूदनो गौडे प्रसिद्धः ।

His date falls sometime in the 16th cent. A.D. on the following evidence: (i) the earliest Ms. of the work is dated 1705 V.S. i.e. 1648 A.D.¹⁶ (ii) he probably wrote before the destruction of Vijayanagara in 1565 A.D., as he identifies Kaṇṇāṭa with Vidyānagara in his comment on chap. 33, v. 91 (vol. I, p. 212) 'कर्णाटविद्यानगरे'; (iii) the manner of his reference to a passage of Advayāranya's commentary on the *Yoga-vāśiṣṭha* seems to suggest that he was not far removed from the time of the latter: यत्त्वत्त...महाप्रलयसम्पत्तौ...इत्यद्वयारण्य-श्रीचरणौकृतं (p. 3). Advayāranya wrote his commentary at Benares probably in about 1500 A.D. as the earliest Ms. of his work is dated in 1476 Śaka i.e. 1554 A.D. and his patron was a certain Kṛṣṇa, Raja of Benares.¹⁷ Now, Rāmānanda wrote his commentary at the instance of a Vāsudeva and during the life-time of a 'Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya.' One of the introductory verses refers to Vāsudeva in the following words: —

श्रीवासुदेवामिधभूसुरेन्द्र-गुणैकरत्नामल-सत्त्ववाङ्मैः ।

वाक्याग्रहेणाहमिह प्रवृत्तः क्षन्तव्यमस्मच्छपलं कृतीन्द्रैः ॥ (v. 7)

In support of a particular version of the Gaṇeśa legend Rāmānanda refers to an interesting local practice at Benares thus:

अत एवेदानीमपि गणेशस्याग्रे श्रीसार्वभौमभट्टाचार्या दाक्षिणात्याश्च स्वकर्णौश्रत्वा शिरो-
धूननं शिरःकुट्टनञ्च कुर्वन्तीति । (p. 1)

We have no hesitation in identifying both the Vāsudevas with the subject of the present paper.

Vāsudeva's son Jaleśvara Vāhinipati Bhaṭṭācārya Mahāpātra was also a renowned scholar. In his commentary on the *Śabdāloka*

p. 23-24 वर्तिका नाववाटयीति गौडे प्रसिद्धं ।...सारिका शालिक् इति प्रसिद्धः ।

p. 41 महालयो महास्थानं गौडे प्रसिद्धं ।

p. 79 गलन्तिका गौडे भूरा इति प्रसिद्धाः ।

p. 237 कूफटिका घाट इति गौडे प्रसिद्धा ।

Haṭhayogapradīpikā is cited more than once (I, 260-66) and once the *Advaitamākaranda* (II, p. 103) which was commented on by Sārvabhauma.

16 Eggeling: *Ind. Office Cat.*, p. 1331.

17 *Des. Cat. Sans. Mss.*, Sans. College, Calcutta, pt. 30, pp. 428-31.

he has referred to two other works of himself.¹⁸ He was apparently connected with the royal court of Orissa as his title '*Mahāpātra*' indicates, but he continued in the matter of social alliance to belong to Bengal. An interesting fact has been recorded by the Bengal genealogists that he deprived a famous *Kulin* of his rank by giving his daughter in marriage to him—a custom that obtained for several centuries among non-*Kulin* aristocracy of Bengal. Jagadānanda Mukhopādhyāya son of Manohara was a foremost *Kulin* of the *Phuliyā Mela* and found place in the 108th *Samikarāna*, where Dhruvānanda (p. 134) recorded the names of his sons as well. His eldest son Ananta had a son Raghu of whom it is thus written : जलेश्वरे ममः परीवर्त्ताभावः¹⁹ This makes Jagadānanda roughly a contemporary of Sārvabhauma and which is quite likely.

Svapneśvara was a worthy son of Jaleśvara. He is best known by his *Bhāṣya* on the *Śāṇḍilya Sūtras* which carried his fame beyond the narrow limits of Bengal. It has been respectfully cited by Bhavadeva Miśra of Mithilā in his own commentary on the same *Sūtras*. Svapneśvara was proficient in all the systems of philosophy; in his *Bhāṣya* he has referred to his works on the Nyāya and the Vedānta thus : प्रमाणविचारोऽस्माभिर्न्यायतत्त्वनिर्णये वेदान्ततत्त्वनिर्णये च निरूपित इति नेह प्रतन्यते । (M. Pal's Ed. pp. 106-7). He also wrote a commentary

18 अधिकं शंखिकरणे (?) प्रपञ्चिनमस्माभिरिति (fol. 28^b, a work on *Mīmāṃsā*) एवं प्रत्ययं विनापीत्यादि छन्द (?) शब्द-प्रकाशटिप्पण्यां प्रपञ्चितं तल्लैवानुसन्धेयाम् (fol. 52^a)

19 Vide *Kulakalpadruma* by Candrakānta Ghaṭaka, Mukha-vaṃśa, p. 95. The alliance, according to another version which is clearly wrong, was formed with Raghu's grandson Vāṇeśvara :— वाणेश्वर—जलेश्वर वाहिणीपतिभट्टस्य कं विं भक्तः, रघौ यदुक्तं तद् यथार्थमिति केचित् । (ib.)

The earlier version is also found in a Ms. of निर्दोषकुलपञ्जिका by Maheśa, which we examined at the Navadvīpa Public Library :—"तत्तुतो रघुरयं जलेश्वरे ममः" (fol. 70^b).

20 Ed. Hṛṣikeśa Śāstri (Cal. 1827 Śaka) pp. 8, 14, 22, 26 ff. This Bhavadeva also wrote a *Vyākhyācandrikā* on the *Vedānta Sūtras* in the reign of Shah Jahan (Ind. Office Cat., p. 730).

(*Prabhā*) on the *Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī*.²¹ Both Svapneśvara and his father Vāhīnipati have not betrayed the slightest attachment to Caitanyism in their works as far as available. This together with the orthodox practices of Vāsudeva himself as indicated by Rāmānanda makes us doubtful if the nature of the so-called conversion of Vāsudeva by Caitanya was really as deep and permanent as the biographers of Caitanya seek to establish. No trace of the subsequent descendants of Sārvabhauma is yet available and the history of his distinguished brother Vidyāvācaspati and his descendants deserves to be treated separately.

According to a universal tradition which has not yet been disproved by any contradictory evidence Raghunātha Śiromaṇi was the pupil of Sārvabhauma, who was, besides, one of the teachers of Sanātana Gosvāmin. No third name is yet forthcoming, though careless gossips include the names of Caitanya, Raghunandana and Kṛṣṇānanda without a shred of evidence. Vāsudeva should be distinguished from his numerous namesakes, notably the father of the grammarian Durgādāsa of the *Mugdhabodha* school. The latter belonged to the *Gāṅguli* family and his descendants still survive in a village of the Nadia district.²²

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21 Hall: *Contributions*, p. 6.

22 Kānticaṇḍra Rāḍḍi, *Ṇavadvīpa-mahimā*, 2nd Ed., 1344 B.E. p. 157.

The Wife in the Vedic Ritual

The twin usages of polygamy¹ and polyandry have both been known in India from time immemorial in varying degrees. Brāhmaṇas have never advocated either of this—monogamy being always the ideal. The dogmatic explanations of the *Taittiriya Saṃhitā*,² *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*³ and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*⁴ about a man having more than one wife and a woman having only one husband draw our attention to what prevailed in some part of the country and not what the *Brāhmaṇas* recommended. The unconditional union of heart and soul—serene, solemn and sublime of the husband and wife,⁵ the application of love-charms by the wife for having the husband as her own and other mutual solicitations for constancy in love⁶ and the aspired “Cākṛavākam saṃvānanam” mentioned by the *Gṛhyasūtras* in connection with the marriage,⁷ *Caturthikarma*⁸ and the *Garbhādhāna*⁹ cannot but lead to the conclusion that monogamy is the ideal of the society.

The first wife only is the *patnī* in the fullest sense of the term. She is the *dharmapatnī* while even the second wife (and naturally all other wives) is meant for sexual satisfaction only; a second wife

1 *RV.* X, 146; *AV.*, III, 18 (a charm for having predominance over a rival co-wife); *Ait. Br.* VII. 13 (100 wives); *Sat. Br.* IV, 1, 5, 1 ff. and *Jai. Br.* III, 121 ff.; *Sapatnī* in *St. Petersburg Dict.*; *Pār. GS.* I, 4, 6-10 and corresponding passages in other *Gṛhya* and *Dharma Sūtras*.

2 VI, 6, 4, 3.

3 III, 23; III, 47.

4 IX, 4; 1, 6.

5 *Prānais te prāṇān samdadhāmy asthibhir asthīni māṃsair maṃsāni tvacā tvacam iti* (Mantra used in the *Caturthikarma*), *Pār. GS.* III, 6.

6 *AV.*, II, 30, 2, 5; 36, 4; etc.

7 E.g. *Baudh.GS.*, I, 4, 5, p. 13, ll. 19-20.

8 E.g. *Hir.GS.*, I, 246; p. 49, l. 11-12.

9 *Hir.GS.*, I, 25, p. 50, l. 17. Also see *AV.* XIV, 2, 64.

is entitled to no unseen (*adr̥ṣṭa*) religious merit.¹⁰ A man having several wives is required to observe his religious duties with the first wife only; preference is, however, sometimes given to the *savarnā* wife so much so that even though she may be the youngest, he will observe religious duties with her and in case the *savarnā*, be she the youngest, is not present or unable to attend, the claim would devolve upon one coming from the class immediately lower. A *śūdrā* wife is always to be excluded by a *Brāhmaṇa*.¹¹ According to Manu¹² it is the first wife who is to attend personally and help the husband in his daily religious rites; he cannot show preference to other wives in these matters for fear of being a *Caṇḍāla Brāhmaṇa*. The *Karmakāṇḍa-pradīpa*¹³ also says that only the first wife has the *adbhikāra*. Disparagement of marriages other than the first is expressed in the fact that during the second and following marriages, the polygamist is to marry a pitcher (*kumbha*)¹⁴ or some such thing. According to Yājñavalkya, too, the religious rites should be performed with the first wife of the same caste, not with others.¹⁵ Rites observed for the highest religious merit or salvation are to be observed with the first wife.¹⁶ Highest results (such as obtaining heaven, etc.) may be achieved only if the rite is performed along with the first wife.¹⁷ The wife first married is to be considered as the eldest, not the one who is the eldest of the lot;¹⁸ the *Śat. Br.*¹⁹ says she is the consecrated consort.

Even though other wives are allowed to join in the sacrifice, it is the first wife who performs all the important rites. In the *Darśa-*

10 *Dakṣa-sambhitā*, IV, 14, *Smr. Sam.* p. 79, l. 19 (*Ūna. Sam.* IV, 15, p. 443, ll. 7-8).

11 Viṣṇu XXVI, 1-4, *Ūna. Sam.* p. 66, ll 8 f.

12 Manu IX, 85-86.

13 F. 149b, l. 9 f.

14 *Op. cit.*, p. 150 f.

15 Yājñ. I, 88; cf. *Śān. ŚS.* vol. II, p. 54, ll 4-5.

16 *Sat. ŚS.* vol. I, p. 160, l. 21 "Parārthāni, etc."

17 *Op. cit.*, l. 22, "Sakṛtkṛtam, etc."

18 *Sat. ŚS.* vol. III, p. 695, l. 3 "Jyēṣṭhatvaṃ vivāha-kṛtaṃ na tu vayaskṛtaṃ."

19 VI, 5, 3, 1; p. 541, l. 6, Weber's Ed.

pūrnāmāseṣṭi she trims the fire,²⁰ husks and pounds the rice.²¹ After the Patnisannahara (girding with the yoktrapāśa) and Gārhapatyopasthāna the wives are required to sit to the north of the Gārhapatya; the Mukhyapatni occupies the seat exactly to the north, i.e. the best seat while other wives take their seats somewhere to the north of the Gārhapatya, no doubt, but at a distance from the first wife.²² After the Patnisamyāja the chief is to eat the Idā.²³ If simultaneously God-speed is to be wished now for the husband and the wife, it should be desired for the chief wife²⁴ only. Towards the close of the sacrifice the kuśa grass is removed from the lap of the wife and the cord with which she was girded is loosened; according to the Śāṅkhāyana school,²⁵ only the first wife is to observe these rites. During the utterance of the Sampatniya it is the first wife who is to touch the husband as this act is meant for "Parārtha = Supreme Bliss."²⁶

In the Agnyādihāna and the Agnihotra only the first wife, so long as she is living, is entitled to participate. The newly-married couple establish the sacred fires and observe the Agnihotra in the same fire till the end of the life of one of them. If the first wife is

20 *Āp. ŚS.* I, 6, 12; vol. I, p. 23.

21 Of course, there is provision here that she might be replaced by a Śūdra in pounding. However, no strict regularity seems to be observed in husking or pounding. See *Sat. ŚS.*, p. 132, ll. 17 f.; *Āp. ŚS.*, I, 21, 9. According to *Āp. ŚS.*, *op. cit.*, a Śūdrā is to pound if the rice is to be pounded again; "Anena punahpeṣaṇe dāsyā niyamo varṇyate." If for some reason or other the wife could not be present, the Agnidhra or some other priest might do this for the wife; *Sat. ŚS.*, p. 132, l. 23; *Āp. ŚS.*, I, 20, 13, 70.

22 *Sat. ŚS.*, p. 161, l. 7. "Yathāpradeśaṃ mukhya-patny-upaveśanaṃ samipa itarāśāṃ tām eva dīśāṃ avalambya vyavadhānena, etc."

23 *Baudh. ŚS.*, p. 30, ll. 16.

24 Cf. *Sat. Br.*, I, 9, 2, 14; Weber's Ed., p. 90, ll. 14.

25 I, 15, 10; see Comm. on the same, vol. II, p. 54. According to other authorities, however, all the wives are to observe these rites as they do not think these are meant for Parārtha; *Sat. ŚS.*, p. 228, pratipatni "vedādānāditi gamyate.

26 *Sat. ŚS.*, p. 223, ll. 23-24 "Parārthāny ekena iti, etc."

dead, the widower may marry and establish the fires again. But in no case, after the Agnyādhāna, should the first wife be deprived of her right of participating in the Agnihotra, even if she be deficient in religious performance or in procreation. In course of her assistance in the kindling of the fires she has been for her life associated with and given to the service of these fires.²⁷ The fires are inseparable from her; so long as she is in the house, they are there; when she goes with her husband to a foreign place, they move with her.²⁸ So long as the husband lives without his wife and consequently, without the fires, be it even in the next village, it is nothing but living in a foreign land but when the wife and her constant companions, the Fires, go with him, even the most distant land will not be considered as such (*pravāsa*).²⁹ If in any case the wife does not go with him, he must go without the fires and when he comes back he offers oblations to them but in order that they may be thoroughly pleased, he is to please the wife with his look.³⁰

If a co-wife is left at home, the wife may leave the fires in charge of her, but that would mean that the co-wife would be simply a representative of the wife and nothing more than that. Certainly the wife should take away the fires with her³¹ if it is not simply impossible for her to do so.

27 *Āp.*, II, 5, 11, 13 f; see the Scholiast in particular; *Manu* V, 167-168; *Yāj.* I, 89.

28 *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. I, p.

29 *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 358, l. 2; *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 541, l. 16.

30 *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 543, l. 27.

31 *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 358, l. 11 ff.; note particularly the remark of the Scholiast "Bahubhāryasya ekayā saha bhīve'pi na doṣaḥ"; also vol. II, p. 544 "Bahubhāryasya ekasya api sannidhau na doṣaḥ". The words "na doṣaḥ" in these texts cannot mean otherwise than this, that the (first) wife is the proper person to attend, but in her absence, some other wife might be allowed to do so (but never a *Sūdrā* wife, see our section on the position of the *Sūdrā* wife) and thus be a representative of her.

If the fire goes out, it is the first wife who is to re-kindle it. She should on the preceding day take her food in the day time,³² observe brahmacharya and silence, wear silken garments³³ and towards sunset enter the Gārhapatya house from the south and seat herself to the right of her husband, both facing the east. At the beginning of the sacrifice, when the Adhvaryu offers both the Araṇis to the sacrificer, he places the upper one on his own lap and hands over the lower one to her which she similarly places on her own lap.³⁴ During the night she keeps awake with her husband to keep up the fires.³⁵

Before the Agnihotra actually begins, the wife cleanses the surrounding areas of the fires;³⁶ from the beginning to the end of the sacrifice she remains sitting to the south or the south-east of the Gārhapatya fire.³⁷ There can be no substitute for the first wife in the Agnihotra; nevertheless, she must be present or be considered as virtually present in her shed.³⁸ Whenever the husband offers oblation, he does so for both of them.³⁹ Towards the end of the sacrifice water-libations are offered to the Sarpadevajana, Bhūta and Mahat with either three ladlefuls of water or in three portions from the same ladleful;⁴⁰ the sacrificer then takes another ladleful of water or offers with the remaining portion of the water. Of this water

32 *Sat. Br.*, II, 1, 4, 1.

33 *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. II, p. 528, l. 27.

34 *Kat. ŚS.*, Chow. Ed., p. 298, Sūtras 307-308; *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. II, p. 535, l. 5.

35 *Sat. Br.*, II, 1, 4, 7.

36 *Āp. ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 322, l. 20, Scholiast on 6. 3. 1.

37 *Āp. ŚS.*, VI, 5, 2, vol. I, p. 328, ll. 15-17; cf. *Śāñ. ŚS.*, 2. 7. Behind the Gārhapatya".

38 Compare the remark of the Scholiast on *Āp. ŚS.*, VI, 5, 1, vol. I, p. 328. ll. 12-13.

39 *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. II, p. 529. "Vratabhṛd ahaṃ nāv ubhayor vratam carisyāmi, etc." The same spirit is remarkably seen in the Vājapeya, too; cf. "Patni! svargaṃ rohāvaḥ, etc."

40 *Śāñ. ŚS.*, 2, 10, 5 "Trailham karoti"; *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 354. *Āp. ŚS.*, VI, 12. 4-5; vol. I, pp. 343-44. The *W.YV.* ritual, however, does not refer to this rite; cf. p. 304, Chow. Ed., Sūtras 341-42.

he pours half on Earth and the other half he pours into the hands of the wife. In case of her absence from the sacrifice on account of unavoidable circumstances the whole quantity of the fourth ladleful or of the fourth portion of the same ladleful according to Bharadvāja, is to be twice poured, upon the seat of the wife or the Earth. In no case should this water be poured into the hands of any other wife.⁴² The object of this pouring is to pray for domestic bliss and triumph for and by the wife;⁴³ no other wife than the first is ever entitled to be the mistress of the house.

At the end of the evening oblation the wife together with her husband should observe silence and fast till darkness has set in.⁴⁴

As in the Vaiśvadeva, so in the Varuṇapraghāṣas, it is the first wife who should husk the barley, and deposit the husk for the Avabhṛtha.⁴⁵ She should make the Karambhapātras out of the barley-powder which she should herself make of unfried barley.⁴⁶ Some schools, however, empower her to husk the barley on the previous day, fry them a bit on the Anvahāryapacana, pound them and make Karambhapātras out of the powder.⁴⁷ As a rule, the Adhvaryu and the Pratiprasthātṛ make a ram and a ewe respectively with their sex marks made prominent.⁴⁸ But according to the Vāja-

41 Scholiast on *Sat. ŚS.*, *op. cit.*

42 *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 354, ll. 20 f. "Na ca yajamānapātrāṇisamiskāroyaṃ dvitīyādīśruter āśravaṇād ata eva na pratīpatnī vibhajya ninayanam...sarvagrahaṇāṇ ca pratīpatnyāvṛttinirāsārtham..."; similarly, Scholiast on *Sāṅkhāyana* 2, 10, 5, "Ekavaṇanaṇ ca vivakṣitam, etc."

43 Cf. the Mantra "Gr̥hebhyaṣ tvā gr̥hān jinva", *B. YV.*; "Saṃ tvā sr̥jāmi prajayā dhanena" iti, *RV.*

44 *Āśv. ŚS.*, III, 12, 9, *Bib. Ind.*, p. 50 and 25a; *Āp. ŚS.*, p. 143, ll. 18-22.

45 Scholiast on *Āp. ŚS.*, VIII, 5, 40, vol. II, p. 28.

46 According to several authorities the husband also participates in this; e.g. *Sat. ŚS.*, p. 463, l. 16-21.

47 *Āp. ŚS.*, VIII, 6, 3, vol. II, p. 29; Scholiast, ll. 10 f.

48 *Baudh. ŚS.*, p. 136, ll. 1-16; *Sat. ŚS.*, p. 462, ll. 28-31.

saneya Ritual⁴⁹ the wife should, after having made the Karambhāpātras, make the ram and the ewe, too, of the barley similarly fried and powdered. These rites should be observed by the chief wife alone as these are by no means Strisamśkāras; moreover, in making the ram and the ewe, she is really a substitute of the priests, which other wives cannot be supposed to be. These are Parārthaka rites and as such, only the chief wife should observe them.

After the rite of the declaration of paramours, the wife invokes the Maruts⁵⁰ when she is led by the Pratiprasthātṛ. She is offered the Karambhāpātras⁵¹ in a winnowing basket which she places on her head. Both the sacrificer and the wife⁵² now pass between the altars and seat themselves in front of the Dakṣiṇa fire with their faces towards the west. The wife gives these dishes to the sacrificer which he in his turn places on his head.⁵³ The husband utters the Anuvākya.⁵⁴ Then both the husband and the wife offer oblations to the Maruts⁵⁵ to expiate their sins which they have incurred either in village or the wild, in company or corporeal sense, etc., the dedicatory formula⁵⁶ being pronounced by both. According to Kātyāyana⁵⁷ the mistress alone is entitled to observe this rite. The husband and the (chief) wife now offer thanks to priests and praise

49 As quoted in *Āp. ŚS.*, VIII, 6, 4, vol. II, pp. 29-30; cf. *Baudh. ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 133, l. 12, also quoted by the Scholiast on *Āp.*, *op. cit.*

50 *Tait. Samh.*, I, 8, 3, 6; *Vāj. Samh.*, III, 44, etc.; *Mān. ŚS.*, I, 7, 4, 12, p. 55.

51 According to Baudhāyana these dishes should have been given round the fire; *Baudh. ŚS.*, p. 136, ll. 19, "Abhiparyagnikṛtāni."

52 The wife goes out by the south door, *Baudh. ŚS.*, p. 137, ll. 1-2.

53 *Baudh. ŚS.*, *op. cit.*, ll. 6-7.

54 *Tait. Samh.*, I, 6, 53, cf. I, 8, 3 (c); *Vāj. Samh.*, III, 46; *Baudh. ŚS.*, p. 136 l. 8.

55 "Praghāsasya Marut devatā", *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. II, p. 465, ll. 24-25.

56 *Vāj. Samh.*, III, 47; *Kap. Samh.*, I, 7, p. 35, ll. 21-22; etc., *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. II, p. 465, ll. 21 f. The Adhvaryu might perform this for them while they kept on touching him, ll. 26-27 (*Sat. ŚS.*) *Baudh. ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 137, l. 10; *Mān. ŚS.*, I, 7, 4, 15, p. 55; *Āp. ŚS.*, VIII, 6, 24.

57 Y, 5, II.

their bounteous nature in having kindly undertaken and performed the sacrifice with a delightful voice.⁵⁸

In the Avabhr̥tha it is the chief wife who should wash the back of the sacrificer and he should, in his turn, wash her back, too.⁵⁹ They offer their drenched garments to whomsoever they like.⁶⁰ The chief wife joins the priests and the sacrificer in the Sun-worship, and in adding fresh fuel to the Āhavanīya fire.⁶¹

In the Sākamedha the chief wife cooks the sacrificial food on the Southern Fire and participate later on with all others in eating it.⁶² In the Traĩmbaka oblation after the sacrificer and priests, etc., and the maidens have walked round the fires, she lays fuel on and worships the Gārhapatya.⁶³

In the animal sacrifice the chief wife anoints the surface of the sacrificial post while the sacrificer anoints only the top of it. She rubs all over the post in order to impart to it lustre without omitting to rub any part of it.⁶⁴

The prime duty of the wife in this sacrifice is to wipe the organs of the animal so that its Soul (literally, the lives here) may rest in peace,⁶⁵ and this is done by the chief wife.⁶⁶ Before she proceeds, she, with a water-jar in her hands, worships the Sun.⁶⁷

⁵⁸ Śat. Br̥., II, 5, 2, 29; Mān. ŚS., I, 7, 4, 16; Āp. ŚS., VIII, 6, 25; Sat. ŚS., p. 465, l. 28.

⁵⁹ Āp. ŚS., VIII. 8. 16.

⁶⁰ Āp. ŚS., VIII. 8. 17.

⁶¹ Scholiast on Āp. ŚS., VIII, 8, 18, "Sarvam etat samānam patyuh."

⁶² Āp. ŚS., VIII, 10, 10, vol. II, p. 53; Sat. ŚS., vol. II, p. 473, ll. 5-6 Scholiast "Patnistrikumārā iti Vaikhānaśah".

⁶³ Sat. ŚS., vol. II, p. 469, l. 28.

⁶⁴ Baudh. ŚS., vol. I, p. 114, ll. 6-7.

⁶⁵ Prāṇāpyāyana: "Āpyāyati tatsthānam abhilakṣya apaḥ prakṣipati; prakṣiptolakasthānābhimarśanam āpyāyanam", Scholiast on Satyāśādha, vol. II, p. 424, ll. 21 f.

⁶⁶ Scholiast on Satyāśādha, *op. cit.*, Parārthāny ekena kriyerann iti mukhyā eva abhiṣecanam āpyāyanam karoti; similarly, Scholiast on Āpastamba (I. 8. 17), vol. I, p. 436, ll. 18-19.

⁶⁷ Baudh. Ś., vol. I, p. 118, ll. 7-8; Mān. ŚS., I, 8, 4, 1; Sat. ŚS., vol. II, p. 424, ll. 6 f. "Pūrṇapātradhāraṇam ekasyā eva āpyāyanasthatvāt."

During her advance towards the cātvalā the Pratiprasthātṛ prays for offspring and increase of wealth. Then she propitiates and takes waters from the cātvalā. She also recites mantras for propitiating the sacrifice and then wipes each organ of the animal with appropriate mantras.⁶⁸ According to some, she pours the water on the organs and the Adhvaryu wipes them or he pours water and she wipes them. After cleansing the victim, she purifies herself at the pit along with the utterance of a mantra.⁶⁹

After the Patnisamyāja she offers to the killer the front leg and to the Adhvaryu some front piece.⁷⁰ During the idā-bhakṣaṇa the sacrificer first gives the idā to her and she hands it over to the Adhvaryu or some other priest.⁷¹ The sacrifice ending, while all others worship the Ahavaniya, she adds fresh fuel to and worships the Gārhapatya.⁷²

In the Agniṣṭoma after the offering called Hiranyavati the sacrificer steps into the seven foot-prints of the cow. The wife together with the other wives, the sacrificer and the priests sit round the seventh foot-print wherein a piece of gold is laid. After due offerings the Adhvaryu takes one-third portion of the dust from there and hands it over to the sacrificer with the blessings for the latter's wealth. The sacrificer gives it to the chief wife⁷³ so that she may

68 *Tait. Samh.*, I, 3, 9; *Kat. Samh.*, III, 6; *Kap. Samh.*, II, 13, (pp. 21-22); *Mait. Samh.*, I, 2, 16; *Vāj. Samh.*, VI, 14-16; *Āp. ŚS.*, VII, 18, 17, vol. I, p. 436, ll. 21 f.; *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. II, p. 424; *Man. ŚS.*, I, 8, 4, p. 68; *Baudh. ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 118, ll. 12 f. It remains doubtful who, the sacrificer and the Adhvaryu or the sacrificer and the wife, should use, *Vāj. Samh.*, VI, 15-16. For the reasons why the wife should wipe the organs, see *Sat. Brā.*, III, 6, 2, 5.

69 *Vāj. Samh.*, VI, 17; *AV.*, VII, 89, 3; *Kāt. ŚS.*, Chow. ed., p. 398, *Sūtra* 146; *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. II, p. 424, ll. 16 f.

70 *Sat. ŚS.*, *op. cit.* p. 443, ll. 11.

71 *Āp. ŚS.*, VII, 27, 12, vol. I, p. 463.

72 *Sat. ŚS.*, *op. cit.*, p. 444, ll. 11-12; cf. *Āp. ŚS.*, VII, 27, 16, vol. I, p. 464, according to which she is to have a wash, worship the Sun and the *Āhavanīya*.

73 Scholiast on *Āp. ŚS.*, X, 23, 4 "Patnyaneekatve api mahiṣyāḥ prayacchati nidhanārthatvāt;" similarly, Scholiast on *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. III, p. 629, ll. 11-12 "Nidha

have wealth; while it is being given to her she prays that she may not be deprived of wealth. She preserves the dust in her own residence or in one of the three sheds, viz. Prāgvaṁśa-sālā, Patnī-sālā and Vāhya-sālā.⁷¹

It seems only the first wife should hold on to the cart from behind;⁷² because this is no Patnī-saṁskāra. By this rite the chief wife, as the mistress of the household gear and as the approver of her husband's gift⁷³ honours the king Soma as a very worthy guest when he is brought forward on a car. While she does so, the Adhvaryu offers the water libations to the guest Soma. Or she may herself with her own hands make the offering or while the priest offers, she may present to the guest the Vaiṣṇava Navakapāla with her own hands.⁷⁴

It is the chief wife who anoints the axles of the Soma-carts;⁷⁵ the object is to have children with heroic deeds.⁷⁶ While the Adhvaryu walks out of the hall by the front door with clarified butter taken a second time in four ladlings, the sacrificer's wife is

nārthatvād asaṁskārakarmatvāc ca;" *Baudh. ŚS.*, p. 170, l. 5. According to the Scholiast on *Kāt. ŚS.*, sūtras 176-177, p. 449, Chow. ed., the adhvaryu gives her the dust and the Nestṛ makes her recite the Mantra; *Sat. Brā.*, III, 3, 1, 12; *Tait. Saṁh.*, VI, 1, 8, 5; etc. etc.

74 *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. III, p. 630, ll. 10 f., specially, the Scholiast; *Āp. ŚS.*, X, 23, 10.

75 *Āp. ŚS.*, X, 30, 5; *Sat. ŚS.*, p. 652, ll. 8-11; *Baudh. ŚS.*, VI, 16, vol. I, p. 174, ll. 14-15. "Apaḥ praṇiya ātithyaṁ nirvapaty anvārabdhāyāṁ patnyām," *Kāt. ŚS.*, Chow. ed., sūtra 2, vol. I, p. 463.

76 Cf. *Tait. Saṁh.*, VI, 2, 1.

77 *Āp. ŚS.*, X, 30, 5-6, vol. II, p. 288, ll. 9 f.; Scholiast "Yadi patnyā hastena nirvāpas tadā hasto 'gnihoṭrahavanadharmān labhate." *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. III, p. 652, ll. 23; 653, ll. 11.

78 Scholiast on *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. III, p. 695, ll. 28 f. "Mukhyā eva anakti; Scholiast on *Āp. ŚS.*, XI, 6, 4, vol. II, p. 309 "Patnyanekatve'pi mukhyā upānakti. Akṣasaṁskāratvāt," *Baudh. ŚS.*, VI, 24, vol. I, p. 184, ll. 12 f.; *Kāt. ŚS.*, VIII, 82 f.; p. 480, ll. 5 ff., Chow. ed.

79 Cf. the Mantra "No viro jāyatām, etc."

led by the South.⁸⁰ The Adhvaryu lays down a piece of gold in the right wheel of the southern cart and makes offerings; he pours the residue of clarified butter into her folded palms. According to Baudhāyana,⁸¹ she mixes half of the dust of the third foot-print with it. Then she anoints the right axle of the southern cart with her right hand.⁸² According to Āpastamba,⁸³ she may anoint this axle twice. Now, in order that she may anoint the axle of the northern car, she is made to walk round by the back of the Gārhapatya fire to the wheel-tracks on the north side. This time, the assistant of the Adhvaryu observes the same rites as the Adhvaryu in the previous case, and pours the residue of clarified butter after his offerings, into her folded palms. According to Baudhāyana she mixes up the remaining dust with it. She anoints and prays for her desired ends.⁸⁴ According to Kātyāyana⁸⁵ she should anoint both the axles simultaneously with both the hands.

During the second pressing she approves of the gifts given by her husbands to the priests and others.⁸⁶ In the third pressing, after all the rites up to the filling of the pots have been performed, the chief wife⁸⁷ churns the Soma in the shed for Agnidhra; then she enters into the Soma-cart by the western door and stays there.⁸⁸ She and the sacrificer then carry the purified Soma in the

80 *Sat. Brā.*, III, 5, 3, 13 ff.; *Kāt. ŚS.*, Chow. Ed., vol. I, p. 840, ll. 6 f. "Dakṣiṇayā dvārā, etc." According to *Baudh. ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 164, l. 12: "Pūrvayā dvārā."

81 *Baudh. ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 184, l. 16, "Atha cteṣāṃ padapāmsūnām, etc." Cf. *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. III, p. 695, l. 8 "Dvidhāvibhaktasya ekāṃśena."

82 Scholiast on *Sat. ŚS.*, *op. cit.*, l. 21.

83 *ŚS.*, XI, 6, 5, vol. II, p. 309; see also Sūtra 8 "Sakṛd vā;" cf. Scholiast.

84 *Vāj. Sam.*, V, 17 "Parāg devaśrutau, etc."

85 *ŚS.*, vol. I, p. 480, ll. 6-11 ".....Pāṇibhyām.....yugapat....."

86 *Kāt. ŚS.*, X, 2, 38, Weber's Ed., p. 802; Chow. Ed., p. 570, Sūtra 62; cf. Commentary in Weber.

87 Scholiast on *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. IV, p. 919, ll. 9-10 "Patnibahutve mukhyā eva mathanaṃ pūtabhṛtyavanayanaṇca karoti, na tu sarvāḥ." The Mantra used in this connection: "Asme devāso vapuṣe cikitsat iti."

88 *Kāt. ŚS.*, Chow. Ed., p. 574, ll. 4-5; Weber's Ed., X, 4, 3, p. 807; *Sat. ŚS.*, *op. cit.*

Pūtabhṛt covered by the purifying Kuśa (Pavitra).⁸⁹ According to the scholiast on Kātyāyana,⁹⁰ she, touched from behind by all other wives, looks at it and addresses Āditya for children, wealth and sinless living.

As the personal attendant of her husband in religious affairs, it is the chief wife who should wash the back of her husband during the final bath (Avabhṛtha).⁹¹ When she comes back to her own shed she worships the Gārhapatya by laying on the Udumbara fuel which she cleanses beforehand in front of the cow-shed.

Towards the end of the Udaniyeṣṭi she burns the Kuśa-grasses used therein in the Prāgvaṁśa.⁹²

According to certain Sākhās of the W.YV., she puts a log of wood on the Gārhapatya fire without the utterance of any mantra⁹³ in the Pravargya sacrifice.

In the Agnicayana the first wife makes the Ukhā, the fire-pan to which she prays for offspring; increase of wealth, cattle, horses and also for making the fellows of the sacrificer subject to him.⁹⁴ She also makes from clay the Āṣādhā, the invincible brick, and marks it with three lines.⁹⁵

In the Vajāpeya, the garland of gold which forms the fee should be worn by the chief wife only, as this is a rite producing highest results. The fee would pave the way of the wife as

89 *Sat. ŚS.*, *op. cit.*

90 *ŚS.*, X, 5, 4, Weber's Ed., p. 810, ll. 3 f.; Chow. Ed., p. 577, Sūtra 105. The Mantra: *Vāj. Samh.*, VIII, 5.

91 *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. IV, p. 947, ll. 14 f. For the ūha, see Commentary.

92 *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. IV, p. 954, ll. 22 ff.

93 Scholiast Devayajvan on *Kāt. ŚS.*, XXVI, 7, 40, Weber's Ed., p. 1108; Chow. Ed., p. 1042.

94 *Vāj. Samh.*, II, 58; *Mait. Sam.*, 2, 7, 6; *Kāt. Sam.*, I, 6, 5; *Āp. ŚS.*, XVI, 4, 5; vol. III, p. 5; *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. 5, p. 14, ll. 7 f., etc.

95 *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. V, p. 15, ll. 22-23; *Sat. Brā.*, IV, 5, 3, I, 4; p. 541, ll. 4-6, Weber's Ed.

well as of the sacrificer to Heaven."⁹⁶ After twelve Āpti and Klpti offerings have been offered on the Āhavanīya fire for procuring for the sacrificer all that the twelve months of the year and the six seasons can bestow, the Nestṛ or the Pratiprasthātṛ makes the chief wife wear garments of Darbha grass or Caṇḍātaka or Dṛhara⁹⁷ while the sacrificer wears silken garment.⁹⁸

The Nestṛ then leads her to the post against which a ladder having seventeen stairs has been put. The sacrificer now gets ready to mount the post and enquires about her willingness to accompany him.⁹⁹ She replies in the affirmative. Thrice the sacrificer asks and thrice she replies.¹⁰⁰ The sacrificer now wishes that he should mount for both of them to which she readily consents. She may herself mount the post if she likes.¹⁰¹ In this case she should pray similarly as the sacrificer for the success of life by sacrifice and such other things.¹⁰² Most probably she should stretch her arms, too, to show that she has mounted the top just as the sacrificer does and express herself the joy of approaching the gods and of being capable of becoming immortal and the offspring of Prajāpati. She should also look down to the ground and pray for offspring and increase of wealth.¹⁰³ If she does not accompany her husband, she is looked at by him

96 *Kāt. ŚS.*, XIV, 5, 36, Weber's Ed., p. 868.

97 *Kāt. ŚS.*, XIV, 5, 3, Weber's Ed., p. 866

98 *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. V, p. 144, l. 2; "Paridhatte" has been explained by the commentators as "Paridhāpayati." For the Mantra she utters: *Vāj. Sam.*, 10, 8; *Tait. Sam.*, I, 7, 9, 1, etc.

99 *Vāj. Sam.*, (Kānva rec.) 10, 4, 3; *Tait. Sam.*, I, 7, 9, 1; *Sat. Brā.*, 5, 2, 1, 10; *Tait. Brā.*, I, 3, 7, 2; *Kāt. ŚS.*, XIV, 5, 6; *Āp. ŚS.*, XVIII, 5, 9; *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. V, p. 144, ll. 9 f.; *Baudh. ŚS.*, XI, 11, vol. II, p. 80, ll. f., etc.; cf. Hill, *Rithit*, p. 142, ll. 31 f.

100 *Sat. ŚS.*, *op. cit.*, l. 11 "Evam tri."

101 *Op. cit.*, l. 17 "Ubhau vā."

102 For the Mantras, see *Tait. Sam.*, I, 7, 9, 1; *Vāj. Sam.*, IX, 21 (cf. XXII, 32); *Kāt. Sam.*, XIV, 1; *Mait. Sam.*, I, 11, 3; *Sat. Brā.*, V, 2, 1, 4; *Āp. ŚS.*, XVIII, 5, 13

103 *Tait. Sam.*, I, 7, 9 f.

from above after he has reached the top.¹⁰⁴ If she accompanies him, he helps her in descending from the post.¹⁰⁵ It is the chief wife who should observe the above rites as it is she who is to propitiate the sacrifice;¹⁰⁶ it is she only who makes the sacrificer complete by addition of one-half of his own self;¹⁰⁷ and as he is to achieve heavenly bliss together with her only.¹⁰⁸ She and her husband are one Soul divided into two bodies, not only on this mortal land, but also in heaven—to participate in worldly affairs, in sacrificial matters, in earthly blessings as well as in divine joy.

In the Pinḍapitryajña the eldest wife stands on the black deer-skin with her face towards the south-east and husks the paddy in a wooden mortar. She must not sit. She removes the husk by means of a winnowing basket, but does not separate the husked from those which are still not done. She husks them only once.¹⁰⁹

Now, to come to the chief queen. The Mahiṣī is the consecrated consort; all other wives are meant for sexual pleasure only.¹¹⁰ In the Politico-religious ceremonies, viz. the Aśvamedha, Rājasūya, Puruṣamedha and Rād-yajña, she, properly speaking, performs all the important rites while the "Bhogini" queens are allowed to participate therein to keep company with the chief queen as it were; the part that they play therein is insignificant.

At the beginning of the Horse-sacrifice which occurs on the eighth or ninth of the month of Phālguna, the chief queen and the king prepare themselves for ritual observance in the regular way as they do in other sacrifices. They cook for themselves food for break-

104 *Sat. SS.*, vol. V, p. 145, l. 9 "Patnim iti bhāṣyaktṛḥ."

105 *Baudh. SS.*, vol. II, p. 8, l. 9.

109 *Sat. SS.*, p. 285, ll 5 f.;

107 *Op. cit.*, V, 2, 1, 10.

108 *Op. cit.*

109 *Sat. SS.*, p. 285, l. 5 f.; *Āp. SS.*, I, 8, 10-11, vol. I, pp. 26-27; *Śāh. SS.*, IV, 3, 7, vol. I, p. 35; Scholiast, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 170, l. 11; *Āsv. SS.*, (*ASS*) II, 6, 7, p. 68, ll. 13-15.

110 *Amarakośa*, p. 124, l. 10 "Kṛtābhīṣekā mahiṣibhoginyo'nyā nrpa-striyaḥ."

ing fast mixed with clarified butter as well as milk and eat it (in the afternoon) and wash their mouths in a golden bowl.¹¹¹ Then they keep silent and perform Agnihotra in due time. According to Baudhāyana all the queens are allowed to wear silver ornaments¹¹² for the occasion; but the chief queen wears several ornaments in addition which signifies her power over man in general.¹¹³ According to Kātyāyana all the wives should wear golden ornaments.¹¹⁴ But the distinctive position of the chief queen is seen in the fact that the one hundred maidens that accompany her must be either daughters¹¹⁵ or wives¹¹⁶ of kings; while the maidens of the Vāvātā are to be daughters or wives of subordinate Chiefs, or of the Ugras;¹¹⁷ those of Parivṛkti, daughters or wives of Charioteers, and those of Pārāgali, daughters or wives of Revenue Collectors. In the evening they all enter the hall of sacrificial fires by the southern door.¹¹⁸ After the Agnihotra the Vāvātā avails herself of the coveted fortune of getting the king on her lap with his head towards the north;¹¹⁹ this simply signifies the justification of her name "Vāvātā: the favourite" and nothing important so far as the supermundane bliss is concerned. The queens together with the maidens most probably help the king in keeping awake throughout the night. In other sacrifices as well as in this it is the chief queen who needs to keep awake along with the sacrificer and not all.

On the return of the horses on the second Soma-pressing day they are all bathed. Now the first three queens are to anoint the

111 *Baudh. ŚS.*, XV, 2, p. 206, ll. 7 f.; note particularly "Ubhau" in line 9. Cf. *Āp. ŚS.*, XX, I, 10 f., vol. III, p. 142.

112 *Op. cit.*, XV, 3, p. 206, ll. 13-14

113 *Op. cit.*, I, 9.

114 *XX*, I, 12, Weber, p. 961.

115 *Kāt. ŚS.*, XX, 1, 13, Weber, p. 961.

116 According to *Baudh. ŚS.*, cf. p. 228, ll. 14 f.; cf. *Āp. ŚS.*, XX, 15, vol. III, p. 159, l. 8.

117 *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. 5, p. 237, l. 24 "Ugrāṇām rājadāsabhūtānām śataṃ Vāvātāyāḥ."

118 Commentary on *Kāt. ŚS.*, Chow. Ed. p. 829. Sūtra 17.

119 *Op. cit.*, Sūtra 18.

sacrificial horse and entwine pearls or coins into its mane and tail.¹²⁰ The order of anointing and entwining does not seem to be strictly observed. The chief queen anoints the fore-parts, the favourite queen the middle and a discarded wife the hind-part. Again, the chief queen takes recourse to the Gāyatrī metre, the most important of all metres; the second, the Triṣṭubh; Parivṛkti, the Jāgati. The stuff that the chief queen uses for anointing is clarified butter mixed with the sap of the sacred Pūtu-dru tree; that the Vāvātā uses is clarified butter mixed with the ordinary thing bdellium¹²² and that the Parivṛkti uses is Ghee mixed with the sap of the Mustā plant that grows anywhere and everywhere. The companions that they have are the same as before. The varied rank of these maidens at once brings out the respective position of the queens. Again, during the entwining of pearls the chief queen adorns the parts in front of the place where the yoke rests with golden pearls; the Vāvātā below that and the buttocks with silver ones; the Parivṛkti below the buttocks with any and every pearl that may come from the sea.¹²³

After the wild animals are released, the horse is killed, most probably, by stifling in robes. Then the Unnetṛ or Pratiprasthātṛ¹²¹ or Adhvaryu¹²⁵ lead them up from their ordinary place near the Gārhapatya to the victim. They carry in their hands jars of

120 Pālāgali, a Sūdrā by birth, cannot observe these rites, cf. *Sat. Brā.*, XIII, 2, 6, 7. Anointing and entwining: *Kāth. Samh.*, IV, 9; *Mait. Samh.*, III, 12, 18. 19; *Vāj. Samh.*, XIII, 5-8; *Tait. Brā.*, III, 9, 4, 1-8; *Sat. Brā.*, XIII, 2, 6, 1-6; *Āp. ŚS.*, XX, 15, 6 f.; *Kāt. ŚS.*, XX, 5, 10 f.; *Baudh. ŚS.*, XV, 24, vol. II.

121 Cf. Baudhāyana and Āpastamba.

122 Gaulgulava, known in Bengal as Guggul.

123 According to *B.YV.* ritual, each of them uses 1000 pearls; *Āp. ŚS.*, XX, 15, vol. III, p. 159, l. 11; *Baudh. ŚS.*, vol. II, p. 228, ll. 3, 5 and 7; *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. V, p. 237, ll. 17 f. According to *W.YV.* only a hundred; *Kāt. ŚS.*, Weber, p. 971; according to the Scholiast, one hundred and one.

124 *Kāt. ŚS.*, XX, 6, 12; *Āp. ŚS.*, XX, 17, 12.

125 *Baudh. ŚS.*, XV, 29.

water.¹²⁶ According to Satyāṣāḍha only the chief queen should be led by the Pratiprasthātṛ; so, other wives are to follow her.¹²⁷ In order to make amends for the slaughtering of the victim and to invoke the divine helpers to help the chief queen in the most important rite that follows,¹²⁸ they walk round the victim nine times while fanning him with the flutter of their garments; for the first three times they tie in a knot the right locks of hair and let loose the left ones and walk from right to left, smiting their right thighs; then they follow the exactly reverse course in all matters.¹²⁹ The chief queen, now, shows anxiety to approach the slain horse, who represents Prajāpati, in order to have seed from him. Then the chief queen lies down by the side of the horse. She, along with the utterance of mantras, makes various attempts while the Adhvaryu cloaks them together with garments. While she does the obscene act, she feels reluctant and censures the horse.¹³⁰ Three times the chief queen censures, three times the others persuade her. All sorts of indecent acts and talks are the concomitant factors of fertility spells;¹³¹ here, too, for the sake of fertility, indecent colloquy between the priests, queen and maidens, etc. begin. According to several schools only the maidens reply.¹³² According to *Sat. Br.*,¹³³ the Brahman, the most important priest of all,

126 Scholiast on *Kāt. ŚS.*, XX, 6, 14, Weber, p. 973, ll. 1-2.

127 *ŚS.*, vol. V, p. 242, ll. 6 f.

128 *Tait. Samh.*, VII, 4, 12, 1; *Tait. Brā.*, 3, 9, 6, 1; *Āp. ŚS.*, XX, 17, 13; *Kāt. ŚS.*, XX, 6, 14, Weber, p. 973, l. 1.

129 *Āp. ŚS.*, *op. cit.*, Sūtras 13-16.

130 *Kāt. ŚS.*, XX, 6, 16-17, p. 973, ll. 6-10; *Āp. ŚS.*, XX, 18, 4, vol. III, p. 163, ll. 77 f.; *Vait. S.*, XXXVI, 30, p. 52.

131 Cf. the Dialogue between the Brahmacārin and the Hetarai in the Mahāvratā.

132 *Kāt. ŚS.*, XX, 6, 20; *Āp. ŚS.*, XX, 18, 6; *Āsv. ŚS.*, X, 8, 13; *Vait. S.*, XXXVI, 32.

133 XIII, 2, 9, 1-8. It will be seen in this connection that from the very beginning the chief queen is, from the ritualistic point of view, dedicated to the Brahman. Most probably there is no other reason here than this that the chief queen holding the highest position can be dedicated to Brahman only who is the most important of all priests; *Āp. ŚS.*, XX, 10, 2, vol. III, p. 153.

addresses the queen consort, while the Udgātṛ addresses the Vāvātā and the Chamberlain, the fourth wife. The different schools vary very much, but there is no doubt that all of these insertions and omissions are meant for the fertility of the chief queen. All other queens as well as their maidens join herein only as help-mates in the Fertility Rite which is the chief one in the Horse-sacrifice. At the end of the obscene colloquy the queen consort is raised up by her own maidens.¹³⁴ Now, the first three queens mark out with metal needles the lines for the dissection of the victim. Here, too, the chief queen has all the preferences. She marks the lines in the fore-part, down to the breast, while the Vāvātā does up to the navel and the Parivṛkti the rest. She, again, makes the knife-paths (Asipathas) with golden needles, while the second wife with silver ones and the Parivṛkti with iron or lead ones.¹³⁵ The scholiast on Satyāsādhā¹³⁶ says in this connection that the chief queen, the Vāvātā and the Parivṛkti, holding as they do the supreme, intermediate and worst position respectively, should, accordingly, mark out the knife-path in varying parts of varied importance—the chief queen in the fore-part, i.e. the most important part, the Vāvātā in the middle part and the Parivṛkti in the hind-part. She is the *uttamā patnī* and accordingly she has her own exclusive rights and in the remaining, too, she leads everywhere.

In the Rājasūya the chief queen is the permanent Ratnī in as much as authorities differ as to the reckoning of the Vāvātā and

¹³⁴ *Kāt. SS.*, XX, 6, 21, Weber, p. 973.

¹³⁵ *Āp. SS.*, XX, 18, 7, vol. III, p. 163, ll. 2 f.; *Baudh. SS.*, XV, 30, vol. II, p. 235, ll. 9 f.; *Kāt. SS.*, XX, 7, 1, Weber, p. 973, ll. 18 f.; cf. *Kāth. Sam.*, X, 5; *Mait. Sam.*, III, 12, 21; *Vāj. Sam.*, XXIII, 33-38; *SS.*, vol. V, p. 244, ll. 3-5: "Rājñāḥ patnyas trividhā uttamā madhyamā'dhamā ca iti tās ca Mahiṣi Vāvātā parivṛkti ity etannāmādehyāḥ. Tās ca mṛtasya aśvasya asinā chedanāya tattatsthāneṣu rekhāḥ sūcibhi kuryuḥ."

¹³⁶ *Sat. SS.*

Parivṛkti as Ratnins, Jewels of the king.¹³⁷ The *Śat. Br.* reckons neither the Vāvātā nor Parivṛkti as Ratnin.¹³⁸ The king offers a pap for Nirṛti in the house of the Parivṛkti, not because she is a Ratnin, but because he likes to get rid of Nirṛti, calamity, while he is consecrated. As the Parivṛkti has no son, she is seized with Nirṛti; in order to propitiate Nirṛti, the king prepares a pap of black rice broken by nails with which to offer. According to Kātyāyana,¹³⁹ she is to betake herself to a Brāhmaṇa's house where the king has no power. The offering to Nirṛti, the use of black rice broken by nails and taking shelter in a Brāhmaṇa's house at once direct to the degraded position of the Parivṛkti: and it is only natural that a good many authorities, led by *Śat. Br.*, do not recognise her as a jewel. Several authorities of the Taittirīya school recognise the Vāvātā as a Ratnin and recommend the offering of a pap to Bhaga in her house,¹⁴⁰ but this recommendation in her favour loses importance as no other Vedic school gives her the position of a Ratnin. According to all the authorities a pap to Aditi or Āditya is to be offered in the house of the chief queen. She offers a cow as the sacrificial fee of this rite.

It is the chief queen who is to sit touching the king in the offering of scrapings of the consecrated waters which is offered at the house of a favourite son.¹⁴¹ While mounting the chariot for a symbolic conquest of the quarters (digvijaya) the king touches the chief queen and the horses with the tip of the bow so that by

137 The Rājastūya practically ends with the Sunāsiriya offering; on the fourth to the fifteenth day after the Sunāsiriya, offerings called Ratninām Havimṣi are offered in the house of the Jewels of the King, his wives and high officers. For the order of Ratnins, cf. *Śat. Brā.*, V, 3, 1; *Tait. Brā.*, I, 7, 3; *Baudh. ŚS.*, XII, 5, 6; *Āp. ŚS.*, XVIII, 10, 12—II, 23; *Kāt. ŚS.*, XV, 3, 1-46; *Kāt. Sam.*, XV, 4, 5; *Mait. Sam.*, II, 6, 5, 6; etc.

138 For its eleven Ratnins, cf. *op. cit.*, Sūtras 1-12.

139 XV, 3, 36, p. 974, Weber's Ed.

140 E.g. *Āp. ŚS.*, XVIII, 10, 14, vol. III, p. 88, l. 1.

141 *Baudha. ŚS.*, XII, 11; vol. II, p. 102, l. 4; *Tait. Sam.*, I, 8, 14, 1. etc.

the quickening of the Maruts they might bring him victory and that he might be united with power.¹⁴² This bow he hands over to the chief queen for safe preservation so that their (eldest?) son might be victorious by means of this (symbolic) bolt (vajra).¹⁴³

While adoring the king, the Brahman hands over the sword to the king, which he again lets pass amongst the Ratnins from hand to hand. They touch the sword to assure the king of their faithfulness. The chief queen is the only wife who, in common consent of all the authorities, is entitled to touch the sword which is the symbol of unity among the jewels of the king as well as of loyalty of them all to him.¹⁴⁴

In the Human sacrifice,¹⁴⁵ too, the chief queen lies down by the side of the victim¹⁴⁶ as she does in the *Aśvamedha*. They are cloaked together under garments and the sacrificer exhorts her to do the obscene act. A similar colloquy as in the *Aśvamedha* follows. When it is finished, the Hotṛ and others¹⁴⁷ (most probably, the Udgātṛ, Adhvaryu and Brahman,¹⁴⁸) raise her up. According to the *Vaitāna* only the Brahman is to do so. Now, the Hotṛ consecrates her with prayers in which he invokes the spirit of the parted sires (of the sacrificer);¹⁴⁹ the Udgātṛ consecrates her with the formulas in which he prays that the manes may live in happiness and sojourn during the sacrifice to the sacrificial place;¹⁵⁰ and the Adhvaryu

142 *Āp. ŚS.*, XVIII, 17, 10, vol. III, p. 97; cf. *Vāj. Sam.*, X, 21.

143 *Āp. ŚS.*, *op. cit.*, Sūtra II; *Sat. ŚS.*, XIII, 6, 10, vol. V, p. 179.

144 *Āp. ŚS.*, XVIII, 18, 9 and 14, vol. III, p. 99; *Sat. ŚS.*, vol. V, p. 181, ll. 27 f. —p. 182, l. 2.

145 This sacrifice is prescribed in two texts only, viz. the *Śaṅ. ŚS.*, XVI, 10 f., and *Vait. S.*, XXVII, 10 f. In the *Puruṣamedha* dealt with by the *Sat. Brā.* (XIII. 6) only symbolical human victims are offered.

146 *Śaṅ. ŚS.*, XVI, 13, 7; *Vait. S.*, XXXVIII, 3; cf. *Kau. ŚS.*, 80. 15.

147 Scholiast on *Śaṅ. ŚS.*, XVI, 13, 13, vol. III, p. 375. l. 4.

148 Compare the following Sūtra and the Scholiast thereon.

149 The Mantras: *RV.*, X, 57, 3-5.

150 The Mantras: *RV.*, X, 58, 1-3.

with the prayer that she may live long and secure.¹⁵¹ The Brahman makes her utter the Mantra in which she prays for the long life of herself as well as for her husband.¹⁵²

In the Rād-yañña¹⁵³ which has been mentioned in the *Pañc. Brā.* alone and is intended to restore a deposed king to his kingdom, the chief queen is one of the eight viras who surround and sprinkle the celebrant.

Now, we set out the duties of the chief wife in establishing and keeping up of the sacred domestic fire. If the newly-married couple desire to establish and keep up fire from their marriage time,¹⁵⁴ they carry the Marriage Fire to their new house—or if they like to live under the same roof as the father, to that house, and establish it there. They constantly keep it up by offering morning and evening oblations. According to certain authorities,¹⁵⁵ it is only she, and not the husband, who should offer these oblations, because she is the House and this Fire is Domestic. Either of them seems, however, to be equally entitled to offer it;¹⁵⁶ it is only natural that in case of the absence or sickness of either, the other will offer.

151 Mantras X, 60, 8-10.

152 Mantras: *RV.*, X. 59. 5-7; cf. Scholiast on *Śān. ŚS.*, XVI, 13, 15, vol. III, p. 375 and also, the foot-note.

153 XIX, 7, 1-4.

154 This fire could also be established at the time of the division of the property of the family, return of a student from his studentship, and on the death of the head of the family.

155 *Khā. GS.*, I. 5. 17-18, p. 40; *Gobh. GS.*, I, 3, 13.

156 *Pār. GS.*, p. 113, Bom. Ed., "Tyāgam tu sarvathā kuryāt tatrāpy anyataras tayoh, etc."

पत्नी चेत् कर्मकामा भवति, तदा पुमांसो मित्रावरुणो पुमांसावश्विनावुषा । पुमान् इन्द्रश्च
सूर्यश्च पुमान् स वर्तताम् मयि पुनः स्वाहेति...जुहोति । *Karma-pradīpikā* by Kāmadeva
F. 12b.

यजमानः प्रधानः स्यात् पत्नी.पुत्रश्च कन्यका
ऋत्विक् शिष्यो गुरुभ्राता भागिनेयः सुतापतिः ॥

The presence of both, or at least, either of them is necessary.¹⁵⁷ If she cannot be bodily present, the Adhvaryu acts as her substitute with her permission, which, of course, follows automatically in case of her pregnancy, madness,¹⁵⁸ etc.

If the fire goes out, she fasts;¹⁵⁹ according to Vaikhānasa,¹⁶⁰ performs a Kṛcchra. She also fasts if the time of kindling up the fire elapses.¹⁶¹

If the existence of the fire is interrupted for twelve days, it is to be re-established. The Vivāhājyāhuti, the Lājāhuti, the Grhapraveśaniyājyāhuti, have to be repeated herein; however, the wife herself and not her brother offers the Lājāhuti now. According to Vaikhānasa, however, the rite of establishing fire is to be observed again if the husband and the wife remain without fire three days, and in this case the wife is required to undergo the Prājāpatya or Pādakṛcchra penance while the husband fasts one day.¹⁶²

Either the chief wife or the husband offers the Bali,¹⁶³ but Gobhila¹⁶⁴ makes a special rule that the wife should offer in the evening and the husband in the morning. Naturally the option ceases if the husband is absent.¹⁶⁵ According to Bhāradvāja, it is only she who should offer the Vaiśvadeva, three times along with the utterance of the yajus text and once silently.¹⁶⁶

157 *Samśkāraratnamālā*, vol. I, p. 613, ll. 1 ff.

158 *Pār. GS.*, *op. cit.*; *Samśkāraratnamālā*, *op. cit.*, ll. 9 f.

159 According to a good many authorities, only she should fast; according to some, the husband also may; Nārāyaṇa in *Samśkāramayūkha*; *Āśv. GS.*, I, 9, 1, etc. Husband: *Āp. GS. V.*, 17; *Hir. GS.*, I, 22, 5.

160 She does so also if it comes into contact with some other fire, too.

161 *Āśv. GS.*, I, 9, 3; cf. Nārāyaṇa and Grhyakārikā.

162 *Vaikh. GS.*, VI, 15, p. 99, ll. 7-10.

163 *Vaikh. GS.*, III, 7, p. 41, ll. 14-15; cf. VI, 17, p. 101, ll. 3-4.

164 *Gobb. GS.*, I, 4, 17, p. 153; particularly Sūtra 19, p. 154.

165 *Sān. GS.*, II, 14.

166 *Bhār. GS.*, III, 12, p. 78, ll. 4 f. "Stri Vaiśvadevaṃ nirvapet, etc." The husband is to offer only if she appoints him to offer the Bali, "Yukto vā svayaṃ nirvapet."

‘The cooking¹⁶⁷ and other preliminary things such as husking¹⁶⁸ are always done by her. Before beginning the cooking, she washes herself.¹⁶⁹ Having finished the cooking, she purifies herself by sipping water, etc., and in a sweet distinct voice reports to her husband that she has finished it.¹⁷⁰ The husband thanks her that it is well-done, and prays that the food which is Virāt may not fall short. Then she removes the cooking vessel to a secure place, and cleanses the upper part with water and the lower with cow-dung. She now takes four fuels in her hand, sprinkles and offers them along with the utterance of the prescribed formulas.¹⁷¹ She makes offerings in praise of everything that helps her cooking, all the quarters and innumerable gods. During the Nṛ-yajña, either the husband pours water and she washes, or she pours water and he washes; they wash with mutual help simply the portion of the leg under the knee.¹⁷² Daily she propitiates thus the Guests, the Gods, the Beings, Brahma, and the Manes.

According to Pāraskara, the husband and wife may either take their meals together or the husband may take them earlier, but in any case they must partake of the remnant of the food after all the above-mentioned offerings.¹⁷³

In the rites concerning the House, the chief wife enters first the newly-built house with a full jar on her head or lap;¹⁷⁴ it seems that only the chief wife as the mistress of the house should carry the jar. That she should enter first is indicative of her authority

167 *Bhār. GS., op. cit.*, commentator on *Gobh.*, “She is supreme in matters concerning food” and so on (cf. *Manu IX, 11*). *Samskāraśāstramālā*, p. 938.

168 *Bhār. GS., op. cit.*, 1. 6.

169 *Bhār. GS., op. cit.*

170 *Gobh. GS., I, 3, 15*, pp. 116-117; *Kbād. GS., I, 5, 17*.

171 *Bhār. GS., op. cit.*, 1. 11. ff.

172 *Baudh. GS., I, 2, 22-23*, p. 5.

173 *Pār. GS., II, 9, 14-15*, p. 262 of Bom. Ed.; Karka, p. 263, ll. 3 f.; *Paddhati*, p. 266, l. 2; *Gadādhara*, p. 267, ll. 3 f. According to Viśvānātha, the wife and the husband should take together if no guest happens to be present. For the procedure of offering the five Mahāyajñas, see *Padhārthakrama* as given in *Pār. GS.*, pp. 267 f.

174 *III, 12, 8*.

over the house; her decided authority over household affairs is also found in the statement that the wife is the house, occurring in various places.¹⁷⁵ Anyway, it is certain that while entering the new house she heads the host of wives after whom come the husband and all others. It is on her lap that the husband should lie down and it is she whom the husband looks at again and again along with the prayer that they may together, in the house, overcome all hostile powers.¹⁷⁶ On this ceremonial day all the disputations are shunned by her as well as by others.¹⁷⁷

In a rite named *Gṛhaśānti* her apartments are swept clean by the husband with the leaves of *Apāmārga* or *pālāśa* or *udumbara* or of some other tree or plant mentioned in the list.¹⁷⁸ While sweeping, he prays to Rudra that none of them in the house might be harmed, that the mother, particularly, could not be harmed, and that no injury might be inflicted on the seed, progeny, cows or horses.¹⁷⁹

After the animal has been killed in a domestic sacrifice, the chief wife bathes the apertures of the animal with water along with the utterance of the mantras.¹⁸⁰ With the water-jar in her hands she worships the Sun. The procedure is exactly the same as in the *Śrauta* rites.¹⁸¹ At the end of the sacrifice the wife adds a fuel to the fire.¹⁸²

In the *Sūlagava* sacrifice, too, after the animal has been killed, she washes the apertures in the above-mentioned manner.¹⁸³

175 *Nā gṛhaṃ gṛhaṃ ity āhur gṛhiṇi gṛhaṃ ucyate*, commentary on *Gobh. GS.*, I, 3, 13, p. 95; *Drāb. GS.*, I, 5, 17; *Śān. GS.*, II, 16, 3.

176 *Hir. GS.*, I, 29, 2, p. 57, ll. 6-7.

177 *Op. cit.*

178 *Baudh. GS.*, I, 18, 2, p. 220, ll. 4-6.

179 For the Mantras, *RV.*, I, 114, 7-8.

180 *Ādityadarśana* on *Kāth. GS.*, I, 10, p. 223, l. 22; cf. *Brahmabala* on *op. cit.*, 51, 13, p. 228, l. 3 f.

181 See *Paśuyāga*, *supra*.

182 *Brahmabala* on *Kāth. GS.*, 51, 13, p. 230, l. 12.

183 *Ādityadarśana* on *Kāth. GS.*, 52, 6, p. 232, ll. 19 f. cf. *Baudha. GS.*, II, 7, 10, p. 51, l. 17



According to Bhāradvāja¹⁸⁴ and Hiranyakeśin, ¹⁸⁵ she should offer rice to the consort of Śiva after the husband has offered to Śiva. According to Pāraskara,¹⁸⁶ she also offers the Patni-saṃyāja offerings to Indrāṇi and Rudrāṇi, Śarvāṇi, Bhavāṇi and Agni Gṛhapati.

In one rite named Baudhya-vihāra mentioned only in the *Hir. GS.*,¹⁸⁷ and elaborated in the *Sams. RM.*,¹⁸⁸ the chief wife observes all the rites beginning from spreading the black deer-skin down to husking as have been mentioned in connection with the Sthālipāka.

The chief wife performs the Caitra sacrifice on the fullmoon day in the month of Caitra.¹⁸⁹ She together with her husband begins the Śrāvaṇa sacrifice on the fullmoon day under Śravisthā.¹⁹⁰ The sacrifice goes on daily until the Āgrahāyaṇi sacrifice when the beds are placed on the ground with the advent of drier weather. The sacrifice is directed against any danger from snakes.¹⁹¹ Every day the sacrificer makes offerings to serpents which she puts away silently.¹⁹² On the fullmoon day of Bhādra, she observes the Prauṣṭhapada sacrifice.¹⁹³ On the fullmoon day of the Āśvina she offers the Āśvayuga sacrifice or the Prṣātaka ceremony,¹⁹⁴ in which her principal duty lies in preparing a mess of boiled rice-grains. On the fullmoon day of the Āgrahāyaṇa¹⁹⁵ she observes the Āgrahāyaṇi sacrifice.¹⁹⁶ She cleanses the house thoroughly, which is followed

184 II, 9, p. 40, l. 14.

186 III, 8, 10, p. 342, Bom. Ed.

188 Vol. II, p. 914 f.

190 *Gobb. GS.*, III, 7, 3; *Āśv. GS.*, II, 1, 15; *Sām. GS.*, IV, 15; II, 14, 9; *Āp. GS.*, XVIII, 5 f.; *Hir. GS.*, II, 16; *Mān. GS.*, II, 16; *Bhār. GS.*, II, 1; etc.

191 The modern Manasā-pūjā of Bengal seems to be a prototype of this rite

192 According to Śāṅkhāyana, IV, 15, 19-20.

193 Recorded by Pāraskara alone, II, 15.

194 *Āśv. GS.*, II, 2, 1; *Sām. GS.*, IV, 16; *Pār. GS.*, II, 16; *Gobb. GS.*, III, 8, 1-8; *Khād. GS.*, III, 3, 1. This rite seems to be the older form of the Āśvinikumāra Vrata in which the mothers wait so expectantly for the return of the sons away from home.

195 Āśvalāyana prescribes the 14th day as an alternative.

196 *Gobb. GS.*, III, 9; *Āśv. GS.*, II, 3; *Sām. GS.*, IV, 17; *Pār. GS.*, III, 2;

by a smoking. At this time the danger from snakes being over, the beds of all the members of the house are lowered down. At the end of the sacrifice, all the members of the household sit on straws and unwashed garments. According to Gobhila,¹⁹⁷ she sits immediately next to the sacrificer with her children on her lap or by her side; according to Āpastamba¹⁹⁸ she sits to his north. After this rite she descends together with her husband and children along with the utterance of the words, "Life, fame, strength, enjoyment of food, offspring." Then she lies down, together with all others on her right side, with her head towards the east along with the prayer to the Earth for propitiating her.¹⁹⁹ She and all others rise up, praying for the exuberance of life, for blessed life. For four months and even more she and all others sleep on the ground.²⁰⁰

In the ancestral rites the most important rite that the chief wife is to perform is the cooking of the Śrāddhapāka,²⁰¹ food to be offered to the Manes with honour. As she is supreme in all matters concerning cooking and such other domestic affairs, it is she who is to do this.²⁰² Gobhila, as quoted in the *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī*²⁰³ says she should, at the end of the cooking, say "finished", after which the actual ceremony begins. Vyāsa,²⁰⁴ as quoted in the *Śrāddhakāśīkā*, says the wife should, after cooking, take a bath. It is she who is to serve food to the manes, Kṛkala's manes incurred sins because Sukalā was deprived of her right to offer the cakes; and

Āp. GS., XIX, 3; *Bhār. GS.*, II, 2; *Mān. GS.*, II, 7, 1-5; *Hir. GS.*, II, 17. This is, as the name denotes, the festival of the beginning of the New Year.

197 *III*, 9, 17; cf. *Drāh. GS.*, III, 3, 22. See the commentary on *Gobh.* for the arrangement of all others.

198 *XIX*, 8.

199 Mantra, *Vāp. Sam.*, XXXV, 21.

200 *Pār. GS.*, III, 6, 6 f., p. 318, Bom. Ed.; cf. the various commentaries: *Karka*, p. 320, l. 4 f.; *Harīhara*, p. 320, l. 32 f.; etc.

201 *Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī*, p. 96; *Śrāddha-mañjari*, p. 6, ll. 23-24; according to the *Mañjarikāra* she is to cook if her husband is unable to do so; *Pār. GS.*, p. 464, l. 7.

202 *Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī*, op. cit., 1.

203 *Op. cit.*, 1.

204 *Pār. GS.*, p. 442, l. 4.

Dharma calls both him as well as the manes thieves.²⁰⁵ The manes as well as the sacrificer, instead of acquiring religious merit, incur sin if the (eldest) wife does not serve during the Śrāddha, the food by herself.²⁰⁶ At the end of the ceremony she partakes with her husband of the remnants of food.²⁰⁷

On the 2nd aṣṭakā day after the animal is killed, it is she who washes all the fourteen apertures of the cow's body.²⁰⁸ On the Anvaṣṭakya day she²⁰⁹ places a stone in the Kuśa grass and pounds on that stone a fragrant substance called Sthagara,²¹⁰ grinds some collyrium²¹¹ and anoints therewith three Darbha blades. These are placed underneath the seats of three Brāhmaṇas who are invited to the sacrifice.

In the Pitṛyajña she, accompanied by the sacrificer, pays reverence to the manes. She also prays to Agni Gārhapatyā for releasing her from any sin she may have committed to atmosphere, earth, sky, mother or father.²¹²

The true significance of the performance of rites lies in the eating of Idā. The eating of Idā leads to the end of the sacrifice, the sacrifice of life, the fulness of human life and ultimately to Prajāpati, Lord of Sacrifices, the Self of Sacrifices. The successful completion of domestic and social life of man, of the material and spiri-

205 *Padma-purāṇa*, bhūmi-khaṇḍa, p. 222, ll. 1 f., particularly śloka 20 ff.: "Ami pitāmahās caurā yaś ca bhuktaṃ tayā vinā," etc.

206 *Padmapurāṇa*, *op. cit.*, "Bhāryā pacati ced annaṃ svahastenāmṛtopamaṃ tad annam eva bhuñjanti pitaro hr̥ṣṭamānasāḥ. Tenaiva ūptim āyānti santuṣṭāś ca bhavanti te," etc. *Al'o Pār. GS.*, p. 470, l. 37; 71, l. 1.

207 *Śrāddha-tattva*, H. Sastri's ed., p. 251.

208 *Drāb. GS.*, III, 4, 8; *Khā. GS.*, p. 109, l. 7-9; *Gobh. GS.*, III, 10, 27, p. 177 (2nd part). For the fourteen apertures, see *Gobh. GS.*, p. 177, l. 7.

209 Cf. Commentary, 'Ca-śabdāt prakṛtā patnī,' p. 207 of *Gobh. GS.*, vol. II, ll. 2-3.

210 But see *Gobh. GS.*, IV, 2, 29. Comm., vol. II, p. 206 "Sthagaram candanā-digandhadravayam."

211 According to the commentator this kind of collyrium is known as Sauvirāñjana.

212 *Tait. Samh.*, I, 8, 5 (K).

tual life, of his earthly and divine life, in a word, of his whole life—lies in this. The Christians observe this rite under the name of the Eucharistic sacrifice. In this sacrifice they offer bread and wine to Christ and by means of the utterance of holy mantras these are transubstantiated into flesh and blood of Christ. The Christians form a Holy Communion with Christ by means of eating these flesh and blood of Christ.²¹³ This eating of the Idā in Vedic ritual is nothing but the observance of the Eucharistic sacrifice and forming a Holy Communion with Prajāpati, Lord of Sacrifices. In the Agnihotra the remnant of the milk offered is to be taken. In the New and Fullmoon sacrifices, etc., the remnant of the Puroḍāśa offering is to be eaten. In the animal sacrifice a portion of the meat offered is eaten. In the Soma sacrifice, the remnant of the Soma offered is to be drunk.²¹⁴ In the Bali-haraṇa, the husband and wife take the remnant of the food remaining after the five daily sacrifices.²¹⁵ In all the Śrāddha offerings, the remnant of the food offered is to be eaten.²¹⁶ In this eating of the Haviś-śeṣa, the Idā, only the chief

213 Groten, *Christian Eucharist*, pp. 30 f. and 162 ff.

214 *Baudh. ŚS.*, VII, 15, p. 225; VIII, 4, p. 240; *Kāt. ŚS.*, Chow. Ed., p. 55a "Patni ca anyat, etc."

215 *Pār. GS.*, II, 9, 14, p. 262, Bom. Ed., of the various commentaries.

216 *Śrāddha-tattva* of Raghunandana, Hṛṣikeśa Śāstrin's ed., Calcutta, 1909-10.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Ait.Bra.</i>	= <i>Aitareya-brāhmaṇa.</i>
<i>Āp.GS.</i>	= <i>Āpastamba-grhya-sūtra.</i>
<i>Āp.ŚS.</i>	= <i>Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra.</i>
<i>Āśv.GS.</i>	= <i>Āśvalāyana-grhya-sūtra.</i>
<i>Āś.ŚS.</i>	= <i>Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra.</i>
<i>AV.</i>	= <i>Atharva-veda.</i>
<i>Baudh.GS.</i>	= <i>Baudhāyana-grhya-sūtra.</i>
<i>Baudh.ŚS.</i>	= <i>Baudhāyana-śrauta-sūtra.</i>
<i>Bhār.GS.</i>	= <i>Bhāradvāja-grhya-sūtra.</i>
<i>Bib.Ind.</i>	= <i>Bibliotheca Indica.</i>
<i>Drāh.GS.</i>	= <i>Drāhyāyana-grhya-sūtra</i> [same as <i>Khā.GS.</i>].
<i>Gobb.GS.</i>	= <i>Gobhila-grhya-sūtra.</i>

wife is to participate, as this rite *devolves* on the wife and the sacrificer all that the Sacrifice may, and consequently, is a rite designed to help in the other world as well. In this rite all the priests and the sacrificer also participate and together with them, she forms a Holy Communion between Prajāpati, the Supreme Soul, and the establishers of the sacrificer.

J. B. CHAUDHURI

<i>Htr.GS.</i>	=	<i>Hiranyakeśi-grhya-sūtra.</i>
<i>Hir.ŚS.</i>	=	<i>Hiranyakeśi-śrauta-sūtra</i> [same as <i>Satyāśādha-śrauta-sūtra.</i>]
<i>Jaim.GS.</i>	=	<i>Jaiminiya-grhya-sūtra.</i>
<i>Jaim.Brā.</i>	=	<i>Jaiminiya-brāhmaṇa.</i>
<i>Kap.Samb.</i>	=	<i>Kapishthala-samhitā.</i>
<i>Kāth.GS.</i>	=	<i>Kāthaka-grhya-sūtra.</i>
<i>Kāth.Samb.</i>	=	<i>Kāthaka-samhitā.</i>
<i>Kāt.ŚS.</i>	=	<i>Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra.</i>
<i>Khā.GS.</i>	=	<i>Khādīra-grhya-sūtra</i> [same as <i>Drāh.GS.</i>].
<i>Lāt.ŚS.</i>	=	<i>Lātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra.</i>
<i>Mait.Samb.</i>	=	<i>Maitrāyaṇi-samhitā</i>
<i>Mān.GS.</i>	=	<i>Mānava-grhya-sūtra.</i>
<i>Mān.ŚS.</i>	=	<i>Mānava-śrauta-sūtra.</i>
<i>Pār.GS.</i>	=	<i>Pāraskara-grhya-sūtra.</i>
<i>RV.</i>	=	<i>Ṛg-veda.</i>
<i>Samś.RM.</i>	=	<i>Saṃskāra-ratna-mālā.</i>
<i>Sān.GS.</i>	=	<i>Sāṅkhāyana-grhya-sūtra.</i>
<i>Sān.ŚS.</i>	=	<i>Sāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra.</i>
<i>Śat.Brā.</i>	=	<i>Śata-patha-brāhmaṇa.</i>
<i>Sat.ŚS.</i>	=	<i>Satyāśādha-śrauta-sūtra.</i>
<i>Smṛ.Sam.</i>	=	<i>Smṛtinām samuccayaḥ.</i>
<i>Tait.Samb.</i>	=	<i>Taittiriya-samhitā.</i>
<i>Una.Samb.</i>	=	<i>Una-vimśati-samhitā.</i>
<i>Vaik.GS.</i>	=	<i>Vaikhānasa-grhya-sūtra.</i>
<i>Vait.S.</i>	=	<i>Vaitāna-sūtra.</i>
<i>Vāj.Samb.</i>	=	<i>Vājasaneyi-samhitā.</i>
<i>Vār.GS.</i>	=	<i>Vārāha-grhya-sūtra.</i>
<i>Yājñ.Sm.</i>	=	<i>Yājñavalkya-smṛti.</i>

Benares Plate of Govindacandra, King of Kanauj: [Vikrama-] Samvat 1171

The plate, which bears the sub-joined inscription, was found, along with four others, by a contractor in April 1899 in course of some excavation for water-works near the Bhadaini temple of Benares at a depth of about five feet from the surface.¹ The plates are now preserved in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. Dr. F. Kielhorn published a paper on these plates for the first time in *Epigraphia Indica*.² Of the record we propose to discuss here, he gave us only a partial transcript. I now re-edit the inscription with the help of the excellent ink-impressions both of the plate as well as of the seal kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. V. S. Agrawala, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow, to whom I tender my most grateful thanks.

This³ is a single sheet of copper, engraved on one side only and measures 1' 3 1/2" by 1' 1/2". At the top centre of the plate there is a *ring-hole*, about 5/8" in diameter, through which passed a copper ring. The ends of the ring are soldered on to a circular *seal*, measuring 2 3/8" in diameter. It bears on it in high relief and on a countersunk surface, the conventionalised figure of Garuḍa, the mount of Viṣṇu, with its hands folded in devotion on its breast. To judge from the poise of its feet and its widespread wings, it seems to be in the act of flying. Below it and across the centre of the seal runs the legen *Śrīmad* = *Govindacandra*deva[h]*; and below it, in the lower semicircle, is engraved a conch-shell.

The *characters* are the usual *Nāgarī* of the 12th century A.D. and do not call for any special remarks. The numerals 1, 5 and 7 are contained in the date in lines 17-18. The sign for indication of

1 *El.*, vol. VIII, p. 149, f n. 2.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 152 ff.

3 No. E. 14 of Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

the continuation of a word or phrase consists of a single vertical stroke and another short slanting one projecting from its bottom right.

Among some of the *orthographical features*, we may notice that (1) both the letters *b* and *v* are indicated by the sign for the latter, (2) consonants are occasionally doubled after a superscript *r*, but never before a subscript one, (3) both the palatal and dental sibilants have been used promiscuously and (5) combination of consonants and class-nasals have sometimes been wrongly effected, e.g. -*vaṇśa* (l. 2), -*kunbhi* (l. 8), *Gaṃgāyām* (l. 18) etc.

The *language* is Sanskrit. There are altogether ten verses composed in various metres. Barring them, the rest of the record is in prose.

The inscription runs into twenty-one lines. It is on the whole in a fair state of preservation.

The *inscription* is one of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Parameśvara*, *Paramamāheśvara* Govindacandra. It records the gift of an abode or dwelling-place to a Brāhmaṇa called Dāyīsarman, son of *ṭhakkura* Mahākara and grandson of *ṭhakkura* Kākū, who belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gotra* and to the triple *pravaras* of Bhāradvāja-Āṅgīrasa-Bārhaspatya. The location of the place granted (which was presumably at Benares) is given as follows: to the East of the Aghoreśvara and Paṃcoṃkāra and to the West of the Indramādhava and Lauḍeśvara temples, all apparently devoted to Śivaite form of worship. Before its final sanction, the grant was announced before a number of high officials of State. The grant itself was drafted by *karāṇika* Jalhaṇa.

The *date*, which is given both in figures as well as in words, has been read by Dr. F. Kielhorn⁴ as Monday (*Soma*), the full-moon *tithi* of Māgha of the Year 1171. On this reading the date seems

to be irregular. Dr. Kielhorn's reading of the day of the grant as *Soma* does not however, seem to be beyond doubt. The first letter of the word appears to be a *dh* with an indistinct medial sign; while the second one is clearly a *ṣ*. After that there still seems to be space for another letter which I take as *ṇ*. I am, therefore, inclined to read the whole word as *Dhīṣaṇe* i.e. on Thursday, instead of as *Soma*. *Dhīṣaṇa*, as is well-known, is a synonym of *Bṛhaspati*. In that case the date of the record would, as observed by Dr. Kielhorn,⁵ correspond regularly, for Vikrama Saṃvat 1171 current, to Thursday the 22nd January 1114 A.D. on which day there was a full-moon *tithi*.

The present inscription does not acquaint us with any historical facts that are not known to us already. The record presumably belongs to the first few years of Govindacandra's reign; and as such it does not refer to the ambitious titles of *aśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatrāyādhipati* found in his later inscriptions. As I have already discussed the historical portion of the inscription in my paper on the Kamauli Plate of Govindacandra (V.S. 1184),⁶ I refrain from doing it here afresh.

TEXT

[Metres: Vv. 1, 3, 10, *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 2, *Indravajrā*; vv. 4, 7, *Sārdūlavikṛīḍita*; vv. 5, 6, 8, *Vasantatilakā*; v. 9, *Drutavilambita*.]

1. *Om Om Svasti|| Akuṇṭh-otkaṇṭha-Vaikuṇṭha-kaṇṭhapīṭha-luṭhat-karaḥ| saṃraṃbhaḥ surat-āraṃbhe sa Śriyaḥ śreyase = stu vaḥ|| [1*] Āsid = Aśita-
2. dyuti-vaṇśa(mśa)-jāta-kṣmāpāla-mālāsu divaṃ gatāsu| sāksād = Vivasvān = iva bhūri-dhāmnā nāmnā Yaśovigraha itp(ty) = udāraḥ|| [2*] Tat = suto = bhūn = Mahicandra(ndra)ś = ca

5 *Ibid.*, p. 153.

7 From ink-impressions.

6 To be shortly published in *EI*.

8 Denoted by a symbol.

3. dra(ndra)dhāma-nibhaṃ niṣaṃ(jaṃ)| yen = āpāram = akū-
pāra-pāre vyāpāritaṃ yaśaḥ|| [3*] Tasy = ābhūt = tanayo
nay-aika-raśi(sī)kaḥ krānta-dviṣaṇ = maṇḍaṇḍa)lo viddha
(ddhva)st-oddhata-vira-
4. yodha-timira-śrī-cadra(ndra)devo nṛpaḥ| yen-odāratara-pratāpa-
sa(śa)mit = āse(śe)ṣa-prajā(j = o)padravam śrīmad = Gādhipur-
ādhirājyam = asama[m*] dā(do)r = vikrameṇ = ā-
5. rjitaṃ(tam)|| [4*] Tirthāni Kāśī-Kuśik-Ottara-Kosal = Edra-
(ndra)sthāniyakāni paripālayat = ādhigamya [|*] hem =
ātma-tulpa(ly)aṃ = anisa(śa)m dadatā dvijebhyo
6. yen = āṅkitā vasumatī śatasa(śa)s = tulābhiḥ|| [5*] Tasy =
ātmajo Madanapāla iti kṣitidra(ndra)-cūdāmaṇir = vijayate
nija-gotra-caṇdraḥ|
7. yasy = ābhiṣeka-kalas = ā(o)llasitaiḥ payobhiḥ prakṣālitaṃ
kali-rajah-paṭalam dharitryāḥ|| [6*] yaspa(sy) = āsid =
vijaya-prayāṇa-samaye tuṅg = āca.
8. l = occaiś = calan = mādyat = kunḍhi(mbhi) - pada - kram =
āsama-bhara-bhrasyasyan = mahi-maṇḍale| cūdā-ratna-vibhin-
natāluka⁹-galita-styān = āsrg = udbhāsitaḥ
tāluka⁹-galita-styān = āsrg = udbhāsitaḥ
9. Se(śe)ṣaḥ peṣa-vasā(śā)d = iva¹⁰ kṣaṇam = asau kroḍe nilin
= ānanah|| [7*] Tasmād = ajāyata nij = āyata-vā(bā)hu-
valli-va(ba)ndh = āvaruddh¹¹-nava-rājya gajo
10. jo¹¹ naredraḥ(ndraḥ)| sām̐dr = āmr̐ta-drava-mucāṃ prabhavo
gavāṃ yā(yo) Govindacandra iti caṇdra iv = āmvu(mbu)-
rāse(śe)ḥ|| [8*] Na katham = apy = alabhanta raṇa-
kṣamāṃs = tīrṣṣu

9 In most of the inscriptions of Gāhaḍavāla kings, we have *tālu* instead of *tāluka*. The latter form of the word, however, though identical in meaning, seems to hamper the metre.

10 Dr. Kielhorn thinks *IA.*, vol. XVII, p. 140, n. 45 that this phrase should more properly be read as *Seṣaḥ śaiṣa-vaśād = iva*.

11 This is superfluous.

11. dikṣu gajān = atha vaji(jri)ṇaḥ | kakubhi-va(ba)bhrāmur =
Abhramuvallabha-pratibhaṭā iva yasya ghaṭā-gajāḥ || [9*]
So = yaṁ samasta-rāja-cakra-saṁsa(se)vita-
12. caraṇaḥ |¹² sa ca paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameś-
vara-paramamāheśvara-nija-bhuj = opārjita-śrī-Kanyakuvj(bj)
= ādhipatya-śrī-Caṁ-
13. dradeva -pād = ānudhyāta -paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-
parameśvara -paramamāheśvara -śrīmān = Madanapāladeva-
pād = ānudhpa(dhyā)ta-para-
14. mabhaṭṭāraka -mahārājādhirāja -parameśvara-paramamāheśvara-
śrīmad = Govindacaṁdradevo vijayi ||¹³ śrīmad = Vārāṇasyāṁ
nivāsi-
15. no nikhila-janapadān = upagatān = api ca rāja-rājñi-yuvarāja-
maṁtri-purohita-pratihāra-senāpati-bhāṇḍāgārik = ākṣapaṭa-
lika-bhīṣa-
16. g = naimittik = āntahpurika -dūta -kari -turaga -pattan ākara-
sthāna-gokul-ādhikāri-puruṣān = ājñāpayati vo(bo)dhayaty =
ādiśati ca yathā |
17. viditam = astu bhavatām = eka -saptaty = adhik = aikādaśa-
saṁvatsare Māghe māsi śukla-pakṣe paurṇamāsyāṁ = ake
(ñke) = pi Saṁvat 1171 Māgha-su-¹⁴
18. di 15 Dhiṣaṇe¹⁵ śrī Vārāṇasyāṁ Gaṁgāyāṁ snātv =
āsmābhir = gokarṇṇa -kuśa-latā -puta -kara-tal-odaka-pūrvva-
[m*] śrī-Vārāṇasyāṁ = ev = Āghoreśva-
19. ra-Paṁcoṁkārāyoh pūrvve |¹⁶ tath = Eṁdramādhava-Lauḍeś-
varāyoh paścime a(ā)vāsam = idaṁ Bhāradvāja-sagotrāya
Bhāradvāj = Āṁkhi(gi)rasa-Vā(Bā)-

12 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

13 *Ibid.*

14 Here is a sign to indicate continuation of the word in the next line.

15 Dr. Kielhorn reads *Some*.

16 The *danḍa* is superfluous.

20. rhaspatya -triḥ(tri)-pravarāya ¹⁷ṭha| śrī -Kākū -pautrāya| ¹⁸
 ṭha¹⁹| ²⁰ śrī -Mahākara -putrāya mahattaka -śrī -Dāyisa(śa)
 rmaṇe pradattaṃ matvā śa(sa)rvvair = a-²¹
21. pi paripālayitavyam = iti|| ²² || Karaṇik = odgato vidhvāṃś
 = Citragupt = opamo guṇaiḥ| yaśasā ²³Jalhāṇa[h*] śrīmān
 = alikhat = tāṃvra(mra)kaṃ mudā|| [10*]

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17 This evidently is a contraction of the word *ṭhakkura*.

18 *Danda* superfluous. 19 I.e., *ṭhakkura*. 20 *Danda* superfluous.

21 Here follows a sign to indicate continuation of the word in the next line.

22 In between the two marks of punctuation, there is an auspicious ornamental symbol.

23 This Jalhāṇa was also responsible for drafting the Kamauli Plate of V.S. 1172 (*El.*, vol. IV, p. 104), where he describes himself as *vāstavya-kul-odbhūta-kāyastha-ṭhakkura*.

Teliagarhi

Teliagarhi,* known as the key of Bengal, which stands hoary with age, on the Rajmahal hills near Sahibganj, has unfortunately failed to receive the prominence or attention it deserves. That it proved a veritable 'key' to Bengal's political problems throughout the ages has escaped the notice of the present day historians. The *Jahangir Nāmāh* describes the fort of Teliagarhi as a burial ground, burial indeed of many a political ambitions. But physically too it bears many burials though the fort is too big to be described in the fashion of *Jahangir Nāmāh*. A casual observer can only catch a glimpse of its central structure and satisfy himself with the idea that it is only as big as it can arrest the attention of his eyes but to a regular visitor of the site it reveals its real dimension now lying hidden under nature's vegetable vagary. In length it is two-third of a mile. The northern limit is a natural precipice just below which the swift-going Ganges flow. The area is bounded with a strong built rampart on all other sides barring a small portion on the south where the fort is embedded with mountains difficult to ascend. As we approach the area from the west we may yet see the rampart which has been described by *Ain-i-Akbari*¹ as a "raised stone wall extending from the Ganges to the mountains and this wall is considered to be the boundary between Bengal and Bihar." The translator of the *Seir-ul-Mutaqherin* writes that "Teliagarry is a fort that shuts up the passage into Bengal. It consists in a wall strengthened in towers, that extend from the foot of the hills to the rocky bank of the Ganges" but wrongly adds that "it has neither ditch nor ram-

* Read at the Third Indian History Congress, Calcutta. It is the history of the pass of Teliagarhi. By "Teliagarhi" people now mean the Fort and hence the title of this paper should be Teliagarhi, the Fort that decided the fate of Bengal.

¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, 28.

part.” As a matter of fact ramparts there are and we have just discussed about it. A deep natural ditch in the vicinity of its western wall is visible even to-day and perhaps Major Coote referred to this when he wrote: “a rivulet or water-course very hollow and impassable ran near the *phataks* or gates.” For the purpose of defence, this frontier fort with the natural fortifications of the Ganges in the north and the hills in the south stood in no need of any more ditch.

The *Ain-i-Akbari*, *Khulasat-ul-Twarikh*,² and *Wakiat-i-Jahangiri*³ have all measured the area of Bengal from Gadhi the western front to Chatgawn (Chittagong) on the east and this in itself proves that this ‘Gate of Bengal’ always carried an importance of its own. A close study of the descriptions of Gadhi in the *Akbar-nāma*, *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, *Twarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, *Iqbalnāmah-i-Jahangiri*, *Al-Badaoni*, *Riaz-ul-Salatin* etc., will show that the authors one and all stress upon the strategic significance of its natural situation. The greatness of Gadhi lay on the fact that it was “the only passage to the countries of Gaur and Bengal, there being except by that gate no other way of entry or exit.”⁴ In the comment following the above quotation Elliott (vol. IV, 367 fn. 2) writes that the Gadhi is better known as Siclygully, properly Sankrigali,⁵ the narrow pass about 8 miles north-west from Rajmahal. But this is a sad confusion between the two passes of Teliagarhi and Sakrigali (Sankarigali). The fact is that they are two distinct passes. The one that commences from the fort of Teliagarhi is known as the Teliagarhi pass and the other that ends at the promontary of the Rajmahal hills making a bid for the Ganges is known as the Siclygally pass and midway between them stands the Sakrugarh (Chik-koragarh).⁶ As regards the rôle played by this pass in history in

2 See *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, 592 fn. and 593 fn.

3 Elliot, VI. 326

4 Makhzan-i-Afghani. Mss. 202: Elliot, IV. 367, fn. 2.

5 More properly ‘Sankarigali.’ See *Indian Culture*, V, No. 4.

6 *Ibid.*

relation to Bengal we shall see from the sources of information of the Mughal period that it was always the theatre of decisive battles. But its history is not confined to the Mughal period only. Cunningham identified with Teliagarhi the lofty tower of Hieun Tsang's account and observed: "The pilgrim does not say what was the nature of the tower but from his description I gather that it must have been a Buddhist building, as its four faces were ornamented with panels filled with figures of saints, Buddhas and Devas. From the mixture of brick and stone in the building and its position on the northern frontier of the district and the south bank of the Ganges, I am led to think that the tower was most probably situated at Teliagarhi itself." I would like to draw the attention of all to some information of interest here:

(a) A stone pillar with small images of Buddha on its four sides has been recently found out in the fort area and is being worshipped by the Santals of the village lying close to the south-east corner of Teliagarhi.

(b) Just above the fort, on the top-most part of the mountains we have discovered a small stone structure built without mortar overlooking the surrounding area even miles off and curiously enough it goes by the name of "Yogi-garh" among the Paharias living in the neighbourhood. Is it then out of the way to conclude in the light of the Buddhist stamps noticed by the renowned archæologist Cunningham and the relics recently discovered by me that the word "Yogi" carries with it the memory of its old existence as a Buddhist monastery which were so common in those days in Bihar?

The passes of Teliagarhi and Sakriagali were possessed by the Piṭhipati Devarakṣita and a close guard of this front helped him in the revolt against his overlord Rāmapāla. I have already discussed in my paper "Piṭhi and Piṭhipatis" that the possession of this place

by a revolting feudatory would prove fatal to the Pāla empire and hence the defeat of Devarakṣita at the arms of Mahana was a political necessity. The discovery of the Janibagh inscription proves that the area was under the Piṭhipatis for a long time after Devarakṣita." The Vikramaśilā Vihāra which is identified with Patthalghatta, some ten miles off Teliagarhi, must have also been their possession till the powerful arms of Bakhtiyar Khilji and his son destroyed it. Mr. R. D. Banerji in his paper entitled "Lakṣmaṇasena" discusses about one of the three possible routes traversed by Bakhtiyar Khilji and says that "the third route (i.e. through the pass at Sahibganj) has been generally followed by the invaders of Bengal and most probably the first Muhammadan invader of Bengal also followed it."¹⁰ The learned scholar has opined in his History of Bengal (in Bengali) that a successful guard of the pass of Teliagarhi would have checked the invader and the consequent history of Bengal would have been quite different.¹¹ The history of Bengal during the Pathan period had been that of a continuous tug-of-war between the local and the Imperial rulers but we do not find any direct reference to the part played by Teliagarhi. But that the fort was in existence towards the close of the Pathan rule can be proved from the well-known *Caitanyacaritāmṛta*, a book written as early as 1582 A.D. The following reference appears in connection with Sanātana, the Private Secretary of Hussain Shah :

রাজবন্দী আমি গড়িয়ার যাইতে না পারি
পুণ্য হবে পর্বত আমা দেহ পার করি।¹²

As Sanātana bought off his release from the Imperial government he tried to steal his passage towards Benares. On his way he had to avoid the gate of Gadhi because a king's prisoner could have no

8 *Indian Culture*, V, 379-83; *Proceedings, Indian History Congress*, 1938, pp. 141 ff.

9 *Ibid.*

10 *J. & P.R.A.S.B.*, 272-90.

11 *Bāṅglār Itihās*, II, 8 ff.

12 Krishnadas Kavirāja, *Caitanyacaritāmṛta*, *Madhyalilā*, Ch. 20.

free passage over there. Though the verses were composed nearly sixty years after the incident, it is definite that even during the time of Hussain Shah, the king of Bengal, Teliagarhi was an important post. We are now to move on to the history of Gaḍhi in the rôle of deciding battles.

Sher Shah, Mahmud Shah, and Humayun

In his attempt for a way into Bengal Sher Shah got his first real obstacle here at this pass. Mahmud Shah was then the Governor of Bengal. He found an enemy in the person of Makdum Alam, his own brother-in-law who again joined hands with Sher Shah. Makdum Alam soon lost his life. Sher Shah immediately drew his forces towards Bengal. "The nobles of Bengal guarding the passes of Teliagarhi and Sakrigali and for one month continued the fighting. At length the passes of Teliagarhi and Sakrigali were captured and Sher Shah entered Bengal, and Mahmud Shah, drawing his force, encountered the former, when a great battle ensued, Sultan Mahmud, being vanquished in the field, entrenched himself in the citadel, and sent a message to emperor Humayun in Delhi, seeking for help."¹³ The fall of Teliagarhi opened the way for a triumphant entry of Sher Shah into Bengal. The empire was in danger and Humayun immediately hastened towards Bengal. But the resistance offered by Mahmud Shah at the passes of Teliagarhi and Sakrigali gave this definite lesson to Sher Shah that a close guard of the passes was a necessity. So he immediately sent Jalal Khan and Khawas Khan to defend the pass and to hold the emperor in check there. Emperor Humayun detached Jehangir Beg Mughal to capture Teliagarhi and Sakrigali. On the day that Jahangir Beg reached the place, just after he had dismounted, Jalal Khan and Khawas Khan, marching up quickly with an efficient force, attacked

13 Stewart, *History of Bengal*, 120-21; *Riaz-ul-Salatin*, 138-39.

him. The Mughal forces, unable to cope were vanquished and Jahangir Beg getting wounded, in a helpless condition returned to the emperor's camp ('which must have been near Colgong'). But when Humayun himself marched up to Teliagarhi and Sakrigali Jalal Khan and Khawas Khan, seeing their inability to stand the emperor's onslaught, fled towards the hills and then to Sher Shah at Gaur. The Imperial army forcing its way easily through the narrow defile, marched up stage by stage.¹⁴ Humayun entered Bengal and Sher Shah fled through the jungles of Jharkhanda. The victory of Humayun at the Garhi saved for a time his empire from the clutch of Sher Shah. The students of history all know the consequent facts. Sulaiman Karbani was appointed the governor of Bihar by Islam Shah, the son of Sher Shah, Karbani declared independence after the death of Islam Shah and consequently became the governor of Bengal. After the death of Sulaiman Karbani in 1572 A.D. the Afghan Sardars dethroned his son and placed Daud Khan on the throne. A man of very high ambition, Daud Khan began to establish himself independent of the Imperial government in Bengal and Bihar. Akbar was then the emperor and he made no delay to send Munim Khan against Daud. The general controlled the situation by annexing Patna. He was appointed the governor of Bengal and Bihar.

Daud vs. Imperial Army

"When Daud fled from Patna, he went to Gadhi.¹⁵ Leaving aside trusty men there he proceeded to the town of Tanda. He

14 *Tezouh-al-Vakiat* (Tr. Stewart), 12: *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, Elliot, V, 200 ff.; *Akbar-nāma*, Elliot, VI, 19; *ibid.*, (Beveridge), 1, 328 ff. *Tawarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, Elliot IV, 367; Briggs, II, 114 ff.; *Al-Badouni*, 457. *Raz.*, 141-42 all give the accounts of the above battle.

Akbar-nāma, Elliot, VI, 19 calls it the 'town of Garhi' but the area of the fort is too insufficient to hold a town and does not bear any trace whatsoever of civil residence.

15 Dow, *Hindusthan*, II, 251 calls the above pass as 'Killagury.'

made such efforts to strengthen the fort of Gadhi that in his vain idea it was impregnable. Khan Khanan marched against Tanda and arrived near Gadhi. As soon as the eyes of the terrified Afghans fell upon his army they fled and abandoned the fort, so that he obtained possession of Gadhi without striking a blow.¹⁶ The road to Bengal was open to the Imperial army and so Daud fled towards Orissa. To cut the subsequent events short, we may only refer to the battle of Mogalmari where Daud suffered a defeat and promised to rule faithfully over Orissa. But when Munim Khan died and the Afghans of Bengal and Orissa revolted Daud took advantage of the anarchy and again strengthened his position at Rajmahal, 30 miles off from Teliagarhi. "Upon receiving this intelligence the emperor sent a letter to Subhan Kuli Turk to Khan Jahan, directing him to take with him all the Amirs and Jagirdars who had abandoned Bengal and to march against Daud.....The Khan took the field and advanced into Bengal. He had an action with 3,000 men whom Daud had left in charge of Gadhi and took the place.¹⁷ Khan Jahan (Hussain Kuli Khan), the governor of Bengal stormed the fort of Teliagarhi and Sakrigali, and by the delivery of first assault, slaughtered about 1,500 Afghans and advanced towards the site where Daud Khan was entrenched. Daud was captured and put to death. So the battle at Teliagarhi closed the career of Daud and decided the fate of Bengal in relation to the Imperial government.

The Secret Way

Akbar-nāma, while describing the preparations of the Imperial army against Daud Khan writes: "The Zemindars of the neighbourhood (of Teliagarhi) said that there was a secret way through the country of Teliraja, which though impracticable for beasts of burden, might be surmounted by active and intelligent horsemen...

16 *T. Akbari*, Elliot, V, 381.

17 *Ibid.*, 397. Briggs, II, 246-48; *Akbar-nāma*, Elliot, VI, 44 ff.; *Riaz.*, 161-62.

.....Manjum Khan was sent at the head of a brave and resolute detachment by this route."¹⁸ It is to be noted here that besides the main pass of Garhi there was a second secret way to Bengal. Here again we can quote to our advantage the verses from the *Caitanyacaritāmṛta* which refers to the same secret passage traversed by Sanātan in c. 1522 A.D.:

রাজবন্দী আমি গড়িয়ার যাইতে না পারি,
পুণ্য হবে পর্বত আমা দেহ পার করি।

* * * * *

তবে গোসাঞির সঙ্গে চারি পাইক দিলা।
রাত্রে রাত্রে বনপথে পর্বত পার কৈলা ॥¹⁹

A local zemindar helped Sanātan with four 'paiks' who took him by the secret way over the hills.

Teliagarhi named after Teliraja?

One more point of interest needs be discussed here. In the same passage from *Akbar-nāma* we find that Teliraja was a zemindar of the vicinity. Is the fort of Gadhi named after some Teliraja? "Local tradition states that the fort is called after a Teli zemindar who was compelled by the Muhammadans to embrace Islam."²⁰ Taking the tradition and the reference in the *Akbar-nāma* into consideration we can conclude that the fort carries in its name the memory of some Teliraja of the neighbourhood.

Kakshals and the Gadhi

Let us go back to our topic. The problem of Bengal looked solved when Daud Khan was crushed and Akbar sent Muzaffar Khan to take over charge of the province after Khan Jahan. Shah Mansur was appointed to look after the affairs of the Jagirdars. He

¹⁸ Elliot, VI, 44 ff.

¹⁹ Krishnadas Kaviraj, *Caitanyacaritāmṛta*, Madhyalilā, Ch. 20

²⁰ *Gazetteer, S.P.*, Ed. L.S.S.O. Malley, 1910, p. 285.

began with promulgation of strict measures. This, together with the imperial order of death on one Roshan Beg enraged the Kakshals so much that they resolved upon mutiny. Matters moved to an alarming situation. Muzaffar Khan sent his men for peace talks to Baba Khan but the latter replied with their arrest." Coincident with this the revenue officials of Bihar took away the Jagirs of Md. Masum Kabuli Arab Bahadur and all the amirs." This drifted matters to a climax and mutiny broke out." When the Kakshals confronted Muzaffar Khan Asi Masum marched to assist them and arrived to Gadhi. Muzaffar Khan then sent Kwaja Samsuddin Md. Kwaji with a detachment and some guns to the pass of Gadhi to arrest the progress of Asi Masum. But the latter had a strong force; he broke through Gadhi and attacked the Kwaja and defeated him."²¹ The failure of the Kwaja at the pass of Teliagarhi brought sweeping success to the Kakshals. Had Masum been defeated there, he would have no chance to enter Bengal, from a junction with the Kakshals and all the countries of Bengal and Bihar would not have fallen into their hands. Akbar however sent a strong army under the able lead of Todarmall and as fortune would ultimately have it Gadhi fell into the hands of the royal troops and Bengal was regained at the place where it was lost. The pass of Teliagarhi once more showed how it decided the fate of Bengal.

Shah Jahan vs. Ibrahim

The next drama began when Prince Shah Jahan raised a rebellion against his father, forcibly annexed Burdwan and proceeded to fall upon Ibrahim Khan, the Subadar of Bengal. Ibrahim took his post at Rajmahal. "Shah Jahan, convinced that in his situation delays were dangerous and that his success depended on prompt and vigorous measures, advanced by rapid marches towards the governor, who,

21 T. Akbari, Elliot, V, 416 ff.; *Al-Badouni*, II, 290 ff.

finding that the city of Rajmahal was incapable of standing a siege, retreated to the fortification of Teliagarhi, upon which were mounted a number of cannons served by vagabond Europeans.....but not considering the place sufficiently secure, he entrusted the defence of it to one of his best officers, and encamped with his army on the opposite bank of the Ganges. Meanwhile Deriaw Khan, one of the Afghan chiefs in the army of Shah Jahan, won the assistance of some of the zemindars of Boglipore (Bhagalpur), secured boats and crossed the Ganges.²² "When Ibrahim Khan found that the enemy had passed the river, he withdrew as many of his troops as could be spared from the defence of Terriagurhy; and being thus reinforced, advanced to meet the rebel chiefs."²³ Then began a great battle at Teliagarhi. The author of the *Riaz-ul-Salatin* gives a vivid description as to how one Syed Nurullah was ordered to form the van with eight hundred cavalry, how Ahmad Beg Khan formed the centre with 700 cavalry while Ibrahim Khan himself held the line of reserve with thousands of cavalry and infantry. In the long run Ibrahim got serious wounds and fell dead. "Roumy Khan, an engineer of Shah Jahan, had pressed forward the siege of Terriagurhy and at the time when battle was raging on the opposite bank he set fire to a mine which blew up twenty yards of the fortification and opened a breach, through which rebels rushed with impetuosity and put the greater part of the garrison to the sword. The capture of Terriagurhy and the death of the governor decided the fate of Bengal, and the authority of the prince was everywhere acknowledged."²⁴

Aurangzeb vs. Shuja

The government of Bengal changed many hands after Ibrahim. Shuja, the second son of Shah Jahan came in. He changed the capi-

22. Stewart, *Bengal*, 227.

23. Stewart, *op. cit.*, 227.

24. *Ibid.*, 228 ff.; Dow, *History of Hindosthan*, III, 66 ff.; *Iqbal-nāma*, 220-22; Elliot, 409 ff.; Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-Riaz.*, 188-93.

tal from Dacca back to Rajmahal and thus the importance of the passes of Teliagarhi and Sakrigali became once more doubly greater. When Shah Jahan fell ill his sons entered into internecine quarrels. In his attempt for the throne Shah Shuja suffered a defeat near Agra and retreated to Monghyr. His position at Monghyr also became insecure owing to the treachery played by Raja Bahroj of Kharagpur. The Raja secretly intrigued with Mir Jumla and showed the latter another route across the hills to the east of Monghyr. Shah Shuja was in the face of danger and he instantly sailed down his war vessels from Monghyr fort to Rangamati and Rajmahal and on the way fortified the passes of Teliagarhi and Siclygalli."²⁵ So Shah Shuja thought of sealing the success of the enemy by shutting the gate of Garhi. Shuja "built a wall from the river to the southern hill barring the narrow plain through which the road ran" at Garhi²⁶ or at a place named Rangamati (Lalmati) nearly four miles east of Teliagarhi.²⁷ The wall was constructed perhaps under the idea of giving a resistance there and controlling the Ganges. But Shuja had soon to evacuate the place, for, in the meantime, the Imperialists had avoided Teliagarhi and stolen a passage towards Rajmahal through Birbhum. Mir Jumla expected quite naturally that Shuja would concentrate at Garhi and he would fall upon him by a rear attack. The battle which was to be fought at Teliagarhi was fought and won by Mir Jumla on the other side of Rajmahal.

Sharfaraz vs. Alivardi

We need next pass on to the reign of Nawab Shujauddin. During his time two brothers named Haji Mohamamad and Alivardi Khan became very prominent in the court. The latter was entrusted with the Government of Bihar in 1733 A.D. Sharfaraz Khan, son of Shuja, could not tolerate their eminence and when in 1739 he

²⁵ *Riaz*, 221 fn. 1. Stewart, *op. cit.*, 265.

²⁶ Aquil Khan, 92.

²⁷ *Alamgir Nāmah*, 534-36; 495; Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, II, 241 ff.

ascended the throne he was on the look-out for a plea. Meanwhile there was a conspiracy among Haji Mohammad, Jagat Seth and others to procure the Subadarship of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa for Alivardi. Sharfaraz detected the conspiracy and decided to bestow the Deputy-Governorship of Patna on his son-in-law Syed Muhammad Hassan in supercession of Alivardi Khan and the Fouzdari of Akbarnagar together with the command of Sakrigali and Teliagarhi passes on Mir Sharfuddin Bakshi in supercession of Ataullah Khan, son-in-law of Haji Mohammad.²⁸ Meanwhile Alivardi secured the allegiance of many generals and officers of army. Under the false pretext of waiting upon Sharfaraj Khan, Alivardi Khan marched swiftly, crossed the passes of Teliagarhi²⁹ and Sakrigali and reached the frontier of Bengal. At the instigation of Haji Mohammad, Ataullah Khan, the Foujdar of Akbarnagar had taken steps to prevent all movements of messengers and spies and to interdict all the intercourse through news-letters between Azimabad (Patna) and Bengal *via* the passes of Teliagarhi and Sakrigali until Alivardi had crossed through those passes. In consequence no news of Alivardi's movements had reached Sharfaraz Khan.³⁰ In the above debut Alivardi came out successful. We can have no better account than that of *Riaz-ul-Salatin* to reveal the unique part played by the passes in deciding a momentous battle. At a time when Alivardi was troubled by the Marathas in Bengal and the Pathans in Bihar this pass of Teliagarhi and Sakrigali helped him much as a base of operation and guard.

That the Britishers also fully realised the importance of the Teliagarhi pass is evident from the opinion of Colonel Scott, who, in his confidential scheme for the conquest of Bengal submitted to the Company, wrote, "500 disciplined troops might defend the pass

28 *Riaz.*, 310.

29 Orme, *Hindusthan*, p. 30, vol. II, sec. I, calls it Tacriagully.

30 *Riaz.*, 311.

against the whole power of Indosthan and secure us from that quarter."³¹ The Colonel was confident that no invasion from Delhi could wreck their mission if they defended the pass of Teliagarhi. So we see that this pass played the same rôle in relation to Bengal as the Khyber did in relation to India for a considerable period.

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Śiva and his Emblems on Early Indian Coins and Seals

The devices that appear on the ancient coins and seals of India are very interesting objects of study. In many cases, their connection with the particular religious beliefs and practices of the people of different localities in which they were issued can be demonstrated. Suggestions have been made by several scholars like Coomaraswamy, Foucher and others regarding the religious basis of a good many of the symbols appearing on the earliest series of indigenous Indian coins viz. punch-marked and cast; these, if accepted, will fully corroborate the conclusion in respect of the earlier aniconic tradition of a large section of the Indians, which can be proved with textual and monumental data. Some of the animals appearing on these coins may stand for theriomorphic representations of deities while others on mountain symbols—three, five or six-arched ones—may also have some cult-significance; the tree within railing may stand for *vrkṣa-caitya* or *sthalavrkṣa*; we find even the crude out-line of a human figure holding a staff and a vase in its two hands depicted in the same manner as it appears on some coins of Ujjain where we can justifiably identify it as Śiva; the three-arched mountain symbol with a crescent above it may typify the aniconic representation of the same deity (sometimes described as *trīśṛṅga parvata*, *O. Z.* 1927-8, p. 179) with the lunar crescent on his crest (*Śaśāṅkaśekhara*). But all these explanations are by their very nature, conjectural in character and no certainty can be arrived at in the present state of our knowledge. It seems, however, there is a great resemblance between some of the symbols and those others appearing on the pictographic seals of the Indus valley and if we can ever recognise the exact significance of the latter, some more definite light may be thrown on the former. But this uncertainty and hesitation disappear to a very great extent when we take up the local and tribal coins. Some

at least of the figures appearing on them can be explained with greater confidence and when this is done it will appear that these are associated with particular religious practices or cults.

When iconism had come to be accepted by the majority of the Indian people, figures of gods and goddesses very often made their appearance on the various types of coins and seals of the period; even then symbols do not totally disappear, and a few of the older and several new ones figure as so many emblems, sometimes in the hands of the cult deities or at other times independently. It is very often the case that we do not light upon comparatively early specimens of images in various localities of northern India; in such cases, the coins discovered in those places are sure to help us in a very remarkable manner to determine the early iconographic types of various gods and goddesses worshipped there. It is needless to remark further that these numismatic depiction of deities is in many cases really based on their actual sculptural representations. Where both the early sculptural type and its numismatic counterpart are extant, we do not fail to find the very close parallelism. Thus, the figure of Buddha belonging to the second century A.D. is well represented in plastic form among the Gandhāra sculptures; when we compare it with the numismatic type appearing on the coins of Kaṇiṣka and clearly described by the Kushana die-cutter as CAKAYMO BO ΔΔ O (Śākyamuni Buddha) we are struck by the great similarity between these two. The figure of Śiva has not so far been discovered among the extant Gandhāra sculptures of the 1st or 2nd centuries of the Christian era; but when we find the devices on certain coins and seals of the 1st century B.C. and onwards delineating the features of the deity, it will not be presumptuous at all to conclude that these are actually based on the plastic representations of the god in that period. This hypothesis can be substantiated by a reference to the coin-types of the Greek city states; these when they represented particular Hellenic divinities like Zeus,

Heracles, Pallas Athene, Artemis, Nike and others were actually based on their sculptural representations current in those localities. Not to speak of very well-known examples, we can refer to the coin-types of two inland Cretan cities of Rhaucus and Sybrita. The former state had a cult of Poseidon Hippios, the god holding a trident stands beside his horse on the coins of the former. Dionysus and Hermes were the gods of Sybrita and appeared as obverse and reverse devices of her coins (Seltman, *Greek Coins*, p. 173).

With regard to the representation of Buddha and Śiva on the coins, the following observation of Coomaraswamy is worth noticing: 'In Buddhist art, we find at Bharhut and Sanchi the tree, wheel etc., on or behind an altar, clearly designated in the inscriptions as Buddha (*Bhagavato*) and worshipped as such.....Later on the figure of a human teacher takes its place upon the throne, the old symbols being retained as specific designations.....In the same way with Hindu types; thus we find at first the humped bull alone, then a two-armed, and finally a four-armed figure accompanying the bull, once the representative of the deity, now his vehicle, while other symbols are held in the hands as attributes.'¹ As regards Buddha, no certain representation of him appears on coins before the time of Kaṇiṣka; the seated figure on some coins of Kadaphes cannot be definitely recognised as Buddha on account of the hammer-like object placed in his raised right hand, while those seated figures on certain copper coins of Maues and a few hailing from Ujjain are of uncertain character (cf. Coomaraswamy, *The Origin of Buddha Image*). In the case of Śiva, it is true, there cannot be much doubt in identifying the bull appearing on many indigenous coins as well as those of the alien rulers of India as representing him theriomorphically. Thus, the humped bull depicted on the reverse side of the unique gold coin of an uncertain Indo-Scythic king,

bearing legends in Greek and Kharoṣṭhī script—*Tauros* and *Uṣabhe* (*Vṛṣabha*) most presumably stands for Śiva; this reminds us of the same device appearing on the coins of the white Hun ruler Mihiragula with the legend *Jayatu Vṛṣab* in the script of the period.² But, it may be shown that the bull before a particular symbol on certain coins may also have represented the sacrificial bull.

Before we pass on to the anthropomorphic figures of Śiva on early indigenous and foreign coins of India, we shall refer to a symbol which appears on an uninscribed cast coin, (provenance unknown). It seems to be a some-what realistic representation of the *liṅgam*. If the interpretation of this symbol is correct, then we have here an emblem intimately connected with Śiva-worship. In fact, Allan has definitely described it as 'liṅgam on square pedestal'; the tree in railing on the left of the same device may stand for the *sthala-vṛkṣa* in association with the particular Śaiva emblem. Referring to Allan's description of its obverse we read, 'Building (?) on l.; tree in centre. On r. female figure to l.' There can be no doubt about the inter-relation of many of these symbols appearing on such types of coins and on the basis of Allan's description as supported by his plates, one is tempted to find in the obverse and reverse of this coin the cult-object, the sacred tree associated with it, the shrine (?) as well as the votary all together. Though Allan has not named another symbol figuring on the obverse of two square copper coins probably to be attributed to Taxila, its very appearance seems to connect it with the other one just described, though the pedestal here is somewhat summarily represented. But liṅgams with or without elaborate pedestals are known to have existed in ancient times (for example, the Guḍimallam Liṅga, one of the earliest one, rises abruptly from the floor of the shrine); in fact in the early specimens

² P. Gardner, *British Museum Catalogue of coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of India*, p. 162, pl. xxix, 15; V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. I, p. 236, pl. xxv, 5.

the latter mode was occasionally followed. Now, the reverse of these two coins has a hill with trees growing from its two sides and an honorific parasol-like emblem on the top. Here again, these symbols, taken together seem unmistakably to point to their cult connection. A Śivaliṅga on a pedestal placed between two different trees inside railings is also represented on the obverse of var. c of class I coins hailing from Ujjain.³ As for the association of the tree with the phallic emblem of Śiva, reference may be made to the terracotta seal in the collection of Dhir Singh Nahar, having on it a Śivaliṅga with subdued realism, described in the accompanying legend as *Pādapeśvara* in Gupta characters. Even now many of the important Śivaliṅgas worshipped in India have their particular trees; the celebrated Apliṅga of Jambukeśvara near Śrīraṅgam and the tradition associated with it should be noted here. Numerous textual references can be cited to show Śiva's connection with hills and mountains, notice should be taken here, however, of the extremely realistic phallic emblems of Śiva shown above a hill exactly in the manner in which the latter symbol is drawn on the Taxila coins, and inscribed in Brāhmī characters of the Gupta period, on some terracotta seals from Bhiṭā (*A.S.I.A.R.*, 1911-12, p. 46, nos. 15 & 16). The three coins noted above can with some confidence be dated in the 2nd—3rd century B.C., if not earlier. Coomaraswamy remarked with regard to the symbols on punchmarked coins, before the publication of Allan's *Catalogue* that the 'marks which we might expect, but which are not found, include the liṅgam etc.' (*H.I.I.A.*, p. 45). If the above suggestion is accepted and there is every reason to accept it we find here perhaps the earliest representation of phalli on objects of the historical period.

A few other symbols appearing on the indigenous as well as the foreign coins of India must have to be interpreted as so many

3 J. Allan, *op. cit.*, p. 85, No. 2, pl. xi. 2; p. 233, Nos. 154 and 154a, pl. xxxv. 5 and p. 243, No. 19, pl. xxxvi, 15.

Śaivic emblems. The reverse side of the coins of the Pāñcāla king Rudragupta bears a device which has been described by Allan as 'railing with three pillars above; uncertain objects at top of each.' Two of these coins are illustrated on plate XXVII (Nos. 1 and 2) of his book; the reverse of No. 2, I think, discloses the identity of this device. The central object is a trident (*triśūla*) placed inside a railing and the side ones are pillars similar to the two shown on either side of Agni standing on a basement in the coins of Pāñcāla Agni-mitra. The association of the issuer's name Rudramitra with the well-known emblem of Rudra-Śiva will have to be noted here. In fact, Allan in his Introduction (pp. cxviii-cxix) puts forth the same suggestion; he writes, 'Rudragupta has on his reverse a trident between two pillars (e.g. pl. xxvii. 2), the emblem of Rudra-Śiva. On other coins (e.g., pl. xxvii. 1) the object appears to be a star or a kind of double trident with prongs below as well as above.' If we compare the central object with the same on the reverse of a coin doubtfully attributed to Taxila we find that both of them are identical. The latter has been described by Allan as 'Tree in centre; standing figure on either side' (*op. cit.*, p. 237, no. 2, pl. xlv. 1); but there are only three prongs and these are placed on the top of the long staff issuing out of a basement. The two figures on either side of this enshrined *triśūla* emblem may simply represent the votaries before the object of their devotion. The central object on the obverse of the next coin reproduced in Allan's plate xlv may show a tree as several branches issue out of the central stem; whatever may be its significance, it is also an object of worship. But it is here an object of veneration probably to beings who are divine ones; cf. Allan's description of the whole device 'Tree in railing in centre; on left figure on elephant to right; on right, lion right with a solar symbol above; at top the hill with crescent, the taurine, svastika and an uncertain object' (p. 237). It can be suggested that some sacred tree associated probably with

Śiva is being shown here as an object of veneration. Cunningham describes the reverse of a coin of the Pāñcāla Dhruvamitra as 'Trident on basement of Buddhist railing' and remarks 'Dhruva is the North Polar Star, but as it is also a name of Śiva, I conclude that the trident refers to him' (*CAI*, p. 81, pl. vii, fig. 3). Allan writes, however about the same device, 'The object in question, which stands on a platform in the position usually occupied by the deity between two pillars with cross-bars at top is, however, not a trident. On No. 53 (pl. xxvii, 5) it looks like a battle axe, but on No. 55 (pl. xxvii, 6) and others the shaft is clearly bent. It must be a symbol of Dhruva, the pole-star' (cxviii). I cannot be sure about my own opinion from the respective plates, but even if it be a battle-axe at all, then that would also connect the symbol with Śiva, though it being a particular emblem of the polar star should not also be discounted, especially with regard to the coin No. 55. In any case, we shall presently see how the combined trident-battle-axe was sometimes used by itself for the obverse or reverse device on some coins. Mention may be made in this connection of a symbol appearing on some of the uninscribed cast coins described by Allan in his book (pp. 87-91). When observed along with the above devices, it is highly probable that it represents a splayed trident with broad flattened prongs, issuing out of a railing which has attached two parasol-like objects on its two sides (a comparison with the side parasols of railings enclosing Bodhi-tree and other Buddhist symbols, as represented in Bodhi Gaya and Amarāvati reliefs is suggested). The trident and battle-axe combined placed before the tree in enclosure on the reverse sides of the Audumbara chief Dharaghoṣa should be noted here (Allan, *op. cit.*, p. 124, pl. xiv. 14). This combined symbol with undoubted Śaiva association appears on the obverse of Wema Kadphises' coins, where the king, a Māheśvara by faith, puts offerings in honour of his deity on the sacrificial fire (Whitehead, *PMC.*, vol. I, pl. xvii, 36).

The same symbol is present on the coins of Vāsudeva and Vāsu; when Śamudragupta issued some of his gold coins in evident imitation of the late Kushan money, he had to replace the trident-battle-axe standard of the prototypes with the Garuḍa emblem sacred to Viṣṇu, as he was a *Parama-bhāgavata* (a devout Bhāgavata or a Vaiṣṇava). The replacement of the hill symbol with crescent above, possibly a Śaiva emblem by Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu's Garuḍa done by Candragupta II in his silver issues which were struck in imitation of the Western Satrap silver coins, after he had overthrown them, may also be explained in the same manner.

Śiva appears for the first time in an anthropomorphic form on the many coins hailing from Ujjain and its environs. The single standing figure on many of these coins can be definitely identified with him. Cunningham was not certain about its identification; but the attributes in the hands, *viz.*, a staff—not a sun standard, as he described it, for the solar symbol does not seem to be joined to the staff—in the right and vase in the left clearly disclose the identity. Any doubt whatsoever is set at rest by the testimony of another variety of the same series of coins, which shows a bull slightly prancing up and looking up at the deity (cf. the *Matsya-purāṇa* passage which enjoins that Viśākha the mount of Śiva should be in the attitude of looking up at the god, *devavīkṣanatatparaḥ*). Moreover, the three headed standing figure on the obverse of a third variety of the Ujjain coins, carrying the identical attributes further strengthens my hypothesis. Cunningham, no doubt, identified the latter as Mahākāla, but his statement that 'this coin may be accepted as a single evidence of Brahmanism at Ujjain' is unjustifiable. Allan is in doubt about the identity of this figure; he proposes that this figure and its variants may stand for either of the deities *viz.*, Śiva Mahākāla and Skanda Kārttikeya (in the body of the *Catalogue*, however, he invariably describes them as Kārttikeya or simply as deity). The three heads of the figure in

some Ujjain coins have been taken by him to partially represent the six heads of the latter divinity. But we have six-headed figures of Kārttikeya in indigenous coins and three-headed Śiva figures are known from Kushan coins. On the obverse of the Audumbara chief Dharaghoṣa's silver coins, we find the figure of Viśpamitra (Viśvāmitra) as described by the Kharoṣṭhī legend across the figure, but on the reverse there occur two symbols which are intimately associated with Śiva, viz., combined trident-battle-axe on a pedestal and a tree within railing. What is further of interest in the case of the copper coins of the Audumbara chiefs, Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa and Dharaghoṣa is that they almost invariably bear on their reverse sides the representations of structural shrines ('domed pavilions'—Coomaraswamy; 'two storied domed *stūpa*'—Allan) with the trident-battle-axe standards almost invariably placed before them. The latter unmistakeably prove that the structures are not *stūpas*, but Śaiva shrines which must have contained images or phallic emblems of Śiva. The coins can be dated in the 2nd.-1st. centuries B.C. On certain copper coins of the second-third century A.D. issued by the Kuṇḍa republic, we find the standing figure of Śiva, holding in his right hand a trident battle-axe, his left hand from which hangs something(? tiger skin) resting on hip; his head is adorned with *jaṭās* arranged in the *jaṭābhāra* manner (as we find the same arranged on that of Śiva carved on the shaft of the Śiva-līṅga at Guḍimallam), and on some specimens he seems to be standing under an umbrella. The legend on these coins reads *Bhagavata-Chatreśvara-mahātmanah* i.e., 'of the holy one, the

4 Cunningham, *CAL.*, pp. 97-8, pl. x, figs. 1-6; Allan, *op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. cxliii, 245-52. The object in the right hand of the figure is invariably described by Allan as spear, but it is nothing but a staff or a standard; the spear in the right hand of the definitely recognisable Kārttikeya on several varieties of the Yaudheya coins can rightly be distinguished from the staff above.

noble-souled lord of the Chatra' one of the Indian insignia of sovereignty.⁵

Among the coins of the early foreign rulers of India, Śiva makes his appearance on certain billon coins of Gondophares. He stands facing with his left leg slightly advanced and head bent a little towards the left, clasping a long trident in his right hand and a palm-branch in his left which rests in the approved Indian iconographic manner on the hip (*katibhastā*). Faint traces of *jaṭās* are to be found on his head. E. J. Rapson described another variety of the deity with his right hand extended and a trident in his left hand (*JRAS.*, 1900, pp. 285-6). Figure 9 in pl. xxii of Gardner's *Catalogue* shows this second variety of Śiva on Gondophares coin. The stance of the god in this type is exactly similar to the one of Śiva (undoubtedly so) on some gold coins of Wema Kadphises, where the deity is depicted without his mount, though there is a little difference in the placing of attributes. Thus, the object held in the right hand of the latter figure is not simply trident but trident-battle-axe combined (as in the Kuniṇḍa coin noted above) and the object hanging down from the left arm is the skin-garment, the palm branch being absent. But the close similarity of the slightly bent pose of the body—just suggestive of the *dvibhaṅga*—is a very important consideration and the possibility of its being the Greek deity Poseidon, because that god too has trident as his attribute

5 For the above Audumbara and Kuniṇḍa coins, refer to Allan, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-25 & plates; pp. 167-68 & plates. Do this class of Kuniṇḍa coins show that the tribal state of the Kuniṇḍas at one time was dedicated to the Lord Śiva in the 2nd-3rd century A.D. and the coins were issued in his name in the capacity of its sovereign ruler? The title *Chatreśvara* is significant. We can cite a modern analogy; the real ruler of the Travancore state is Lord Padmanābha and the ruling chief acts as his substitute. The first word of the legend is usually read as *Bhāga-vata*, but the long vowel sign is not distinct and the reading *Bhagavata*, though without the *visarga*, will be more correct grammatically and will give a better sense. I would prefer to read '*Bhagavata svāmīno*' in the class II of the Yaudheya coins (in place of *Bhāgavata svāmīno*) and interpret the coins in a similar manner.

(and the palm-branch is a Greek insignia), can be discounted. In the other variety noticed by Rapson the palm branch is absent. The epithet *devavrata* applied to Gondophares on most of his coins may be significant; it is likely that '*deva*' here does not simply mean 'god' but means the god Śiva as in several passages of Hiuen Tsang's *Si-yu-ki* (cf. his statement—'Outside the west-gate of the city of Puṣkalāvati was a Deva-temple and a marvel-working image of the Deva,' Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 214). Considering all these facts we must be careful about accepting Tarn's statement that Śiva 'does not appear in person on coins till those of the Kushans.'⁶ On a round copper seal discovered at Sirkap in the year 1914-15, is shown Śiva with trident in left hand and club in right; it is biscriptual, bearing the legend '*Śivarakṣitasa*' in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī characters of the early first century A.D. The standing pose of the figure is slightly dissimilar to that of the same god on the coins of Gondophares and Wema Kadphises, just discussed; the left leg is placed in the same manner but the right one with the knee bent is thrust forward. But the club on the right hand is specially noteworthy, because it greatly resembles the knotted club in the hands of Herakles appearing on Indo-Greek coins. The treatment of the whole figure is undoubtedly Hellenistic, though the subject itself and part of the motif is purely Indian (cf. the loin cloth; is there a turban on the head?).⁷ Fig. 1.

The same god appears on the obverse of some square copper coins of Maues. The type on the British Museum specimen has been described by Gardner as 'male figure 1., chlamys flying behind; holds club and trident' (*BMC.*, p. 71, pl. xviii. 3); but

6 W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 402. For the above coins of Gondophares and Wema Kadphises, cf. Whitehead, *op. cit.*, p. 151, pl. xv, fig. 43 and p. 183, pl. xvii, fig. 33. Tarn evidently was unaware of the presence of Śiva in his personal form in much earlier indigenous coins of Ujjain just noticed.

7 Sten Konow, *C.I.L.*, vol. II, p. 102, pl. xx, 11.

Whitehead described it on a Punjab Museum specimen of the same variety of Maues' coin as 'male deity striding to l. with flowing draperies, holding club in r. hand and long spear or sceptre in l.' (*P.M.C.*, vol. I., p. 101, pl. x, 25). Fig. 3. A comparison of the plates in the two catalogues will show that both the specimens belong to the same variety of Maues' square copper coins and Gardner's description, though short, is quite correct. In fact the peculiar knotted club in the right hand and the trident held over the left shoulder in the left and the particular stride leave no doubt that the god is identical to the one on the seal of Śivarakṣita, where the very name—One protected by Śiva—shows that the god is Śiva. Thus, this is an undoubted representation of Śiva on a coin of Maues and we can say now that Śiva makes his appearance on some coins of alien rulers of India, much earlier than those of Gondophares. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the obverse of Maues' coin (No. 13 in Cunningham's *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, p. 30, pl. ii, fig. 13. Fig. 4) which has been described by Cunningham as 'Male figure to front, with elephant goad over l. shoulder;' elephant goad as an attribute of Śiva appears on the coins of Kanīṣka and Huviṣka and it is very probable that this particular figure also represents Śiva. Those figures on Maues' coins which carry only a trident in their hands and sometimes trample on a dwarfish figure are to be identified as Poseidon as he appears on certain coins of Antimachus Theos. But the composition reminds us of the Indian one in which Śiva tramples on Apasmāra-Puruṣa. The device on the bronze seal No. 12, unearthed at Sirkap, Taxila, is described by Marshall in *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1914-15, p. 35, pl. xxiv, (Fig. 2), as Herakles trampling down a bull-shaped dragon; the Kharoṣṭhi legend in it was tentatively read by him as *Tiḍusa Vibbumitrasa*(?). Konow definitely reads it as *Badusa Viśpamitrasa* and translates it as 'Of the young Brahman Viśvāmitra (*CII.*, vol. II, p. 102). Does this figure represent Śiva as *Viśvāmitra* (cf. the Audumbara coin noticed above), the name of

the person in this seal being after the same of the god reproduced? The bull under his left foot is significant.

But the most interesting representations of Śiva, especially from the iconographic point of view are those that appear on the Kushan coins. It is not merely the feature of the multiplication of hands and heads of these, which occurs on the money of Kaniška, Huviška and Vāsudeva, but also the varying nature of the attributes which are placed in their hands that are of great iconographic interest. In the earliest of the Śiva figures in this series, *viz.*, those on the coins of Wema Kadphises the god is invariably two-handed, the right hand, almost without exception holding a trident or a trident-battle-axe, while the left one hanging downwards carries a water-vessel, with the skin upper-garment slung round the forearm; the last feature strongly reminds us of the same in the figure of Viśvāmitra on Dharaghoṣa's silver coins noticed above and the representation of standing Herakles on the coins of certain Indo-Greek rulers like Demetrius. The treatment of the *jaṭā* differs in individual specimens, two modes being discernible—one where the matted locks are gathered together ending in a knob just on the centre of the head, while in the other mode between that and the head is shown a cape like object, which may be the hair treated in a fashion similar to that on the head of Śiva in the Chatreśvara coin of the Kuniṇḍas. On one copper coin of Wema Kadphises, again, reproduced in Cunningham's *Coins of the Indo-Scythians and Kushans* (plate xv, fig. 11), the deity seems to be poly-cephalous; Cunningham has, however described the figure simply as Śiva. In the coins of Kaniška and Huviška the iconography of Śiva acquires a new orientation, and both the two-handed and the four-handed figures are found with a variety of attributes reminiscent of the varied iconography of later days. Śiva here almost invariably appears without his mount and when he is two-armed carries a trident in the right hand and a gourd in the left (Whitehead sug-

gests the possibilities of the latter being a human head, but that is unlikely). On certain copper coins of Kaniṣka in the Indian Museum, Śiva grasps a spear or a staff with right hand while his left hand rests on a club. On some types of gold and copper coins of Kaniṣka the god is four-armed and is shown wearing a garland or necklace but different sets of attributes appear on different specimens; on one set of coins are found in the upper right hand *vajra* (small hand-drum according to Cunningham and Whitehead but the object closely resembles the thunderbolt which is held by Vajrapāṇi the attendant of Buddha in Gandhāra art), in lower right a water-vessel with mouth downwards (an unusual way of holding it), in upper left hand a trident and in lower left an antelope. On some specimens of this series we find an elephant-goat along with the water-vessel placed in lower right; this mode of crowding two attributes in one hand is unusual in the representations of the Indian deities. Again four-armed Śiva on certain copper coins of the same ruler holds a noose in the lower right hand, while the lower left sometimes is empty, but at other times resting on hip or hanging down, it holds a water vessel, the other attributes being similar to the above. Some gold coins of Huviṣka show three-faced and four-armed Śiva, having water-vessel, thunderbolt, trident and club respectively in the four hands from the lower right upwards; on other gold coins of the same king Śiva appears as one-faced with more or less the same attributes, an antelope being placed in the lower left hand; but such is the imperfect state of preservation of many of his copper coins, that the attributes held by the hands of Śiva are seldom fully discernible. Huviṣka's gold coin described by Gardner in p. 148 of his book (pl. xxviii. 16) has a type of Śiva figure on the reverse, which is of outstanding interest from iconographic point of view. His description is as follows, 'Śiva facing, three headed. nimbate; clad only in waist band, ithyphallic; has four arms and hands, in which are goat, wheel, trident, and thunderbolt.' A glance at the

plate will show that *triśūla*, *vajra* and *cakra* are quite easily recognisable in the front left, back left and back right hands respectively; the goat or antelope in the front right is not so very distinct; there are undoubtedly three-heads all encircled by a halo, sometimes absent round the heads of this variety of the deity; whether however the faces are all human is not quite clear. The *cakra* in one of the hands and the *ūrddhvaṅga* feature—the latter so common in sculptural representations of Śiva from the late Kushan period onwards are noteworthy characteristics (Fig. 9). Does the type show the beginning of the interesting composite icon of Harihara of subsequent days or is it of the same nature as that of the Gandhāra sculpture of Trimurti, noticed by Natesa Aiyar in *ASIR.*, 1913-14? It may be noted that no other of the early coin representations of Śiva bears the *ūrddhvaṅga* sign. One unique copper coin of Huviṣka in the collection of the Indian Museum has the figure of 'an archer standing right, holding a bow as long as himself, with string inwards; legend right in peculiar characters, which look like old Brāhmi for *Ganeśa*' (Smith). Only one other specimen of such coin was known, when Smith published his *Catalogue*, and these two coins are of outstanding interest both from the numismatic and iconographic point of view. These are the two exceptional pieces where Brāhmi script is used to describe the deity in the imperial Kushan series and the device here has certainly nothing to do with the elephant-headed and pot-bellied deity bearing that name. Here Śiva is most presumably indicated by the word which is mentioned in the sixth canto of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as one of the attributive epithets of Śiva (*Ganeśo lokāśambhuśca lokapālo mahābhujah! Mahābhāgo mahāśūlī mahādamṣṭrī mahēśvaraḥ. Rāmāyaṇa*, vi.). If the identification of this device is accepted, then we have here a unique representation of Śiva of early times where bow is his principal attribute (cf. the R̥gvedic description of Rudra which runs thus, *Arhan vibharṣi śāyakāni dhanvārhan niskam* etc.). Our survey of the icono-

graphic types of Śiva represented on Huviṣka's coins will be incomplete, if we fail to take note of the unique copper one of the same ruler, in the collection of the Punjab Museum, which has two figures—one male and the other female, standing facing each other, with a Kushan monogram between them, the former being described as Bhaveśa (Oeso) and the latter as Nana. Now, there can be very little doubt that here Nana is identified by the die-cutter with Umā, the consort of Śiva, whose figure also is to be found on a unique coin of the same Kushan ruler, where the goddess was correctly described as Umā (OMMO) by the die-cutter (this coin was noticed by E. J. Rapson, *IRAS.*, 1897, p. 324); the goddess stands facing Śiva holding a lotus flower in her right hand. (Fig. 6).

Cunningham had two gold coins in his collection, one a stater and the other a quarter stater, which were later acquired by the British Museum. The latter is similar to the one in the Punjab Museum (*PMC.*, vol. I, p. 197, pl. xviii, fig. 135) just described but the former is the same in which Rapson recognised the figure of Umā. Cunningham wrongly described both the pieces in the same manner; Śiva is no doubt identical in both, but on the stater piece the goddess holds a different object in her right hand (in the other Nana holds her peculiar sceptre tipped with a horse's head) and the inscription by her side can be clearly read as OMMO (Umā). Rapson remarks 'not only is the inscription quite distinct, but the symbol which the female deity holds in her hand—it may perhaps be a flower—is quite different from the well-known symbol of Nanaia; and we may, therefore, unhesitatingly add Umā to the list of Indian deities represented on Kushan coins' (*IRAS.*, 1897, p. 324). Rapson was quite correct in the above remark and we can produce fresh evidence in its support. The reverse of a stater piece of Huviṣka reproduced in pl. xviii, (No. 136) of the *Punjab Museum Catalogue*, vol. I, (p. 197) is described by Whitehead as 'Figure of goddess with the cornucopiac as on No. 130, with name

to l., which is quite blurred and illegible. But if the legend is compared with the other where Rapson reads OMMO (the coin is reproduced by Cunningham in *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser. III, vol. xii, pl. xiii and *Coins of the Indo-Scythians and Kushans*, pl. xxiii, fig. I), it can similarly be read. It begins from top left corner; the first two letters are quite clear, but the third letter (the second M) shows two short additional strokes attached to it and the last letter an omicron, due to exigencies of space runs into the top corner of the second M (Fig. 5). The whole legend stands thus OMMO. The goddess Umā here holds a cornucopiae like certain figures of Demeter, Tyche and Ardochso; but in the coins of Huvīṣka, we find some such transpositions. Ambikā (Umā) holding cornucopiae after the Ardochso figures on late Kushan coins can be seen also on the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī coins in the imperial Gupta series.

We do not get so many varieties of Śiva figures on the gold and copper coins of the last great Kushan emperor Vāsudeva, where the god is depicted with one exception as two-armed and accompanied by his mount, having one face or three faces. The unique exception—a gold coin described by Cunningham—, where the deity appears as four-armed, bears Śiva with three heads and four arms, standing to front; water-vessel, noose, trident and tiger-skin are placed in the four hands from the lower right onwards; his mount has got a bell attached to its neck. When he is depicted two-armed he almost invariably holds noose (*pāśa*) in the right hand and trident in the left. As regards the treatment of the head, one curious feature of these coins is worth noticing; sometimes the residue of the hair after being used to form a top-knot on the centre of the head, descending down the sides of the face, are treated in such a manner as to give a spurious appearance of the deity's being three-headed. But on many specimens, the two other faces, one on either side of the central one can undoubtedly be recognised. On

the basis of the noose in the hand of Śiva on some Kushan coins, Cunningham describes 'Śiva as Yama'; but the association of Śiva or Rudra Śiva with noose is also comparatively old and in the later developed theological doctrines of the Śaiva system, *pāśa* (fettters) is very intimately connected with the god. He is the binder of the individual souls as he is also the loosener of them. Thus, the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, where Rudra-Śiva is the god extolled says—*Tat kārana sāmkyayogādhigamyam jñātvā devam mucyate sarva-pāśaiḥ!!* (vi. 13); the *Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad*, which is a sectarian Upaniṣad extolling the glories of Śiva, describes a rite and that is the Pāsupata one, which is called *Pāsupāśa vimokṣaṇa*. The god Śiva as he appears one-headed and two-armed on the coins of Vāsudeva, served as the prototypes of the coin devices of some of the later Kushan coins and those of Kushano-Sassanian rulers and of many Hindu princes of India like the kings of Kashmir.⁸

Śiva or his emblems are found depicted in the terracotta seals from Bhiṭā and Basārḥ, in various ways. We have already referred to the representation of him in his liṅga form between two trees with the legend 'pādapeśvara' in the field in Gupta characters, which is in the collection of Babu Dhir Sing Nahar of Calcutta. A pointed oval seal was discovered by T. Bloch at Basārḥ, which bears on it a Śiva-liṅgam with a trident-battle-axe symbol (Bloch simply says *triśūla*, but the combined *triśūla-paraśu* is quite clear from his plate), the legend in exergue below being *Āmrātakeśvara*, meaning the lord of Āmrātaka. Now Āmrātaka is the name of a mountain; Bloch draws our attention to the eight Guhya liṅgas mentioned in the

8 The description of some of the coin-types selected above are based on a close observation of the specimens in the collections of the Indian Museum, Calcutta and Punjab Museum, Lahore. The reader is referred to the relevant sections of the *Catalogues* of the respective museums. Some descriptions are also based on Cunningham's plates appearing in his *Coins of the Indo-Scythians & Kushans*, pl. xv, 11, pl. xxiv, 6, 7, 8, 9. Cf. figs. 7 and 8 in the accompanying plate.

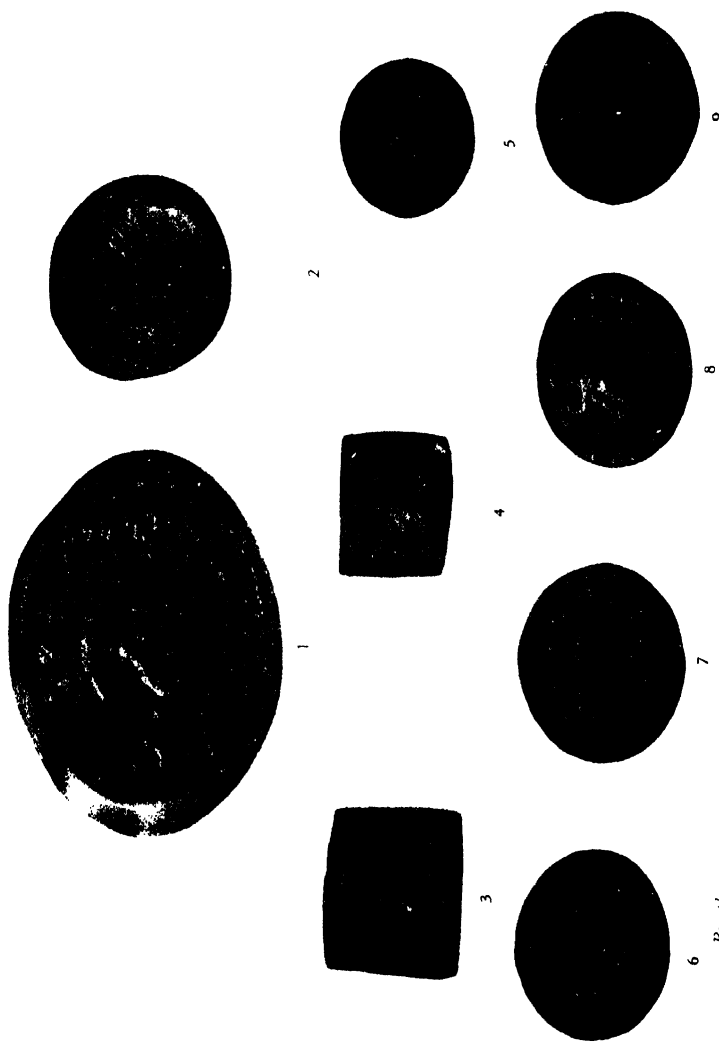
Matsya Purāṇa, viz., Hariścandra, Āmrātakeśvara, Jaleśvara, Śriparvata, Mahālaya, Kṛmicandeśvara, Kedāra and Mahābhairava which according to him were situated in Avimukta i.e. Benares (*ASLAR.*, 1903-04, p. 110, No. 30, pl. xl. 2. Bloch remarks about it: the letter to which it was attached must have been sent by the custodians of the temple of Āmrātakeśvara'). The oval seal No. 39 in the same series (*ibid.*, p. 111) simply bears the legend *Nama Paśupateḥ*. The square seal matrix (No. 574) discovered by D. B. Spooner at the same site (Baśārḥ) in 1913-14, and reproduced by him in the *Annual Report* of the year (pl. xlix) bears three symbols on the top section and the legend *Baṇḍulaka* in early Gupta characters in the lower one, the sections being separated by two closely parallel horizontal lines. Of the three symbols, the middle one is a *triśūla* with a short handle, that on the right 'resembling in shape the early Brāhmī character for *dbu*' is nothing but a longish water-vessel as seen in the hands of Śiva appearing on the coins of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka and the other on the left 'looking like *ra*' is but a short staff as is placed in one hand of the same deity in some of Huviṣka's coins. So, what we have here is really the three attributes in the hands of Śiva. A fragmentary sealing or seal impression of the early Gupta period found by Spooner at Baśārḥ (*ibid.*, pp. 121, 150, pl. L, No. 672) shows 'a very roughly sketched bullock running to right with the crescent moon above' (the suggested reading *Māradatta* cannot be supported if one refers to the plate and I can offer no suggestion because the plate is too indistinct); this is, of course, nothing but Śiva with crescent moon (*Śaśāṅkaśekhara*) in his theriomorphic form. The unique seal impression (*ibid.*, p. 129, No. 84, pl. xlv) shows on the upper edge of its slightly concave surface a small conventional *śaṅkha* in outline and a very good humped bull recumbent to left in the middle of the field; the legend is *Rudradevasya*. The former may have no Viṣṇuite association here and may simply stand for the '*Śaṅkhanidhi*.' The



1st Line: 1—Three-arched symbol with crescent (cf. p. 118). 2—Five-arched symbol with tree, probably a sacred mountain with the *sthalavṛkṣa* (cf. p. 121). 3—Bull with crescent-like horn, Siva in theriomorphic form (cf. p. 120). 4—Standing figure with staff and water vessel (cf. p. 118).

2nd Line: 1—Splayed trident in railing (cf. p. 124). 2—Three-arched symbol with crescent on a pile of balls (a mountain?) a human figure (a votary?), below taurine; on Taxila coins. 3—Siva carrying staff and water vessel in Ujjain coins (cf. p. 125). 4—Three-headed Siva with the same objects in Ujjain coins (cf. p. 126).

3rd Line: 1—Siva-linga on a Taxila coin (cf. p. 121). 2—Siva-linga on a railing between trees within railing on a coin of Ujjain. 3—Altar symbol (?) frequently found on early Indian coins. 4—Knotted club as found on coins and seals sometimes in the hand of Siva or at other times in that of Viṣṇu.



By the courtesy of the Indian Archaeological Survey, British and Punjab Museum Authorities
 I.H.Q. March, 1940.

humped bull appears on several other seals from Spooner's find at Basārḥ, the name of the owner such as Rudrarakṣita etc. in them (a good many of them are inscribed) showing its cult connection; on some there is a globular object placed between the horns of the animal, which shows according to some scholars Sassanian influence. But one very fine large temple seal in Spooner's list (*Ibid.*, p. 142, No. 369 with one duplicate, pl. xlviii) requires notice here, for it bears five interesting emblems in a row on its top section; Spooner described them as '(1) a tall vase with radiating rays or flower-stalks; (2) something that looks like a tall and slender tree, such as a poplar, not that I suppose it is a poplar in reality; (3) the central figure, which has the outline of a stouter tree with spreading base; (4) a battle-axe to left surmounted by a trident; (5) a *kalasa* with rays or flower-stalks.' The legend in Gupta characters reads *Aramikiśvarasya* i.e., '(seal of the temple) of Aramikiśvara.' The seal is undoubtedly Śaiva in character as the inscription on it shows and of the five emblems, the trident-axe particularly belongs to this cult; the vase, represented twice one on each end in different forms may stand for *maṅgalaghata* with twigs on them, or one of them—the slender one on the left side—may be a variant of the same as is sometimes placed in the hands of Śiva on Kushan coins; the central device may represent—though in a schematic way—the somewhat realistic *liṅga* without *yoni* on a spread base, while the one to its immediate proper right is nothing but a *śakti* (spear) with a long flat blade. There is not much difficulty to define the five objects, as Spooner thinks; an interesting detail which has been missed by him is that all these five emblems seem to be placed on separate pedestals on 'the ribbon-like horizontal band a little below the true centre,' thus indicating their sacred character, though we cannot be sure, on account of the faulty reproduction. The fine seal No. 764 (*ibid.*, p. 152, pl. L) contains a device which has been described by Spooner as follows,—'a tall female figure standing facing,

with the upper part of the body bent considerably to the proper left, left hand on hip; right extended toward the right as in the *varadamudrā*. The figure is seemingly nude, but there are draperies floating to left and right from the level of the waist, and some garland or drapery pendent in front, as though suspended from a girdle around the waist . . . the most curious feature of all is the headdress which she wears, like a single high horn with streamer floating to the (proper) left.' I had to quote the above description at some length, for the correct understanding of the iconography of the figure; the seal is very imperfectly reproduced in the plate a reference to which will enable one to add some features un-noticed by Spooner and tentatively explain their nature. The left breast of the figure seems to be abnormally large in proportion to the right one, which holds a staff like object in its right hand; 'the curious headdress like a single high horn' is most probably nothing but the longish coil of *jaṭās* sometimes shown on the heads of Śiva figures and it should be noted it is deliberately placed on one, i.e., the right side of the head; lastly, there seem to be traces of the *ūrddhalinga* feature on the front part of the waist. Now, if these observations of mine are accepted, there can be no hesitation about the identity of the figure, it possibly represents the Arddhanārīśvara aspect of Śiva, in which the left half is that of Umā, and right that of her consort. The staff in the right hand the longish coil of *jaṭā* placed on the right side of the head, the prominence given to the left breast (the right breast is much smaller than the left one and seems to belong to a male figure) and the probable *ūrddhalinga* feature—all these go to support the suggestion. The legend could not be fully read by Spooner and its hazy reproduction does not help one to improve the reading which is . . . *tipurakṣasastidattaḥ*. It may be observed here that this is one of the earliest representations of the Arddhanārīśvara aspect of Śiva in art; I have already drawn attention to Bardasanes' mention of it. The concave impress of a

seal (No. 422, *ibid.*, p. 143, pl. xlviii) has a battle-axe with long handle laid lengthwise of the seal as its device. The long legend in very small characters is not legible, but seems to end in *dattasya*. The battle-axe is a Śaiva emblem and it is very frequently found in Śiva images of later period (cf. *paraśumṛgavarābhayaḥastam*).

Of the interesting religious seals unearthed by Sir John Marshall at Bhiṭā, a good many show undoubted Śaiva features; not only various Śaivic emblems like the liṅga, the trident-axe, the *nandipāda* and the bull (the bull in some instances has a sphere or disc between horns as appearing on Andhra coins) are clearly recognisable on them as well as on those of the officials, localities and private individuals, but also, is to be found on them a human representation of Śiva, though in extremely rare instances. Some of the religious seals bear the different appellations of Śiva such as Kāleśvara, Kālañjara-bhaṭṭāraka, Bhadreśvara, Maheśvara(?) and Nandi. The oval seal No. 14 in Marshall's list (*ASLAR.*, 1911-12, p. 47, pl. xviii, No. 14) has a trident-axe flanked by a diagram of dots, really a hill symbol, and an unidentified emblem on its left; the legend in eastern Gupta characters is *Kāleśvara priyatām* ('May Kāleśvara be pleased). Marshall observes that Kāleśvara is the name of a Śivaliṅga according to *Skanda-Purāṇa* and this tablet would seem to have been presented as an offering at some shrine of Śiva at Bhiṭā. The seal next in the list is also Śaiva in nature; it bears a realistic Śivaliṅga with umbrella on one side and a trident on the other. The liṅga is placed on a hill in the form of a well-arranged pile of round balls, below which is a waved line probably standing for a river; the legend in northern Gupta characters is *Kālañjara-bhaṭṭārakasya*, i.e., 'of the lord of Kālañjara'. Kālañjara, according to Cunningham is the name of a hill in Bundelkhand, the favourite resort of Śaiva ascetics from very early times (*ASR.*, xxi, pp. 20 ff.). The manner in which the *Mahābhārata* refers twice to the Śaiva shrines at Kālañjara in its Tirthayātrā Parvvādhyāya of the Vana-

parvan definitely proves their importance.⁹ This seal was evidently issued from a Śaiva shrine on the Kālāñjara hill, though no remains of a temple exist on the hill at present. The seal No. 16 bears also a Śivaliṅga of an extremely realistic nature, placed on a pedestal with the representation of a hill on one side and a trident-axe on the other, having a legend *K(ā)la(ñ)jara* in north-eastern Gupta characters. But the next seal—that numbered 17—is of unique iconographic interest; it bears a two-armed male figure seated in *lalitāsana* pose on a *pādapiṭha* with uncertain objects in his hands. There appears to be foliage(?) or flames over head and shoulders and legend in northern characters of the 4th or 5th century A.D. is *Bhadreśvara*. Marshall says that 'this is the name of the Śivaliṅga of Kalpagrāma (not identified up to date) according to the *Vāmanapurāṇa* (Ch. 46). The male figure may therefore be Śiva in the Bhadreśvara aspect.' The figure is unmistakably Śiva and this shows the simultaneous phallic and human mode of representing the divinity. If the reading of the legend on seal No. 23 as *Bhagavato Ma(h)eśvarasya* is upheld—Marshall says that it is problematic—then the two-armed male figure standing facing with right hand outstretched and left hand on hip, with folds of drapery falling on both sides, may also represent Śiva. The three Bhiṭṭa seals numbering

9 Ch. 85. Verses 56-7:

*Atra Kālāñjaram nama pavatam lokavīrutam/
Tatra devabrada snātuā gosahasraphalam labhet//
Yah snātuvāstarpayet tatra girau Kālāñjare nrpa/
Svargaloke mahiyeta nara nāstyatra samśayaḥ//*

Thus the wavy line below the hill, evidently the Kālāñjara hill, is the river or *devabrada* near it where a dip is specially recommended. Again in chapter 87, verse 21 *Hiraṇyavinduḥ kathito girau Kālāñjare nrpa*. In the *Matsya-Purāṇa*, we find mention of Kālāñjaravana as one of the places very much sacred on account of Śiva's presence there; *Kālāñjaravanañcaiva śaṅkukurnam sthaleśvaram. Etāni ca pavitrāni sannidhyāddhi mama priye*, Ch. 181, v. 27. The Great Epic places the hill somewhere near Prayāga and Citrakūṭa. The Kālāñjaravana of the *Matsya Purāṇa* is evidently the same as Kālāñjara of the epic and of the seals.

26-28 described by Marshall in *ASIAR.*, 1911-12 (p. 51 and pl. xviii) require notice in this connection. The first bears on it a bull standing to left with a crescent under its neck; a woman stands in front, with her right hand outstretched and left hand on hip; a post or a thunderbolt appears behind the bull; bow with arrow and pile of balls (i.e., the symbol for mountain) similar to those in Kolhapur series of the Andhra coins are shown in exergue. The same figures are present on the second (No. 27), though in a transposed manner, and on the third (28), the latter being much worn. The legend on No. 26 is *Mahārāja Gautamiputrasya Śivameghasya* in characters of the 2nd-3rd century A.D. while the legend in similar characters on No. 27 is *Vasasu (Vāsiṣṭhi) puttrasya Śrī Bhīmasena (sya)*. Marshall remarks about the first that 'the bull and crescent point to the king's leaning towards Śaivism'; the bow and arrow as well as the mountain are also characteristic emblems of Śiva. The female figure on the seals very probably stands for Durgā, the consort of Śiva.¹⁰ The Bhīṭā seal No. 44, of an official, showing bull standing facing, with round object between horns is interesting, because in it the main device is flanked by a wheel in side elevation and 'an uncertain symbol' (Marshall); their sacred character is fully emphasised by the fact that all three are placed on altars. The early Gupta legend in northern characters is *Daṇḍanāyaka-Śrī Śaṅkara-dattasya*; the name of the official is no doubt Śaiva, and so the animal form of Śiva in the centre of his seal is quite appropriate, but to this sectary Viṣṇu was also an object of adoration, for his two emblems ('the uncertain symbol' is the Vaiṣṇava symbol *Śrīvatsa*) are allotted honoured, though subordinate, positions in his seal. The devices of particularly Śaiva connection that are to be found on the other seals

10 The king Śivamegha of the Bhīṭā seal is very likely identical with the same mentioned in Inscription No. II from Kośam edited by D. R. Sahni in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XVIII, pp. 159-60, noticed also by Sen Konow in *ibid.*, vol. XXIII, pp. 245-8.

of officials or of private individuals at Bhiṭā are bull, trident, trident-axe, *nandipāda* etc.

The unique seals of the late Gupta and early mediaeval period that were discovered at Nalanda and that will be described in Hirananda Sastri's *Memoir on Nalanda* which is in the press contain some very interesting figures of Śiva and his emblems, both from the artistic and iconographic point of view, which cannot be noticed in detail, so long as the above Archaeological Memoir does not see the light of day.

JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA

MISCELLANY

Guṇaratna's Tarkarāṣyadīpikā and Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇavārttika

In discussing the Buddhist doctrine in his commentary, *Tarkarāṣyadīpikā*, on the *Śaddarśanasamuccaya* (=SS.) of Haribhadra,¹ Guṇaratna mentions (p. 47) ten works on it, one of them being the *Pramāṇavārttika*² (=PV.) of Dharmakīrti who is named there (p. 24) as one of the Buddhist authors. That he was quite familiar with this book is evident from the fact that he has quoted not less than eight kārīkās from it as shown below :

1. अपेक्ष्यते परं कश्चिद् यदि कुर्वीत किञ्चन ।
यदकिञ्चित्करं वस्तु किं केनचिदपेक्ष्यते ॥

SS., p. 29=PV., III. 279.

In PV. the first half reads अपेक्षेत परः कार्यं यदि विद्येत किञ्चन.

2. अयोगं योगमपरैरत्यन्तायोगमेव च ।
व्यवच्छिन्नति धर्मस्य निपातो व्यतिरेककः ॥

SS., p. 35=PV., IV. 190.

3. विशेषणविशेष्याभ्यां कियया च सहोदितः ।
विवक्षातोऽप्रयोगे न तस्यार्थोऽयं प्रतीयते ॥

SS., p. 35=PV., IV. 191.

In the second half PV. reads *sarvo'rtho* for *tasyārtho*.

4. व्यवच्छेदफलं वाक्यं यतश्चैतो धनुर्धरः ।
पार्थो धनुर्धरो नीलं सरोजमिति वा यथा ॥

SS., p. 35=PV., IV. 192.

5. न प्रत्यक्षपरोक्षाभ्यां मेयस्यान्यस्य सम्भवः ।
तस्मात्प्रमेयद्वित्वेन प्रमाणद्वित्वमिष्यते ॥

SS., p. 38=PV., II. 63.

6. नान्योऽनुभाव्यो बुद्ध्यास्ति तस्या नानुभवोऽपरः ।
प्राप्तप्राद्वकवैधुर्यात् स्वयं सैव प्रकाशते ॥

SS., p. 40=PV., 327.

1 Ed. Luigi Sualì, *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1905.

2 Ed. with the commentary of Manorathanandin by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyayana, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna, 1937.

In the second half for *grāhyagrāhakavaidbiryāt* PV. reads *tasyāpi tulyacodyatvāt* which is explained by Manorathanandin saying: *tasya jñāna grahaṇasyāpi tulyārthacodyatvāt*. sa hy anyatvanibandhano grāhyagrāhakabhāvaḥ. taccānupapannam ity uktam. This verse with the above reading is widely quoted in many philosophical works.

7. मणिप्रदीपप्रभयोर्मणिबुद्ध्याभिधावतोः ।
मिथ्याज्ञानाविशेषेऽपि विशेषोऽर्थक्रियां प्रति ॥

§S., p. 41—PV., II. 57.

This stanza, too, is often quoted.

8. यथा तथाऽयथार्थत्वेऽप्यनुमानं तदा तयोः ।
अर्थक्रियानुरोधेन प्रमाणत्वं व्यवस्थितम् ॥

§S., p. 41=PV., II. 58.

In the first half §S. wrongly reads *yathārthatve* for '*yathārthatve*.'

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

The Quilon Inscription of Jayasiṃha Vira Keraḷa Varma

The Quilon inscription¹ of Vira Keraḷa Varma has attracted greater attention than it really deserves, for it has been freely utilised by more than one scholar to serve as a peg to hang their speculations. Thus this inscription is found quoted by Dr. Hultzsch in his edition of the Conjevaram inscription of Ravi Varma Kulaśekhara,² by Mr. Venkayya in his study of the Vira Rāghava Cakravarti plate for localising the Vira Keraḷa Varma of the plate,³ and by Mr. Gopinatha Rao in his study of the inscriptions of Vira Pāṇḍya⁴ and of Ravi Varma Kulaśekhara,⁵ for assigning a date to the former and for ascertaining the founder of the kingdom of Quilon. The speculations advanced by these writers, openly and impliedly, particularly by the last two writers, presumably on the basis merely of this inscription, but certainly not warranted by it, appear to have gained great currency amongst writers on Travancore History⁶ and in popular books on the subject.⁷ A critical study of this inscription and an examination of the speculations are, therefore, felt a desideratum, as a corrective to the many fallacies rampant on this subject.

1 An extract from this inscription is given by Dr. Hultzsch in the foot-note added by him in editing Dr. Kielhorn's study of the *Conjevaram Record* of Ravi Varma Kulaśekhara: Vide *El.*, vol. IV, p. 146; subsequently referred to by Mr. Venkayya, *ibid.*, p. 293; later edited by Mr. T. A. G. Rao in the *TAS*, vol. II, pp. 26-27.

2 Vide *El.*, vol. IV, p. 146, fn. 2.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 293.

4 Vide *TAS.*, vol. II, pp. 16-17.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

6 Vide the remarks of Mr. Sundaram Pillai, quoted in *HK.*, vol. I, p. 7; *TSM.*, vol. I, pp. 228, 254, 258, 259, etc.

7 Vide *VD.*, vol. I, pp. 88-101; also the Introductions to *LT.* and *US.* and the Sanskrit Drama, *Pradyumnābhyaśaya*, edited by Mm. Dr. T. G. Sastri and published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. VII; also vide *KC.* and *TC.*

To facilitate reference, the text and translation of the inscription, as edited by Mr. T. A. G. Rao, are reproduced below.⁸

I-Text

“हरि श्रीमङ्गलम् भवतु
 स्वस्त्यस्तु जयसिंहस्य वीरकेरलवर्मणः ।
 तथा तदंशजानां च राज्यस्य नगरस्य च ॥
 कोलम्बे पुनरेकसप्ततियुते संद्वत्सरे षट्शते
 नित्यप्रज्ञमुनिः स्थितेथ मिथुने भानौ तुलायां गुरौ ।
 गोविन्दं वृषभेभ्यषैचयदनूराढे मुहूर्ते शुभे ।
 श्रीमन्नेत्रपुरेश्वतात् स नवतां प्राप्ते चिरं नो विभुः ॥
 श्रीमन्नेत्रपुरेशस्य पूजार्थं केरलेश्वरः ।
 शर्मणा कल्पयामास कोलम्बेशस्य कल्पनाम् ॥
 शुभं भवतु”

II—Translation

“Hail Śrī! Be it auspicious!

May it be well Jayasimha *alias* Vira Keraḷa Varman; and so to his descendants, kingdom and city.

In the year 671 of the Kollam era, when the Sun was in the Mithuna rāśi and Jupiter in the Tūlā rāśi, at the auspicious moment of Anūrādha, during the (ascendancy of) Vṛṣabha the sage Nitya-prajña bathed Govinda. May the lord (Govinda) protect us long in the prosperous Netrapura whose temple has been renewed.

For the purpose of conducting the daily *pñjās*, etc., the lord of the prosperous Netrapura, the king of Keraḷa did (i.e. obeyed) with pleasure, the command of the lord of Koḷamba:

May it be prosperous!”

The first and the last of the verses have served as the main basis for all the speculations, historical and epigraphical, referred to

above. Whether the speculations induced the translation or *vice versa*, Mr. Rao's rendering cannot be accepted.

Taking the first of the verses, the expression *Jayasiṃhasya Vīra Keraḷa Varmanah* has been rendered Jayasiṃha *alias* Vīra Keraḷa Varma, the two words having been taken by Mr. Rao in an appositional sense. Vīra Keraḷa Varma is certainly the name of the king, and the term Jayasiṃha must, therefore, be taken as a definitive, restrictive adjective. This is the normal interpretation, and the term would mean Jayasiṃha Vīra Keraḷa Varma, thereby suggesting that this prince belonged to the royal family of Quilon, called the Jayasiṃhanāṭ family. As a parallel, may be cited the name Gaṅgādhararṅkoviladhikārika Vīra Keraḷa Rāma Varma.⁹ The latter part of this expression nobody would think of translating as Vīra Keraḷa *alias* Rāma Varma. We are, therefore, constrained to observe that Mr. Rao's rendering is misleading, as it conveys the idea that Jayasiṃha and Keraḷa Varma are different names of one and the same individual; and like other writers he was himself misled by his own translation,¹⁰ an aspect which is elucidated in the sequel.

The last of the verses also has been rendered wrongly. The expression *kalpanām* is here translated as *order*: this must certainly be on the basis of one usage of the term in the local vernacular.¹¹ No instance could presumably be found, and no authority could certainly be cited, in support of this interpretation of the Sanskrit

9 Vide *RG*. It may be mentioned here that the first part of the title means *the Lord of the temple of Vanculeśa* at Tiruvancikkulam, for long the centre in Keraḷa of all life, social, religious, political and commercial; vide also *HK*, vol. II, p. 23.

10 It is possible that the translation he has given was the result of the theorising of Mr. Venkayya based upon the speculations of Mr. Sundaram Pillai, who was the first to start epigraphical studies in Travancore.

11 In Malayalam, the term *kalpanā* means *order*, and in popular usage it also means *leave of absence*.

term. The term simply means a *wish* or *desire*. Similarly, the term *kalpayāmāsa* does not mean *obeyed*: it means only *acceded to the wish*.¹² The text, then, would mean that the Lord of Koḷamba (Jayasiṃha Vira Keraḷa) made some endowments for the daily *pūjā* in the Vaiṣṇavite temple at Netrapura, and the king of Keraḷa accepted or permitted the same with pleasure. Again, unless we assume that the word 'of' is omitted after the 'etc.' in the translation, it would convey the idea that the Lord of Netrapura was himself the Lord of Keraḷa; this may or may not be, but it certainly is not the sense of the passage. In the light of these remarks, the translation may be recast as follows:

"The Lord of Keraḷa permitted with pleasure the arrangements made by the Lord of Koḷamba for the purpose of conducting the daily worship (*pūjā*) of the Lord of Netrapura."

Mr. Rao has not cared to locate Netrapura, and, in view of his translation of the verse, he did not feel the need for explaining why the Lord of Keraḷa should have been introduced in a context where the Lord of Koḷamba was making arrangements for the daily worship of the god enshrined in the temple at Netrapura. We are inclined to identify Netrapura with Kaṇṇetti, some time the southern limit of the domains of the Perumpatappu Mūppil, i.e. His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin, who possessed *Kṣetrasambandhams* and *Kōymasthānams*¹³ in all the temples as far south as

12 Or *permitted the Lord of Koḷamba to do so*. According to the practice current in Keraḷa, such seeking and granting of permission is generally necessitated when a prince wishes to make an endowment to or renovate a temple which is situate in the domains of another prince, or of which the suzerain is another prince. To mention one instance, His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore is reported to have sought and obtained the previous permission of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin, when the former constructed the *Kūttambalam* in the temple at Irinjalkuda in 1764-66 A.C., for the reason that the temple was situate in the domains of the latter who was also the *Rājakōyma* of the temple.

13 This aspect is clear from the treaty of 941 M.E. (1766 A.C.) between Cochin and Travancore. It is also clear from the Dutch treaty which Mr. Rao himself edited in the *TAS*, vol. I, pp. 31 ff. Why did he not notice this fact?

Kaṇṇetti,¹⁴ if, indeed, the traditional sources¹⁵ of our history are any indication; and as such it is but relevant that the king of Quilon took permission from the Perumpaṭappu Mūppil, the Lord of Kerala,¹⁶ to renovate the temple at Kaṇṇetti and make arrangements for daily worship therein. Thus alone can the reference to the Lord of Kerala become legitimate in this context, and this, be it stated, is true, wherever Netrapura may be located. This inscription is, therefore, another piece of evidence in support of the religious overlordship which His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin has all along been exercising in Kerala even far down into the modern centuries;¹⁷ and, from this point of view, becomes an important inscription for students interested in the history of the royal family of Cochin.

From the foregoing it will be clear that the first verse shows that the king who renovated the shrine at Netrapura was *not* Jayasimha *alias* Vira Kerala Varma, but Jayasimha Vira Kerala Varma, and that the last verse would have it that *this king took permission from the King of Kerala*, presumably the king of Cochin, for what he did in the temple. We may also notice here that, while Mr. Rao titled the inscription correctly,¹⁸ he has

14 Vide RG. already noticed.

15 These are the family chronicles and the chronicles pertaining to the major temples in Kerala.

16 The *Perumpaṭappu Mūppil*, His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin, is often found styled as the Lord of Kerala, particularly in literature. This subject is dealt with *in extenso* in Mr. K. R. Pisharoti's paper, published in the *Gomati* Supplement, Trichur, issued in connection with the birthday of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin, celebrated in January 1939.

17 Vide Aitchinson, *Treaties, Engagements, etc.*, 1920 edition, vol. IX, p. 208. Very little is known of the early history of the royal house of Cochin. An attempt is being made by the writers to elucidate the position that Cochin occupied in the politics of ancient Kerala.

18 The Quilon inscription of Jayasimha Vira Kerala Varman.

wrongly explained the name of the king in the first paragraph of his study, and carried the mistake further, thus *misinterpreting the name of the king so as to fit in with his theorisings*.

The following remarks he has offered in the second paragraph of his introduction are certainly beside the point: "From the inscriptions of Ravi Varman Saṃgrāmadhira (See *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IV, and of this series, vol. II) it is found that the name of his father was also Jayasiṃha *alias* Vira Keraḷa Varman; that the 33rd year of his age corresponded to the year A.D. 1299-1300. So the year of his birth should be A.D. 1267. Even granting that Ravi Varman was his first born child and that he was born to him at such an early age as 20, Jayasiṃha Vira Keraḷa, the father of Ravi Varman should have flourished from A.D. 1247. But the king of our record who bears the same name is at least 250 years later than the first one. The Keraḷa kingdom said to have been conquered by Ravi Varman Saṃgrāmadhira seems to have been still in the possession of his descendant Jayasiṃha Vira Keraḷa Varman, the prince mentioned in the present inscription." Nobody would think of connecting the Vira Keraḷa Varma of 1496 A.C. with Jayasiṃha, the father of Ravi Varma Kulaśekhara of the latter half of the thirteenth century. In the first place, the inscriptions which give us the names of Jayasiṃha, father of Ravi Varma, and of *Jayasiṃha Vira Keraḷa* also give us their dates, and from these dates one could know that the two Jayasiṃhas lived in *different* centuries, and no elaborate arguments were required to show that the Jayasiṃha of 1267 A.C. was different from the Jayasiṃha of 1496 A.C. In the second place, the name of the father of Ravi Varma Kulaśekhara was *Jayasiṃha* and not *Jayasiṃha Vira Keraḷa Varma*: this is what the inscriptions tell us.¹⁹ In the third place, *Jayasiṃha, the father of Ravi Varma*

Kulaśekhara, is not stated to be the king of Koḷamba,²⁰ whereas the king, in the inscription under study, is categorically said to be the king of Koḷamba; and at the same time we have no information that both were the lords of any other kingdom in Keraḷa. For ought we know then, *the two kings were different, and did not even belong to the same royal family*; and as such, there is no warrant for anybody ever confusing the two personalities or their families.

Again, Mr. Rao's statement that "the Keraḷa kingdom, said to have been conquered by Ravi Varma Saṁgrāmadhira, seems to have been still in the possession of his descendant, Jayasimha Vira Keraḷa Varma, the prince mentioned in the present inscription,"²¹ if it means anything, could only mean that Ravi Varma Saṁgrāmadhira conquered Koḷamba (*alias* Kūpaka), and that it continued to be in the hands of his successors—a position which is, however, inconsistent with what is stated in the inscriptions of Ravi Varma himself, that Kūpaka was his own kingdom,²² which, therefore, he had no need to *conquer*. It is, indeed, stated in his inscriptions that he conquered Keraḷa,²³ and Mr. Rao is probably suggesting

20 *El.*, vol. IV, p. 146, fn. 2, 1st verse.

स्वस्ति श्रीजयसिंह इत्यभिहितः सोमान्वयोत्तंसको
राजासीदिह केरलेषु विषये नाथो यदुच्चाश्रिताम् ।
जातोस्माद्रविवर्मभूपतिरुमादेव्यां कुमारशिवाद्-
देहव्याप्यशकान्दभाजि समये देहीव वीरो रसः ॥

21 Vide *TAS.*, vol. II, p. 26.

22 Vide *El.*, vol. IV, p. 146, second verse of the Conjevaram inscription.

क्षयन्तीत्वा सोयं कलिबलमिवारातिनिवहान्
जयश्रीवत् कृत्वा निजसहचरीं पाण्ड्यतनयाम् ।
त्रयस्त्रिंशद्वर्षीं यश इव ययौ केरलपदं
ररक्ष स्वं राष्ट्रं नगरमिव कोलम्बमधिपः ॥

23 *Ibid.*, verses 3 and 4.

जित्वा संग्रामधीरो नृपतिरधिरणं विद्विषं वीरपाण्ड्यं
कृत्वामां पाण्ड्यचोलान् नय इव तनुमान् केरलेभ्योप्यधीनान् ।

that Jayasimha Vira Keraḷa was also the Lord of Keraḷa in view of the mention of a King of Keraḷa in this record. But Keraḷa, according to Mr. Rao, "is that part of Malainadu north of Kollam and adjoining the Coimbatore and the Nilgiri Districts and the Mysore Province;"²⁴ and if Mr. Rao would have us believe that it was this area which Ravi Varma's descendant had under his control, then we have only to say that it is a historical solecism: we have so far no proof that any king of Quilon ever ruled that part of Keraḷa lying north of Quilon and extending up to and including Kolattiri, at any period in the history of Keraḷa. Mr. Rao has thus achieved here a Keraḷa-Kūpaka-equation propped up on a misreading of the last verse of the inscription under study and of Saṅgrāmadhīra's records mentioning his return to and conquest of Keraḷa (verses 2 and 4 of the Conjevaram record).

We may also notice here another of Mr. Rao's identifications, not far removed in its essential weakness. This is the Kūpaka²⁵ Āttingal²⁶

पट्चत्वारिंशदब्दस्तदभुवि मकुटं धारयन् वेगवत्याः
 क्रीडां गिहायनस्थश्चिरमकृत महीकीर्तिवाणीरमाभिः ॥
 कृत्वा केरलचोलपागड्यविजयं क्लृप्ताभिषेकोत्सवः
 संग्रामापजयेन क्रोड्यगगतं तं वीरपाण्ड्यं रिपुम् ।
 नीत्वा स्फोटवत् ततोपि विपिनं जित्वा दिशामुत्तरां
 काञ्च्यामल चतुर्थमब्दमलिखत् संग्रामधीरो नृपः ॥

24 Vide *TAS.*, vol. II, pp. 54-55.

25 Prof. K. N. Sastri is uncritical when he locates Kūpaka in South Travancore, as he does in his *CS.*, vol. I, p. 270, as well as in his *PK.*, p. 124. By these statements he has unconsciously lent his support to this equation.

26 The Kūpaka-Āttingal equation is first advanced by Mr. Pillai which is quoted by Mr. Rao in *TAS.*, vol. II, p. 54. The basis of this equation is said to be an inscription inscribed on the south base of the Apāneśvara temple at Āttingal, stating that a princess of Kūpaka renovated a shrine there about 752 M.E. (1577 A.C.), as mentioned in *TAS.*, vol. VI, p. 81.

“कुम्भे च लग्ने मृगशिरसि
 तद्वह्निदग्धवा कूपकानां
 राज्ञी या शम्भुमस्थापि”etc.

Veṇāḍ²⁷ equation which he has advanced in the course of these speculations, and which he has himself contradicted later on, when he says that "by adoption and other relationships and by conquest" Āttingal and Kūpaka became merged in the royal house

This basis, it needs scarcely be said, is very weak. If such arguments are valid, it would be easy to say that any two kingdoms in Keraḷa are identical. The only reasonable conclusion which, if at all, may be drawn from this reference, is that at that time the royal family of Kūpaka was the lord of Āttingal also, an aspect not unsupported by the evidence available from the Dutch records, edited by Mr. Galletti. The author of the *TSM.* has stated correctly that "the country about Āttingal was known in ancient days as *Kūpakadeśa*, a province altogether distinct from Venad" (vol. I, p. 254). Mr. U. S. P. Ayyar also unconsciously supports this view when he says that the Kūpakadeśa extended from Kanneṭti to Comorin (*QJKSP.*, vol. V, p. 389). Note also what Mr. Rao himself says in another context (*TAS.*, vol. II, p. 54). "The country round Kollam (*vulgo*, Quilon) is called the Jayaśiṅganāḍ, and one of the families of the kings on the West Coast was known in later times as of the Jayatuṅganāṭṭu-mūttatiruvāṭis: Āttingal was perhaps the chief place of these later princes. In one of the inscriptions found in Āttingal a lady who calls herself a Kūpaka princess is said to have built a temple for Śiva. This fact also enables us to identify the Āttingal family with the Jayasimhanāṭṭu-Tiruvāṭis or the Kūpakas." The reference to the inscription under study in the sentence immediately following this quotation serves no useful purpose; it will serve merely to mislead the lay reader by giving him a wrong idea of the historical position of modern Travancore. The assumption of an equation and the citation of *some* inscriptions in support thereof are naturally calculated to mislead the uninitiated and unwary reader.

27 Āttingal and Veṇāḍ are held to be one, popularly, because the Senior Rani of Travancore is styled Āttingal Mūttatamburāṭṭi. However, there are indications to show that Āttingal was an independent sovereign state; and the author of the *TSM.* supports this view (vol. I, p. 338); we quote therefrom a passage quoted from Hamilton's *Description of Hindostan*, vol. II, p. 315:—

"The Tamburetties of Attingara possessed the sovereignty of Travancore from remote antiquity, until Raja Martanden Varma...persuaded the Tamburetty to resign the sovereign authority to the Rajas, both for herself and for all succeeding Tamburetties. To perpetuate these conditions a regular treaty was executed between the Raja and the Tamburetty, which was inscribed on a silver plate and ratified by the most solemn imprecations, limiting the succession to the offsprings of the Attingal Tamburetties."

This is an interesting citation which throws much light on the early history of Travancore.

of Travancore.²⁸ If they are one and the same, how could *both* become merged in another royal house? Mr. Rao's authority for this equation is evidently Mr. Sundaram Pillai²⁹ who bases his view on the fact that a princess of Kūpaka renovated a shrine at Āttingal.³⁰ Comment on this is needless.³¹

28 Vide *TAS.*, vol. II, p. 54.

29 Vide *HK.*, vol. II, p. 7.

30 Vide note 27 *ante*.

31 One of the most favourite of the theories to which almost every writer on Travancore history has taken care to lend his support is the theory of the collateral branches of the Veṇāḍ royal family, thus modelling it upon the royal family of Cochin. This is certainly a baseless assumption, if, indeed, one is to judge the theory from the nature of the bases adduced in support thereof: *for bases there are none*, and still the theory gathers strength, as it passes on from writer to writer. Among all writers on Travancore History, the only one writer who has condemned the theory in unmistakable terms is Mr. A. K. Pisharoti in his *Introduction to LT*. According to him, this theory has for its source the statement of the Dutch Governor, Van Gollennesse. Says he in his *Memoir*: "This state (of Travancore) was formerly divided among five houses, Travancore, Attinga, Elleda Surovan, Peritally, and Signatty; and since the four first states have been united, they form the most powerful state in Malabar" (*Galletti*, p. 53). The period of this document is 1743 A.C., by which time Raja Martanda Varma, the maker of modern Travancore, had more or less reduced to subjection all the states to the south of Quilon, and unified them under his sway, and it is to this fact that reference is made. The only powerful kingdom which still opposed Travancore's aggressive policy was Quilon, and still it continued as a separate political entity (*ibid.*, p. 55). That Travancore, mentioned in the quotation, and Āttingal were till that time different sovereign states we have already shown from the quotation from Hamilton, (vide note 28 *ante* and also *Galletti*, p. 53, footnote 3). Signatti (Quilon) was even in 1743 independent, and we know from available records that the other two were also independent kingdoms till a few years previous to 1743 A.C. (*ibid.*, p. 55). This primary aspect has been conveniently forgotten by almost all writers, and the latest to expound this theory was Mr. U.S. P. Ayyar, (*Sabṛdaya*, vol. III, No. 5, pp. 15-38), in spite of the fact that the theory had already been shown by Mr. A. K. Pisharoti to be baseless. It need scarcely be said that the theory is absolutely unfounded, and is against every evidence available, whether it be from literature or from epigraphy or from Dutch and other records. No wonder, therefore, that almost every writer who has openly supported this theory had had also to contradict it at one stage or other in the course of his writings on the subject. A student of history will clearly notice that, till about the period of the Dutch writer quoted above, that part of Keraḷa which is now comprised in the modern State of

Equally uncritical is his pronouncement that in medieval and later times the more important kingdoms of Malainadu were the Mūṣakas of Kelattiri, the Kūpakas of Kollam and the Veṇāḍu kings of South Travancore.³² It deserves to be mentioned that the Keraḷa he had spoken of previously as a kingdom to the north of Kollam is here totally ignored for obvious reasons.³³ His mention

Travancore was composed of a number of kingdoms which were functioning, since the time of their inception, as *separate political units*, till they were suppressed and consolidated by the conquests of Raja Martanda Varma, who is, therefore, styled the maker of modern Travancore. In 1675 according to a report of Van Goens printed in Valentijn, Travancore, ended two hours march north of Tengapattanam, and embraced only 700 square miles, or one-tenth of modern Travancore. The Attingal Svatiṇṇam lay to the north of Travancore and south of Quilon. Towards the end of the 17th century Keloma (Keraḷa Varma), Raja of Travancore, is described in Dutch Records as the Queen of Attingal's vassal (N. Macleod). (Vide Galletti, p. 53, foot-note 3). In view of these facts, the promiscuous use of the terms Travancore, Attingal, Kūpaka and Veṇāḍ and of their varied possible combinations which disfigure the writings on this subject, in so far as they deal with ancient, medieval and early modern periods, is strictly out of place, and this has tended considerably to vitiate the correct understanding of the history of this part of Keraḷa. This has also introduced unnecessary confusion and avoidable mistakes which are rampant in not merely popular books on the subject, but in even those works which purport to be scientific and authoritative. Compare for instance the following extract from the *TSM.*, (vol. I, p. 228): The southern-most portion is "called at different times by the names of *Musikakandham*, *Kupakandham*, *Venad*, *Trppappur*, *Tirnadidesam* or *Tiruvitamkode* etc." This statement is absolutely incorrect. The first of these areas, Mūṣaka, is not in the southernmost area of Kerala, but it is in the northernmost part; Kūpaka is in the south, but it is distinct and different from Veṇāḍ and confined to the territory about Quilon while, so far as the available histories of Travancore are concerned, the exact relationship of the last four is a subject which is yet to be elucidated. Ancient and modern Keraḷa, Veṇāḍ and modern Travancore were distinct and different territorial units, and, therefore, the equation of the one with the other, and that on a speculative basis, is a distortion of history.

32 *TAS.*, vol. II, p. 54. This shows that the author has not studied the history of Keraḷa of the period. The Attingal-Kūpaka-Veṇāḍ equation having been adumbrated and adoptions from Kolattunad to Veṇāḍ (also vide *TSM.*, vol. II, p. 60) having been postulated, Mr. Rao's statement ultimately tends to suggest that Veṇāḍ was the most important kingdom in all Keraḷa at that time!

33 *TAS.*, vol. II, pp. 54-55. Keraḷa is the name he says, by which the land lying north of Quilon was known.

of Kūpaka side by side with Veṇāḍ is against the Veṇāḍ-Kūpaka equation he has advanced.³¹ Mr. Rao is evidently oblivious of what he has written earlier and contradicts himself! He is, however, not an exception: for almost every writer on Travancore History has confused the terms Keraḷa, Travancore, Veṇāḍ and Kūpaka. They have always failed to realise the significant fact that modern Travancore is *not* Veṇāḍ, and that *Veṇāḍ* was only one among the many kingdoms in the present political unit called Travancore.³⁵

In advancing statements such as those mentioned above, Mr. Rao seems greatly obsessed by his own Jayasiṃha Vira Keraḷa equation and the importance of modern Travancore in Keraḷa politics of the day, and he has, therefore, failed to view the inscription under study in its proper historical perspective. That is the most charitable construction we may put on these, his loose lucubrations.

We owe it to Mr. Rao, who is the pioneer in the field of epigraphical studies on the West Coast, to examine the basis on which he has postulated the Jayasiṃha Vira Keraḷa equation and assumed that the full name of Ravi Varma Saṅgrāmadhīra's father was Jayasiṃha Vira Keraḷa Varma. He has cited as his authority *El.* vol. IV, viz., the reference given by Dr. Hultzsch in a footnote, while editing Dr. Kielhorn's study of the *Conjevaram record* and his own remarks elsewhere in the second volume of the *TAS*.³⁶

34 If Kūpaka is Āttingal and both are identical with Veṇāḍ, why should the former be described as becoming merged in the last? This should have been explained.

35 See note 32 *ante*. We may here mention some of the other kingdoms which have gone to make up modern Travancore. Beginning from the north, they are Ālangāḍ and Paṭūr, Iḍappalli, Vatakkenkūr, Tekkenkūr, Ambalappūḷa, Kāy kulam, Quilon, Ciraṇvāyi, Āttingal, Koṭṭārakkara, etc. Available evidence proves that all these were different political units, each under its own chief till roughly about (1725 A.C.). The first six, excepting perhaps, Iḍappalli at certain times, were the feudatories of the Perumpaṭappu Mūppil till 1760 A.D.

36 Vide *El.*, vol. IV, p. 146; *Ibid.*, p. 293; also *TAS.*, vol. II, pp. 16-17 and 54-55.

The former reference which is to the inscriptions of 644 M.E. (1469 A.C.)³⁷ and 671 M.E. (1496 A.C.)³⁸ does not at all prove anything of the kind. These two inscriptions only prove that the royal family of Quilon in those years still had the name *Jayasimbhānvaya*,³⁹ neither more nor less. And of these the former mentions the name of king Āditya Varma and the latter, that of king Vira Keraḷa Varma. If on the basis of the latter inscription one could postulate a Vira Keraḷa Varma as the founder of the *Jayasimbhānvaya* of Quilon, we fail to see why the former could not be utilised to postulate also that his name was Jayasiṃha Āditya Varma. One fails to see why this has not been done so far, unless it be the anxiety to find an epigraphical Vira Keraḷa Varma as an ancestor of the Travancore Svarūpam as in the case of the Perumpattappu Svarūpam. Hence we come to the conclusion that the reference given in the *EL* does not support the identification advanced by Mr. Rao.⁴⁰

37 The text of the inscription runs as follows:

श्रीमत्कोलम्बवर्षे भवति गुणमणिश्रेणिरादित्यवर्मा
वञ्चीपालो विशाखः प्रभुरखिलकलावल्लभः पर्यवध्रात् ।
द्वारालङ्कारघटां तिलकितजयसिंहान्वयः श्रीकुरङ्ग-
प्रोद्यद्भ्रात्रो मुरारेरधिगतचिरवाय्मण्डलेन्द्रो नरेन्द्रः ॥

This inscription states that Āditya Varma, born of the family of Jayasiṃha, was then the chief of Ciṛavāyi, an independent kingdom. This king had the titles *Akṣhīlakalāvallabha* and *Sarvāṅganātha*, according to Mr. Ullur Parameswara Ayyar, who, like some other writers, takes every qualifying adjective as a title, when used with reference to the chiefs of the kingdoms in what now forms part of Travancore (*VD.*, vol. I, p. 96). It may also be noticed here that the same writer states that this Āditya Varma was a king of Veṇāḍ, i.e., of Travancore, which, in the sense in which we understand the term now, was non-existent at the time of the inscription (*ibid.*).

38 This is the inscription under study.

39 Compare '*Jayasimbhasya virakeraḷa varmaṇah*' and '*tilakita-jayasimbhānvayah*'.

40 It deserves to be pointed out here that the statement of Dr. Hultzsch is sufficiently vague to justify the drawing of the conclusion set forth by Mr. Rao, namely that Jayasiṃha, the father of Ravi Varma, was the founder of the Quilon

Coming to Mr. Rao's own lucubrations in the matter, it must be stated at the very outset that these do not at all add to his credit.¹¹ The passage '*tatbā tadvaṃśajānāṇca*' could not certainly refer to any ancestor of Vīra Keraḷa but only to his descendants. If the whole verse is taken as referring to the original ancestor and his family, then the inscription cannot be taken to refer to any reigning king by name; that is to say, the same passage could not at the same time refer to an ancestor Jayasiṃha Vīra Keraḷa and to a reigning king Vīra Keraḷa. Of these, the reference to the latter is the correct one and more apposite. The inscription under study states categorically that the king mentioned therein is Jayasiṃha Vīra Keraḷa Varma: neither more nor less. And, therefore, merely on the basis of this inscription, it cannot certainly be held that the full name of Ravi Varma Kulaśekhara's father was Jayasiṃha Vīra Keraḷa, a postulation that cannot be accepted, even if we are prepared to accept Mr. Rao's interpretation of the first verse of this inscription. The first king of the Jayasiṃha family at Quilon might, after all, have been a Vīra Keraḷa Varma, but *that fact could not be assumed, much less established, from this inscription*; and, in any case, that king, the founder of the Quilon royal family, could not be the father of Ravi Varma Kulaśekhara. For, in the first place, the latter was only a Jayasiṃha and *not* a Jayasiṃha Vīra Keraḷa Varma. Secondly, he could not for a *prima facie* reason be a member of the Quilon royal family, since if he was a member of that family, he could not have married in that family. For aught we know, *Jayasiṃha*, the father of Ravi Varma Kulaśekhara, *was*

royal house. For he did not elucidate his view then or even when editing the paper of Mr. Venkayya on the Vīra Rāghava Cakravarti plate; it would, therefore, only mean that, though he was prepared to accept this view, he was not bold enough to openly avow it, and if he did not accept, he was not prepared to contradict it. Thus he did help the misunderstanding and hence the interpretation.

41 Probably, Mr. Rao was an unconscious victim of the theorisings of Messrs. Sundaram Pillai and Venkayya, based on the vague suggestion of Dr. Hultzsch.

not a member of the *Jayasimhānvaya* of Quilon: he must have belonged to a distinctly different family. Even if we assume for mere arguments' sake that Jayasiṃha was a member of the *Jayasimhānvaya* of Quilon—this is very untenable, because that family like other royal families on the West coast was then following *Marumakkattāyam*¹²—still he could not be identified as the founder of the *Jayasimhānvaya* of Quilon, if, indeed, the country is supposed to have derived its name Jayatuṅganāḍu from the name of the founder of the kingdom, for the country was called by this name even as early as the first quarter of the 13th century.¹³ Hence we have necessarily to conclude that the long and loose lucubrations of Mr. Rao are beside the point, since they are evidently based on unfounded speculations;¹⁴ and, therefore, we cannot, on the evidence cited by Mr. Rao, accept the position that the founder of the

42 *TSM.*, would have it that the royal families of the West Coast were all following the *Marumakkattāyam* law of inheritance from the remotest times, a view supported by epigraphical evidence also, not to speak of traditions and chronicles. It is said that Cochin was following this mode of inheritance from the time of its inception, and we know from inscriptions that the kingdom of Cīṛavāyi was also following the same system. The Cīṛavāyi Mūttavar granted to a certain family *Melkoyma* rights and other privileges in the Muttalaikuricci temple at Virakeraḷapuram in South Travancore, and these gifts made at varied periods in history are enumerated in the plate of 821 M.E., in which the previous grants are also mentioned—the grants made in the Kollam years 337, 491, 628, 782, etc., and these grants, it is categorically stated, were made by the *uncles* of the author of the plate (vide *TAS.*, vol. IV, p. 151). From this we may conclude that from 337 M.E. (1162-3 A.C.) at least the Cīṛavāyi royal house must have been following the *Marumakkattāyam* law of inheritance. We also knew that Ravi Varma Kulaśekhara of Quilon had a son, but, so far as we know, he did not succeed his father on the throne of Quilon (*ARE.*, 1926, part ii, p. 104). From these documents and citations we also conclude that Cīṛavāyi was functioning as an independent state from 337 M.E. In the light of this information, one cannot understand the significance of the statements of certain writers that Quilon and Cīṛavāyi and Veṇṇāḍ were all one and the same from very ancient times!

43 Compare the inscription of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I, dated 1206 A.C. (No. 370 of 1916, Madras).

44 If at all these have any basis, they are the suggestions of Mr. Sundaram Pillai.

royal house of Quilon was a Vira Keraḷa Varma and that he was the father of Ravi Varma Kulaśekharaḍeḡa, styled Saṁgrāmadhira.

Mr. Rao has indulged in another series of speculations in support of his position, which, if anything, has the colour of historical romance. We may be excused the following full extract from his studies: ⁴⁵

"The facts that Vira Pāṇḍya took refuge with the Kūpaka king at Kollam and that his son bears a distinctly Keraḷa name, Vira Keraḷa, enable us to surmise that the then reigning Kūpaka was perhaps named Vira Keraḷa, that his daughter was married by Vira Pāṇḍya and that Pāṇḍya crown prince was named after the maternal grand father."⁴⁶

"In all probability, the Vira Keraḷa, king of the Kūpaka country, conquered by Vira Pāṇḍya was the father of Saṁgrāmadhira Ravi Varman."⁴⁷ Ravi Varman, in his turn, is said to have married the daughter of a Pāṇḍya king, after defeating him; it might be that Ravi Varman attacked and defeated the adversary of Vira Pāṇḍya (i.e. Vikrama Pāṇḍya,⁴⁸ and married his daughter."⁴⁹

45 Vide *TAS.*, vol. II, p. 17.

46 The fallacy of this reconstruction is elucidated by Prof. K. N. Sastri (vide *IK.*, p. 130).

47 We have already shown the absurdity of the identification of Jayasimha, father of Ravi Varma Kulaśekhara of Quilon, with Vira Keraḷa Varma of Quilon.

48 The inscriptions of Ravi Varma state that he conquered Vira Pāṇḍya and not Vikrama Pāṇḍya. This latter name is not specifically mentioned in any of the records of Ravi Varma.

49 Saṁgrāmadhira's epigraphs disclose the fact that he married the daughter of a Pāṇḍyan king. It is not stated that he married his adversary Vikrama Pāṇḍya's daughter. The assumptions made by Mr. Rao that he defeated Vikrama Pāṇḍya and married his daughter are presumably based upon a floating verse quoted in the *LT.*, which says that a ruler of Veṇāḍ, named Vira Ravi Varma, defeated a Vikrama Pāṇḍya and married his daughter. The verse runs as follows:

द्रोणाय द्रुपदम् धनञ्जय इव क्षमापालबालां बली
वेणाद्रिन्नुटयोह वीररविवर्मास्त्यो यद्दत्ताम्पतिः ।
पाण्ड्यं विक्रमपूर्वकं पटयित्वच्छाट्टिपटिच्छङ्गे
पाण्ड्ये शाय कोटुत्तु तस्य तनयां पद्माननामग्रहीत् ॥

This verse would make it clear that Ravi Varma of Quilon cannot be identified with Vira Ravi Varma of Veṇāḍ. This identification is advanced uncritically enough by some writers in Malayalam, and it is found accepted by Dr. S. K. Ayyangar and Venkatarammanayya. (*NIA*, vol. I, pp. 147-80; *JOR.*, vol. XII, pp. 192-216).

With the friendship thus secured with Vira Pāṇḍya and Vikrama Pāṇḍya by marriage ties, he was able to overrun the country as far north as Conjevaram, defeat the Telugu-Coḷa princes⁵⁰ and be anointed at Kāñci."

For sheer boldness of speculation this passage stands unrivalled.⁵¹ An attempt is here made, with a show of success, to reconstruct the history of the Pāṇḍyas and of Keraḷa in the *thirteenth* century, as Mr. Rao would have it. The two bases on which he has reared up his superstructure are: (i) A Vira Pāṇḍya had a son named Vira Keraḷa Pāṇḍyadeva, the first part of which name is distinctly Malayali and (ii) the Quilon inscription of 671 M.E. (1496 A.C.) mentions a Jayasimha Vira Keraḷa Varma. It is really inscrutable how on these two grounds *merely*, Mr. Rao could postulate such a theory. It is assumed that the Kūpaka king at whose court Vira Pāṇḍya took refuge⁵²—this Vira Pāṇḍya is really to be assigned to the *later half of the 12th century*—must have been a Vira Keraḷa, for the refugee's son is found named Vira Keraḷa; and in support of this position it is further speculated that the re-

50 These are the Viceroys of Kākatīyas who held the Coḷas under subjection. Available inscriptional evidence does not justify the assumptions here advanced by Mr. Rao.

51 Mr. Rao's speculations on page 55, *TAS.*, vol. II, would have it that Ravi Varma's consort might be the daughter of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II whose *fifteenth* year of reign fell in 1290 or of Maṇavarman Kuḷaśekhara whose *fortieth* year fell in 1308 or of Vikrama Pāṇḍya, an earlier king, who might have lived earlier than 1268 or of one like him who took part in the wars of Pāṇḍyan succession of the 12th century. Nothing is gained by speculations like these. The last of these alternatives reveals Mr. Rao's complete ignorance of the Pāṇḍyan history of the period. It is out of the question, since it is preposterous to assume that Vikrama Pāṇḍya, the predecessor of Kuḷaśekhara (accession 1190), had a daughter to be given in marriage to Ravi Varma born in 1266 A.C. No doubt Mr. Svamikannu Pillai has postulated a Vikrama Pāṇḍya whose accession is said to have been in 1249 A.C., but the existence of such a king and his reign is yet to be established on sufficient data.

52 This apart, the dating of Vira Pāṇḍya, here assumed, is wrong, as we have already pointed out. The conqueror of Quilon and the later refugee there lived in the last part of the twelfth century, for Jaṭavarman Kuḷaśekhara Pāṇḍya, the successor of Vikrama Pāṇḍya and the opponent of Vira Pāṇḍya, ascended the throne in 1190 A.C.

fugee king must have married the Quilon king's daughter, when, on a former occasion, he reached Quilon as a conqueror,⁵³ which incident has been placed by historians in about 1170 A.C. The Kūpaka king at whose court Vira Pāṇḍya took refuge, it is said, in the 13th century must have been a Vira Keraḷa, for the inscription of 1496 A.C. speaks of a Quilon king of the same name in 1496! Since Ravi Varma's father is stated to have been a Jayasiṃha, and since Ravi Varma was born in 1266 A.C., the postulated Vira Keraḷa Varma of Kūpaka, the opponent of Vira Pāṇḍya, and this Jayasiṃha must be identical; and, therefore, Ravi Varma's father Jayasiṃha who is held to be the founder of the royal family of Quilon becomes a Vira Keraḷa! It is also stated that it was this Vira Pāṇḍya who helped Ravi Varma to defeat the Coḷas and Pāṇḍyas (about 1311-12 A.C.). This line of argumentative speculation is certainly very interesting; but it is fiction, not history.

The absurdity of the whole speculation is plainly manifest in the second part of the extract given above. Ravi Varma's inscriptions, and with these Mr. Rao must have been familiar when he wrote this sort of history, do not show that Ravi Varma conquered Vikrama Pāṇḍya and married his daughter. The enemy whom he relentlessly attacked and defeated more than once was Vira Pāṇḍya who, according to Mr. Rao, was his own brother-in-law. The *Pāṇḍyatanayā*, whom he married, might have been, but is not necessarily, the daughter of Vikrama Pāṇḍya.⁵⁴ And lastly, we have no information from Ravi Varma's epigraphs that Vira Pāṇḍya (earliest date 1296 A.C.) and Vikrama Pāṇḍya (latest date 1296

53 This he did sometime about 1170, and naturally therefore this Vira Pāṇḍya cannot be identified with the contemporary of Ravi Varma Kulaśekhara (vide CS., vol. II, p. 128; PK., p. 130 n).

54 The sentence "*Jayaśrīvatkṛtvā nijaśahacarim pāṇḍyatanayām*," cannot be taken to mean that the princess whom he married was the daughter of Vikrama Pāṇḍya. If at all any inference might be drawn from such a statement, it would only mean that he married his patron's daughter, i.e. the daughter of Maṇavarman Kulaśekhara Deva Tribhuvanacakravarti.

A.C.) helped him to overcome and conquer the Telugu-Coḍas. All these are born of his imagination.⁵⁵

It is our feeling that Mr. Rao must ultimately take his stand on Mr. Venkayya's statement;⁵⁶ we must, therefore, notice how the latter author utilised the inscription under study to determine the age of the Vira Rāghava plate. States Mr. Venkayya:

"If this conclusion is correct (that is, that the said plate is not earlier than the 14th century), the Vira Keraḷa Cakravarti whose descendant Vira Rāghava professes to have been, may perhaps be identified with Jayasimha *alias* Vira Keraḷa Varma mentioned in the two inscriptions from the Western coast, as the founder of a race of kings and with Jayasimha, the father of Ravi Varma *alias* Kulaśekhara. As Ravi Varma, the son of Jayasimha, ascended the throne about 1300 A.C. Vira Rāghava could not have lived earlier than the 14th century."

Here the distinguished epigraphist has suggested that the founder of the royal family of Quilon, called *Jayasimhānvaya*, was the father of Ravi Varma Kulaśekhara, and that his full name was Jayasimha Vira Keraḷa Varma, and the suggestion is, it is stated, based on the inscription under study as well as that of 644 M.E. We have already shown that these two inscriptions cannot be cited in support of such a suggestion. Again, the Vira Rāghava Cakravarti of the plate was the lord of Mahodayapura (Cranganur), which was the capital of the Perumpaṭappu (Cochin) Royal house till 1341 A.C., and as the plate was assigned to 1320 A.C., it is not known how an ancestor of Vira Rāghava could have hailed from Quilon, and this ancestor, be it noted, had not the name Jayasimha, according to the plate, while Jayasimha, father of Ravi Varma had not the name Vira Keraḷa. According to this interpretation, Vira Keraḷa was removed from Vira Rāghava by only about a generation or two, which is too much to assume on the basis of the statement "*Vira*

55 No such reference is found made in the inscriptions of Ravi Varma. We are in the dark why Mr. Rao misstated the contents of the inscription. The co-existence of the princes, Vikrama Pāṇḍya and Vira Pāṇḍya, as co-regents is extremely doubtful.

56 *El.*, vol. IV, p. 293.

Keraḷa Cakravarti mura murayāyi pala nūṛāyirathāṇḍu cengōlna-datti.” And if we assume that Ravi Varma was Vira Rāghava’s immediate predecessor, it is rather strange that no mention should have been made of such a glorious conqueror and scholar. The fact is that Mr. Venkayya had heard of only few Vira Keraḷas in Keraḷa history prior to 1496 A.C., and he wanted to connect the Vira Keraḷa of the Kottayam plate with some Vira Keraḷa before 1320, without trying to inquire of the dynasty, capital, title, traditions, etc., of the kings concerned.⁵⁷

The basic assumptions being proved to be wrong, Mr. Venkayya’s identification of the Vira Keraḷa Cakravarti of the plate with the founder (Vira Keraḷa?) of the Jayasiṃha royal family of Quilon must be pronounced as wrong—such speculations based on insufficient or no data not only do not advance the cause of research, but materially retard its progress by giving an entirely wrong lead to the unwary students who are apt to take distinguished epigraphists at their word.

Enough has now been said to show that the varied speculations and assumptions made on the basis of the inscription under study, namely that the founder of the Jayasiṃha dynasty of Quilon was a Jayasiṃha Vira Keraḷa Varma and that this Vira Keraḷa Varma was identical with the father of Ravi Varma Kulaśekhara, are untenable. Incidentally, we have also shown that the Kūpaka-Āttingal-Veṇāḍ equation, assumed by Mr. Sundaram Pillai and accepted by Mr. Rao, is also unjustified, being based, as we have shown, on very weak grounds. These unwarranted assumptions

57 This plate is studied in *extenso* in the writers’ paper, *Cochin about 1300 A.C.*, published in the *MCM.*, vol. XXII, December 1939, pp. 100-118. It is however funny that, though this identification of the Vira Keraḷa Varma of the Kottayam plate has long ago been exploded, still the latter postulation, that Ravi Varma’s father was a Vira Keraḷa Varma and that he founded the royal family of Quilon, has become the favourite theme of almost all writers on Travancore history.

and inferences have introduced not a little of confusion in the study of the history of the ancient kingdoms comprised in the modern state of Travancore. It will also be clear from what has been said that the Jayasimha of the inscription is neither the king of Kerala, nor of Venāḍ, nor of Travancore; nor again can he be termed a co-regent of the Travancore king;⁵⁸ and the family on which prosperity is invoked is the royal family of Quilon and *not* the royal family of modern or ancient Travancore.

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A. G. WARRIAR

58 Vide TSM., vol. I, p. 275.

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Sher Shah's Parganahs and their administrative Officials

So much has been written about the administrative system of Sher Shah, that there appears to have been left little room for improvement. Scholars have waxed eloquent when talking of his government, but sometimes they have not been very accurate. For example what has been said about his Parganahs may need a little revision in the light of more reliable facts.

It is well-known that Sher Shah appointed some superior officers in charge of the Sarkar and some subordinate officers in charge of the Parganah. There were in the Sarkar a chief Shikdar and a chief Munsiff "to watch the conduct of both of the Amils and the people so that the Amils should not oppress or injure the people or embezzle king's revenue; and if any quarrel arose among the king's Amils regarding the boundaries of the parganahs they were to settle it."¹ The Amils were in charge of revenue collection of the Parganahs and they had, besides their responsibility to the chief Shikdar and chief Munsiff, to send reports most probably of their collections and the condition of their districts to the emperor direct.² The office of the Amil seems to have been one of great importance, so that, Sher Shah is reported to have once remarked that "there is no such income and advantage in other employments as in the government of a district"³ Amildari most probably resembled the collectorship of a modern district on a smaller scale.

In the Parganah there were "a Shikddar, a Munsiff, a treasurer, a Persian writer and a Hindwi writer."⁴ This is according to the *Wākiat-i-Mustāki*. Abbas Khan gives a different account. "There was" he says "appointed in every pargana one Amir, one God-

¹ Elliot and Dowson, *History of India, as told by its own historians*, vol. IV, p. 414.

² *Ibid.*, p. 413.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 414.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 551.

fearing Shikkar, one treasurer, one karkun to write Hindi and one to write Persian; and he ordered his governors to measure the land every harvest, to collect the revenue according to the measurement, and in proportion to the produce, giving one share to the cultivator, and half a share to the mukaddam; and fixing the assessment with regard to the kind of grain, in order that the mukaddams, and Chaudhuris and Amils should not oppress the cultivators. Before his time it was not the custom to measure the land, but there was a Kanungo in every pargana from whom was ascertained the present, past and probable future state of the parganah. In every sarkar he appointed a chief Shikdar and a chief Munsiff; that they might watch the conduct of both Amils and the people.....”⁵ Here we have the names of as many as eight officials associated with the parganah administration. It is difficult to ascertain as to what exactly were their duties, or whether all of them were actually meant for a parganah. What exactly were the duties of the Amir and Shikdar as compared with those of the Amil, the Chaudhury and the Mukaddam has nowhere been suggested or made clear. And without any mention of a Munsiff attached to a parganah, Abbas Khan speaks of a chief Munsiff in a Sarkar. *Wākiat-i-Mustāki* is however more systematic and clear. As evident from the quotation given above, there were five officers in a parganah. As to their functions, the Shikdar was like a general manager, who looked after the revenue collection, punished all lawlessness or contumacy in connection with revenue collection, and maintained peace and order in general. Thus he was expected to perform police duties within his jurisdiction. The Munsiff was “appointed for examining the brands in the armies on the frontiers”, and it was before him that “at the branding time every man came forward and showed his horse and rendered his account.”⁶ The Shikdar,

after collecting royal revenue, handed it over to the treasurer a Fotahdar. The two Karkuns or clerks assisted the treasurer and the munsiff in keeping accounts of the revenue collection and records of the branding of the army and accounts rendered by each soldier.

But here some confusion has been created by writers from Abbas Khan to Prof. K. Qanungo. They speak of a chief Munsiff in a Sarkar, but do not say whether there were Munsiffs in the parganahs, without whom it would be absurd to speak of a chief Munsiff. Dr. R. P. Tripathi seems to have agreed with Prof. Qanungo in dropping the Munsiff from the administrative arrangement of a parganah, *Wākiat-i-mustāki*, however, mentions that "in every pargana there was a Shikkdar, a Munsiff, a treasurer, a Persian writer and Hinduwi writer, and in every Sarkar there was a chief Shikkdar and a chief Munsiff.....Munsiffs were appointed for examining the brands in the armies on the frontiers."⁷ Further on, the same authority mentions that Sher Shah "kept an army in the upper country; one army in Bengal, one at Rohtas, one at Malwa, one at the fort of Chitor, one in Khajwara, one in the country of Dhandera, one in Nagor and Judhpur, and in the fort of Rantambhor and Bajwara. No fort in the country was without a garrison or a commandant."⁸ Since the country had been garrisoned, there must have been Munsiffs in most of the Parganahs. There must have been very few parganahs without a Munsiff, so that he was considered an indispensable adjunct to the parganah government in general. That was again because practically every parganah had a Faujdar, and "at the branding time every man came forward and showed his horse and rendered his account."⁹ Hence we can maintain that parganah government was run by five civil officers viz. the Shikdar, the Munsiff, the Fotahdar, and two Karkuns, and a Faujdar, who was the head of the military contingent posted there.

7 Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 551.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 551-52.

9 *Ibid.*, pp. 415-551.

As regards the number of parganahs Prof. Qanungo discusses Elliot's and Abbas Khan's statements, and comes to the conclusion that there were 113,000 villages, which Abbas Khan calls parganahs by mistake.¹⁰ Dr. Tripathi rightly criticises Prof. Qanungo's conclusion as absurd, because that would mean that Sher Shah had 565,000 officials and 226,000 semi-officials (Muqaddams and Patwaris) to manage these 113,000 villages.¹¹ The statement of *Wākiat-i-mustāki* appears more reasonable and perhaps true to facts when it mentions that "the whole of the territories in his (Sher Shah's) possession contained 13,000 parganahs."¹² Assuming that as an approximately correct figure we can maintain that there were nearly 70,000 civil and military officers in charge of all the parganas of the empire. Below them were the Muqaddams and Patwaris who were semi-officials in charge of villages. Several villages formed a parganah, as several parganahs constituted a Sarkar.

H. N. SINHA

A Note on the *Sābdanirṇaya*

In a note on the *Sābdanirṇaya*,¹ Mr. Makhanlal Mukherji has attempted to find fault with Appayya Dikṣita for a statement that he has made in the *Siddhānta-leśasamgraha*, regarding a work called *Nyāyanirṇaya*. The extract cited by Mr. Mukherji from the *Siddhāntaleśasamgraha* is as follows: पदैकवाक्यतायामेव परमवान्तरतात्पर्या-नभ्युपगमात् इति विवरणान्तरैः न्यायनिर्याये व्यवस्थापनेन। There cannot be any doubt that the *Nyāyanirṇaya* is a work composed by the Vivaranācārya (i.e.) Prakāśātman, according to the statement cited above. Mr. Mukherji is aware of a *Sābdanirṇaya* of Prakāśātman and the term *Nirṇaya* evidently made him seek for

¹⁰ *Sher Shah*, p. 351.

¹¹ *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, p. 352.

¹² Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 551.

¹ *IHQ.*, vol. XV, pt. 3. pp. 435-440.

an expression of the view put forward in the extract cited above in the *Nirṇaya* (*Sābdanirṇaya*) of Prakāśātman and he was fortunate in finding a passage which expresses the same line of argument. Hence he concluded that Appaya was referring to the *Sābdanirṇaya* when he said *Nyāyanirṇaya* in the extract न्यायनिर्णये व्यवस्थापनेन ।

This statement of Mr. Mukherji is not, to say the least, warranted. Appayya Dikṣita refers to the *Nyāyanirṇaya* in two different places in the *Siddhāntaleśasamgraha*. One of the two references is the same as has been noticed by Mr. Mukherji. The other passage runs as follows:—“कर्ता शास्त्रार्थवत्त्वात्” इत्यधिकरणे न्याय-निर्णयोक्तरोत्या अन्तःकरणस्य चक्षुरादिकरणान्तरनिरपेक्षस्य ज्ञानासाधनत्वाद्वा² This passage has evidently escaped the notice of Mr. Mukherji. It will be clear from the latter passage that *Nyāyanirṇaya* is a work, dealing with the Adhikaraṇas in the Brahmasūtras. And it is too well-known that *Sābdanirṇaya* has nothing to do with adhikaraṇas as such, and therefore cannot be the work referred to by Appayya Dikṣita. And it is not known how this passage was missed by Mr. Mukherji.

Among the works of Prakāśātman, it should be noted, that there is a work called *Śārirakanyāyasamgraha* or *Śārirakanyāyanirṇaya*, or simply *Nyāyasamgraha* or *Nyāyanirṇaya*. The work is a short and terse exposition of the Nyāyas that could be extracted from the various Adhikaraṇas of the Brahmasūtras. Both the references in the *Siddhāntaleśasamgraha* could be traced to that work. The first of the references in *Siddhāntaleśasamgraha* may be cited once again, but in more detail. The passage runs thus:—

अर्थवादानामपि प्रयाजाद्यङ्गविधिवाक्यानामिव स्वार्थप्रमितावनन्याधतया प्रमितानामे-
वाश्रयानां प्रयोजनवशादन्यार्थतेति प्रयाजादिवाक्यवत् तेषामप्यवान्तरसंसर्गं तात्पर्यमस्त्येव,
वाक्यैकवाक्यत्वात् ; पदैकवाक्यतायामेव परमवान्तरतात्पर्यानभ्युपगमात् इति विवरणाचार्यैः
न्यायनिर्णये व्यवस्थापनेन etc.³

2 *Siddhāntaleśasamgraha*, Madras University edition, p. 69.

3 Madras University edition, p. 54.

This may be compared with the following passage, found in the *Śārirakanyāyasamgraha* or *Nirṇaya* of Prakāśātman :

तत्र यथा प्रयाजाद्यङ्गविधिवाक्यानां स्वार्थप्रमितावनन्यार्थता, प्रमितानामेवार्थानां प्रयोजन-
वशात् अन्यार्थता । इत्यमेषामप्यर्थवादादीनां विधिप्रकरणगतवाक्यानां प्रमितानुवादविरोध-
रहितवाक्यत्वात् प्रयाजादिवाक्यवत् इति न्यायेन अर्थपरतोक्ता⁴ ।

The second of the extract which reads as follows :

“कर्तो शास्त्रार्थवत्त्वात्” इत्यधिकरणे न्यायनिर्णयोक्तरीत्या अन्तःकरणस्य चक्षुरादि-
करणान्तरनिरपेक्षस्य ज्ञानासाधनत्वाद्वा⁵

may be compared with the following passage in the *Śārirakanyāya-
samgraha* :—

अथ यद्यपि चक्षुराद्यगोचरत्वात् मनसः चक्षुरादिनिरपेक्षस्य प्रत्यक्षसाधनत्वाभावात्
सत्येव मनसि आत्मनि कर्तृत्वोपलब्धेः, असति च सुषुप्ते मनसि कर्तृत्वाद्यनुपलब्धेः etc.⁶

These passages cannot leave us in doubt as to the identity of the work referred to by the author of the *Siddhāntaleśasamgraha*. The *Nyāyanirṇaya* of Vivaraṇācārya is identical with the *Śārirakanyāyasamgraha* or *Nyāyanirṇaya*. It is not proper to attribute ignorance to Appayya Dikṣita.

It is rather inexplicable to note that Mr. Mukherji has overlooked the second of the references. Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri who has edited the *Siddhāntaleśasamgraha* with translation and notes has drawn pointed attention to the second of the two extracts and compared it with the passage found in the *Śārirakanyāyasamgraha* in the Appendix;⁷ and Mr. Mukherji seems to have had access to that edition. Any way, the fact remains that in this instance, Appayya Dikṣita has not gone wrong.

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4 Madras University edition of the *Śārirakanyāyasamgraha*, pp. 26-7.

5 See above.

6 Madras University edition, p. 68.

7 See page xxiv.

The Silver and Copper Coinage of Pre-Moghul India

A silver coin of about 170 to 180 grains had existed in India under various names, long before Sher Shah had begun to coin silver rupees. The Turkish Delhi emperor Altamish (1210-35) introduced a silver coin of 165 grains, following in its broad flat shape most likely the Central Asia patterns. It was a tankah, and tankahs remained the principal type of silver in the kingdom of Delhi, and North India, up to the time of the Moghuls. Alāud-din of the Khalji dynasty (1295-1315) struck that type of tankahs in gold, a piece weighing 170 grains, a close copy of his silver tankah.

The Delhi kingdom however had not achieved at that time a satisfactory system of fractional currency. As had been the case in other parts of India during previous periods, many attempts were made to use billon, an amalgam of silver with copper, for that purpose. These pieces of fractional currency were named *ganī*. The tankah was divided into 48 parts, and 8, 6, 12 and 16 *ganī* pieces were issued. It seems that no attempt was made to coin the fractional denominations out of the same material (i.e. silver) as the tankahs. This may have been due to an insufficient supply of silver. Whatever the reasons may have been, they were likely practical ones; billon coins were also used a good deal in Europe during the middle ages. In India the Moghuls very definitely abandoned the coining of billon, returning to pure copper for their lower values of coins. That during Moghul times larger amounts of both silver and copper were available than had been the case in the previous centuries seems clear. How large a share, if any, the large supplies of the American continent had to do, with this remarkable abundance of both metals in these later periods, is a subject, which probably still awaits investigation. It is at least reasonable to suppose that some of the American metals, silver at least, found their way, directly or indirectly, to India as early as in the 16th century, as they have found their way later on down to our time.

The accounts of the Muḥammadān historians, dealing with the establishments of the kings of Delhi in the 14th century, show the tankah as the chief item of the legal currency of the realm, and mention rather large amounts of these coins in circulation. How far the Delhi coins were accepted at face value beyond the boundaries of the shrinking territories of the later Tughlaq rulers, down to the beginning of the 15th century, is another question. The imperial sweep of Akbar's realm also in monetary matters, had, of course, never been approached by any of his predecessors on the throne of Delhi. Nevertheless the more outstanding sultans of both the so-called slave dynasty and those of the Khaljīs had at their disposal resources sufficient to enable them to indulge on a large scale in that ambition of rulers to provide proper mediums of change for their subjects, as well as to immortalize their names and deeds in beautiful coins. And well it is that they did. Where would the study of Indian history as all other be to-day, had it not been for those almost infallible and incorruptible witnesses, the coins, dug out of their quiet resting places of centuries and milleniums.

Giving our attention now to the relative metal and face values of silver and copper coins in pre-Moghul India, the question arises whether copper during this period, as to its metal value, had any place in the fiscal and financial systems of this period. As I in a previous article (*IHQ.*, 1933, vol. IX, p. 157) have tried to show, copper in the original Moghul scheme of things probably did possess an appreciable inherent metal value in its place in the currency system, and perhaps only during the dissolution of the empire, or rather during the beginning stages of its decay, sank down again to the position of a mere token, with no inherent value than the stamped governmental credentials on the face of the coins. While the metal value of copper at no time was likely to be more than anywhere from one fortieth to one fiftieth of that of silver, still the economic conditions of the greater majority of India's population

always seemed to require the convenient medium of exchange of a metal cheaper than silver. It is worthy of notice how the Indian copper (now bronze) piece, with the silver rupee, has become a standard coin in many countries outside India, a testimony to the merits of these two types of coinage.

It would be interesting to know, where medieval India got its supplies of silver and of copper. In exchange for the great variety of its exported products, India has from the beginning of our era down to the time of the fall of the western Roman Empire helped to drain the western world of the greater part of the gold reserves, which the Pax Romana had enabled the western world to accumulate. This probably is a part of the reason that South India for centuries had a better developed gold currency than any other part of India. Seeing that due to political causes the commercial relations between the South and the North were of a somewhat intermittent character during most of the centuries down to Aurangzeb's conquests in the Deccan and South India, it is at least likely that also a good part of the silver used in South India came there by sea rather than by land. As to Bengal and other parts of India north of the Vindhya, they have perhaps always been, what they still are, great reservoirs for the accumulation of precious metals rather than countries producing such minerals. South India, of course, always had its gold mines, and also other parts of the country have produced some amount of gold, silver and copper, but it seems clear, that for the bulk of silver and copper, India had always been dependent on middle and northern Asia. The question is one that falls on the borderland between the respective spheres of the numismatist and the student of commercial and economic history, belonging rightly perhaps to neither spheres. There can be no doubt, however, that the great migration westward of the Turkish tribes, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, followed by the conquests of the Mongols in the thirteenth, and the wars of Timur in the fourteenth century, for long periods of time deranged

commerce in Asia, and must have seriously interfered with getting the precious metals necessary for the pursuits of civilised life.

The period covered by the Tughlaq emperors of Upper India, from 1320 to about 1412, presents an epitome of the turbulent conditions so characteristic of the earlier Delhi empires. Much has been made of the attempted token currency of Mohammad Ibn Tughlaq, his plan of making brass (likely bronze) tankahs do the work of silver tankahs. If that was really the sultan's intention, it all depended on the stability of his own government to make that plan succeed. His token tankahs have been compared with the paper money of Kublai Khan in China, as they might be compared with any modern legal tender paper monetary system, which are not necessarily backed by a precious metal reserves behind the circulating token, but by the whole credit, prestige and solvency of the government. I somewhat doubt the story that Mohammad redeemed the tokens, counterfeits and all, when the plan was shown to be a failure. Had Tughlaq been better established than he seems to have been, the supposed mass-counterfeiting could presumably have been prevented.

In recent times historians have re-discovered, as it were, the great Kuṣāṇa empire from the beginning of the Christian era to 226 A.D. approximately, an empire most important in the history of Indian numismatics. No more striking case can easily be found of the great assistance which numismatics is rendering the historian, than the resurrection of a whole age of Indian civilisation through the help of the spade of the explorer, and the correct reading of minted records by the numismatist.

In order to understand the political fabric of the Hindu and Muhammadan medieval systems of state, it has now become almost essential to have at least a speaking acquaintance with the Kuṣāṇa empire and its institutions. In many ways, Kanīṣka is a unworthy, even if a distant, successor to great Aśoka, great Buddhists

both of them, nor is Kaniṣka an unworthy forerunner to the great Moghul Akbar, both uncultured as to race, but adopted sons of great civilisations, and founders of great systems of state-craft and statesmanship. The great ideal of a united India, with uniform laws, a uniform currency, and a uniform type of culture was handed down from Aśoka to Kaniṣka, through the Hindu Guptas, through the Turkish and Afghan rulers of Delhi on to Sher Shah and Akbar. A splendid succession, even if some of these great rulers were not fully conscious of this fact, and this great mission.

These are the facts which a careful study and comparison of coins bring out, namely that in the continuous history of any given country or empire, there are no isolated facts, but a continuous chain of cause and effect, of lending and borrowing ideas and institutions from contemporary or historic sources. We have seen that the silver tankah was a prototype of the later silver rupee. Presumably the idea of having a silver piece of that weight and fineness commended itself early to rulers and populations, and so the rupee finally became what it is to-day, one of the greatest standard coins of the world.

We have seen how one of the chief currency problems of the earlier Delhi rulers was the providing of smaller coins, a problem that can be studied in practically all earlier currencies, anywhere in the world. The multiples of the even numeral *two*, that is, four, eight, sixteen, thirty-two, sixty-four and so on, were the first and earliest ones to suggest themselves not only in India, but elsewhere in the world. Twenty, forty and eighty requires the additional factor *five*, while twelve, twenty-four and so on, the factor *three*. Of all these combinations we have a superabundance in the long history of Indian currency.

Akbar, always a few centuries ahead of his time, experimented with the decimal system in some of his coinage. I refer to the copper tankah of two dam, weighing 644 grains of which fractional coins were made of one, two and four *tankis*, a *tanki* being the tenth

part of a copper tankah. I do not know whether this system was based on some older Indian types, or borrowed from Central Asia. In my previous paper it has been pointed out, how the number *five*, especially in its double and quadruple, the ten, and the twenty, has played a large part both in weights and moneys of Moghul India.

The two, weights and moneys, are closely related. Also the old English silverpenny for centuries was as much a weight as it was a coin, (the clumsy bronze pennies of England were a late innovation). It is remarkable, that the silver rupee has been the standard tola weight for long centuries, an additional proof of the excellency of the rupee system.

A word ought to be said about another interesting item in the history of coinage. It always attached itself to cities, rather than to commonwealths, in the abstract. Beginning with the city republics of ancient Greece and Asia Minor down to very late times, the legends of coins in the majority of cases perhaps name cities almost as much as rulers. There are to-day thousands of Roman coins preserved, designated as having been coined in the city of Treves in Germany, once the capital of all Roman Gaul and Britain. The coins of the Plantagenets almost invariably bear on the reverse the legend LONDON CIVITAS [the city (state) of London], rather than the name of the country.

This same idea is also noticeable in the coins of the Muhammadan dynasties of India, both Mughals and earlier ones. In both periods very much was made of the cities that possessed mints, a highly valued privilege. In fact the titles given to such cities on the coinage are often even more fanciful and high-flown than the titles and honorific names of the rulers themselves. At what time did this custom originate in India, or, if borrowed, by what ways did it reach India? While large numbers of pre-historic coins bear hallmarks of their origin in certain cities, (compare the famous Ujjain emblem), with the coming of organised monarchies,

even the capitals of such early states, have not as a rule left their marks on pre-Moslem coins. India having gone her own way in her earlier coinage does not present many coins which were clearly city coins, as Europe does except perhaps in the older and oldest coins with the mintmarks of early guilds of merchants of the "nigami" types.

Thus it happens that such cities as Taxila, Pataliputra, Prayaga, Benares, centres of the political, social and religious life of the country for ages, are hardly, if ever, expressly mentioned on the coins, which nevertheless must have been coined within their walls in large numbers before the Muhammadan conquest. It is only with the rise of the Muhammadan states, that the names of the mint cities appear unmistakably on the coins, and then only gradually, first in a very general way with such a legend as this, *Bilati Hind*, (coined in the cities of Hindustan). As to dates, the billon coins of Alāud-din seem to be the first ones where the date is clearly mentioned, and does not have to be inferred from other evidence.

What were the laws against counterfeiting and how were they enforced? "To counterfeit is death", is clearly printed on the first colonial American currency notes. Perhaps somebody through the pages of the *IHQ*. will enlighten us on this subject in Indian numismatics.

G. L. SCHANZLIN

A Side-light on the History of Bengal

In his paper on '*A New Light on the History of Bengal*' *IHQ.*, XV, p. 511 Dr. H. C. Ray discusses the history of the Kamboja rule in Bengal. About two years ago I published an article entitled '*A New Chapter to the Ancient History of Bengal*,' dealing with the same subject, in the *Journal of the Benares Hindu University*. There is a general agreement between Dr. Ray and myself on the subject though we differ in detail. Dr. Ray's view on the extent of Mahipāla's kingdom is confusing. In his opinion the Pāla's under Mahipāla I were rulers of a decadent principality. In order to maintain the strength of this assertion he, however, does not modify his view that Mahipāla's kingdom included Benares, Patna, Muzaffarpur, Gaya, and Tepperah.¹ Mahipāla obviously held sway over Santal Pargana and the Dacca Division also. If Dr. Ray's view is analysed it follows that at the time of Mahipāla's accession the Pāla kingdom consisted of two parts—Bihar and East Bengal, and in between these two divisions lay the kingdom of the Kambojas, consisting of North and West Bengal. This, in my opinion, does not disclose the real state of things.

There is no evidence to prove that the Pālas before Mahipāla I ever held sway over the Dacca Division and the Tepperah District.² It appears from the Bharella image inscription³ that sometime in the tenth century Layahacandra was the king of the Tepperah Dis-

1 *Dynastic Hist. N. India*, I, p. 316.

2 The Baroda plate of Karkarāja, dated 812 A.D., states that a Gurjara king defeated the lord of Gauḍa and the lord of Vaṅga (*Gauḍendra-Vaṅgapati* etc., *IA.*, XII, 164). The Sirur (866 A.D.) and the Nīlguṇḍ inscriptions of Amoghavarṣa I lay down that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III defeated the king of Gauḍa, and his son Amoghavarṣa I was worshipped by the kings of Anga, Vaṅga, Magadha, Mālava and Veṅgi (*EL.*, VII, 205). All these show that in the ninth century the king of Vaṅga was distinct from the king of Gauḍa and Magadha, which were ruled by the Pālas.

3 *EL.* XVII, 351.

trict. In the second half of the same century Candras were independent rulers of the Dacca Division.⁴ Thus, as on the one hand there is no evidence to prove the Pāla supremacy over East Bengal, there is, on the other hand, distinct evidence to prove that the country was under the rule of the Candras in the tenth century. An inscription on an image discovered in the village of Baghaura, in the Brahmanbaria Sub-Division of the Tepperah District, Bengal, relates that—“In Samvat 3, the 27th day of *Māgha*, in *Samatāṭa*, in the kingdom of Mahipāla, an image (of Nārāyaṇa) was erected by Lokāditya, an inhabitant of Bilakindaka (mod. Bilkenduai near Baghaura).⁵ Dr. Ray supports Dr. Bhattasali's identification of this Mahipāla with the Pāla Mahipāla I. If this proves to be true it will follow that Mahipāla I before the third year of his reign conquered East Bengal from the Candras. It was not of course possible for his father to acquire it when his paternal kingdom was occupied by the Kambojas. It is known from the Bāṅgaḍh inscription of Mahipāla I, dated in the 9th year of his reign, that the king was engaged in a terrible battle with his enemies (Kambojas) for the reconquest of his paternal kingdom (Varendri).⁶ In this circumstance it is unlikely that Mahipāla had the means and opportunity to lead expedition against the Candras of East Bengal as early as in the first or in the second year of his reign. This leads us to think of the possibility of identifying Mahipāla of the Baghaura inscription with a king other than the Pāla Mahipāla.

The Pratihāra Mahendrapāla I (A.D. 892-908) ruled over Magadha and Varendri (North Bengal),⁷ and it is not unlikely that he asserted his supremacy over East Bengal. Mahendrapāla's son was Mahipāla I. Mahipāla inherited from his father a vast empire extending from Kathiawar,⁸ in Gujarat, to North Bengal and possibly

4 *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, 4. 5 *El.*, XVII, 355. 6 *El.*, XIV, 324.

7 Paharpur Ins., *ASI.*, 1925-26, p. 141; *MASB.*, V, No. 3, p. 64.

8 *IA.*, XII, 190. Haddala grant, S. 836.

to East Bengal. He is called the king of Āryāvarta by his court-poet.⁹ Nothing militates against his identification with the Mahipāla of the Baghaura inscription.

The above discussions may be summarised thus—there is no evidence to prove the Pāla or the Pratihāra supremacy over the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions, if the Baghaura inscription is not taken into consideration. It was not possible for the Pāla Mahipāla I to conquer them. Hence it is likely that the Pratihāra Mahipāla has been referred to in the Baghaura inscription.

In the light of these observations the political situation in Bengal in the tenth century A.D. may be reviewed in the following line. The Pālas were rulers of Varendri, Tirabhukti,¹⁰ and Magadha in the early years of the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla. In the latter part of the ninth century Magadha, Varendri and possibly East Bengal passed into the hand of the Pratihāra Mahendrapāla I. About this time the Pālas retired to Tirabhukti. The Pratihāras appointed a member of the Kamboja family governor of North and West Bengal. As Śricandra of the Candra dynasty ruled the Dacca Division in the latter part of the tenth century, his fourth ascendant Pūrṇacandra may be placed in the latter part of the ninth century.¹¹ It is quite possible that Pūrṇacandra, a scion of the royal family of Rohitāgiri,¹² accompanied the Pratihāras to Bengal, and got the

9 *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, 36. Rāḍhā was situated in Āryāvarta.

10 *Gauḍa Lekhamālā*, p. 60.

11 *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p. 6.

12 Rohitāgiri has been correctly identified with Rhotasgaḍh, in the Shahabad District, Bihar. Dr. Ray remarks—"It is not unlikely, as Mr. Bhattacharya has contended, that they (Candras) were related to the Candra kings of Arakan (c. 788-975 A.D.)." (*Dyn. Hist.* I, 323). But if the learned scholar would have gone through the original source he would have held a contrary view. An inscription from Arakan mentions the names of nineteen kings of the *Dharmarājānuja-vaṃśa* (*ASI.*, 1925-26, p. 146). The names of thirteen kings of this dynasty end in Candra. I do not find any indication in the inscription whatsoever to connect this Dharmarājānuja-vaṃśa with the Candravaṃśa of the East Bengal. The names of the kings of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty of Kanauj end in Candra. Nobody, however, thinks that they had any connection with the Candras of East Bengal.

charge of the administration of the Dacca Division from them. Mahendrapāla's son Mahipāla maintained in tact his father's empire in the early part of his reign. At the decline of the power of the Pratihāras, the Pālas conquered Magadha and the Maldah District,¹³ in Bengal, and the Kambojas and Candras automatically became independent. Mahipāla drove out the Kambojas from North Bengal-East Bengal and the West Bengal¹⁴ were not included in his kingdom.

D. C. GANGULY

**The Vatsagulma Copper-plate Grant of Vākāṭaka
Vindhyāśakti.—Regnal Year 37**

Mr. Y. K. Deshpande read a very interesting paper at the 'Ancient Imperial Period' Section of the last session of the Indian History Congress held in Calcutta in December, 1939. The subject of the paper was a newly discovered copper-plate grant dated in the 37th regnal year of Vākāṭaka Vindhyāśakti. The record has been deciphered by Mr. Deshpande, and the first few lines were read out by him in course of a discussion on the subject. They read as follows: वत्सगुल्माद्धर्ममहाराजस्याग्निश्रोमाप्तोर्ग्यामवाजपेयज्योतिष्ठोमबृहस्पतिसवसायस्क-चतुरश्रमेधयाजिनः संराज्य (सम्राजः?) विष्णुवृद्धसगोलस्य हारितीपुलस्य श्रीप्रवरसेनपौत्रस्य धर्ममहाराजस्य श्रीसर्वसेनपुत्रस्य धर्ममहाराजस्य वाकाटकानां श्रीविन्ध्यशक्तैर्व्वचनात्, etc. According to Mr. Deshpande, this Vindhyāśakti, who has been credited with the performance of so many sacrifices, is to be identified with the founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. He also pointed out that this is the earliest known Vākāṭaka record and is written partly in Sanskrit and partly in Prakrit. In this last mentioned characteristic the record resembles some other charters, such as the Mattepad grant of the Ānanda king Dāmodaravarman.¹

¹³ Jajilpara inscription of Gopāla II, *Bhāratavarṣa*, Śrāvāṇa, B.S. 1344, p. 264

¹⁴ *EL.*, IX, 233.

¹ Sircar, *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, Calcutta, 1939, pp. 58. 62.

While discussing his paper, Mr. Deshpande kindly showed to the audience photographs of the plates in question, and I had the pleasure of examining in one minute's time the photograph of only one of the plates. The characters used were found to be the box-headed type resembling very closely those of the records of Pravara-sena II who was a daughter's son of Candragupta II (c. 375-414 A.D.) and must have lived about the middle of the fifth century. It at once occurred to me that Mr. Deshpande's record cannot belong to Vindhyaśakti, the founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, who lived much earlier.

The Purāṇas (e.g. *Vāyu*, 99, 383)² were compiled when the Gupta rule was confined to the *janapadas* of Prayāga on the Ganges, Sāketa and Magadha. This certainly refers to the state of things before the extensive conquests of Samudragupta as described in his Allahabad pillar inscription. On the other hand, the same Purāṇas (e.g., *ibid.*, vv. 371-72)³ mention Vindhyaśakti and his reign of 96 years; Pravira (= Pravarasena I), his reign of 60 years and his celebration of Vājapeya sacrifices; and Pravira's four sons who became kings. Of course the Puranic statements may not be true in all details, and it is possible to suggest that Vindhyaśakti and his son Pravarasena I did not actually *reign* but only lived for the respective periods mentioned against their names. But the Purāṇas make it clear that these two early Vākāṭaka kings lived earlier than the

2

अनुगङ्गं प्रयागञ्च साकेतमगधांस्तथा ।

एतान् जनपदान् सत्त्वान् भोक्ष्यन्ते गुप्तवंशजाः ॥३८३॥

Prayāga = Allahabad; Sāketa = Ayodhyā; Magadha = South Bihar

3

ततः कोलिकिलेभ्यश्च विन्ध्यशक्तिर्भविष्यति ।

समाः षण्णवतिं ज्ञात्वा पृथिवीञ्च समेष्यति ॥३६५.....॥

विन्ध्यशक्तिसुतश्चापि प्रवीरो नाम वीर्यवान् ।

भोक्ष्यति च समाः षष्टिं पुरीं काञ्चनकाञ्च वै ॥ ३७०

यक्ष्यति बाजपेयैश्च समाप्तिवरदक्षिणेः ।

तस्य पुत्राश्च चत्वारो भविष्यन्ति नराधिपाः ॥३७१॥

date of the Allahabad pillar inscription (middle of the 4th century), which does not refer to Samudragupta's Aśvamedha and may have been engraved before its celebration by the Gupta emperor. Vindhyaśakti thus cannot be placed later than the 3rd century A.D. This date for the founder of the Vākātaka dynasty is supported by the contemporaneity of Candragupta II with his son-in-law Rudrasena II Vākātaka who was the son of Pṛthivisena I, grandson of Rudrasena I, great-grandson of Gautamīputra and great-great-grandson of Pravarasena I. If Pṛthivisena I and Rudrasena I were contemporaries of Samudragupta and Candragupta I, Pravarasena I and his father Vindhyaśakti may be placed earlier than 320 A.D., the date of Candragupta I's accession. And Vindhyaśakti, a king of the 3rd century, could not possibly use box-headed characters resembling those of the records of Pravarasena II (seventh in descent from Vindhyaśakti) who lived about the middle of the fifth century.

Mr. Deshpande's suggestion that his record credits Vindhyaśakti with the performance of so many sacrifices is unwarranted. The use of the word धर्ममहाराजस्य (with the 6th case-ending) equally with प्रवरसेनपौत्रस्य, सर्वसेनपुत्रस्य and विष्णुशक्तेः proves beyond doubt that the composition of the record is faulty and would require the corrections प्रवरसेनस्य पौत्रस्य and सर्वसेनस्य पुत्रस्य. Otherwise, taking the construction as it is, we would have the epithet धर्ममहाराजस्य applied to Vindhyaśakti for no less than three times in one single sentence! I have therefore no doubt that all the epithets placed before the name of Pravarasena should go with this king and not with the name of his grandson Vindhyaśakti.

That Pravarasena of the Vatsagulma record is no other than Pravarasena I is proved beyond doubt by this reference to sacrifices. The records of Pṛthivisena I and Pravarasena II furnish the following passage describing early Vākātaka genealogy: अग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्यामोक्थ्य-
षोडश्यतिरात्रवृहस्पतिसवसायस्कचतुरश्वमेधयाजिनः विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्रस्य सम्राट्वाकाटकानां
महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सूनोः सूनोः अत्यन्त-महाभैरवभक्तस्य अंसभारसन्निवेशितशिव-

लिङ्गोद्वहनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवंशानां पराक्रमाधिगतभागीरथ्यमलजलमूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानां
दशाश्वमेधावशृङ्गातानां भारशिवानां महाराजश्रीभवनागर्दाहिलस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य
वाकाटकानां महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य, etc. The passage has been differently
interpreted. Scholars generally think that Rudrasena I was
the son of Gautamiputra, daughter's son of Bhavanāga,
and son's son of Pravarasena I. Recently however Dr. D. R.
Bhandarkar has suggested (*List of Ins.*, p. 404) that Gautamī-
putra and not his son Rudrasena I was the daughter's
son of Bhavanāga and son's son of Pravarasena I. It how-
ever appears to me that in regard to the Vākāṭaka genealogy from
Pravarasena I to Rudrasena I the draft followed is the same as that
followed in the genealogical portion of records, such as those of the
Pallavas, Gaṅgas and others: अमुकस्य पौत्रस्य (=पुत्रोः सूनोः) अमुकस्य पुत्रस्य
अमुकस्य, etc. Again Gautamī, mother of Gautamiputra, appears to
have belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family of the Gautama gotra and pos-
sibly not to the dynasty of the Bhāraśiva Nāgas. Dr. Bhandarkar's
interpretation moreover allows the non-mention of Pravarasena I's son
'and Bhavanāga's son-in-law, which cannot be explained. But what-
ever be the interpretation of the passage, there cannot be any doubt
that Pravarasena I is the king represented in Mr. Deshpande's re-
cord as the father of Sarvvavarman and grandfather of Vindhya-
śakti.' This Vindhyaśakti II is therefore the great-grandson of
Vindhyaśakti I, founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, and possibly lived
in the second half of the fourth century.

It should be admitted that at first I doubted the genuineness of
Mr. Deshpande's record. My doubt was based chiefly on the idea

4 It should be noticed that *Ukthya*, *Ṣoḍaśi* and *Atirātra* have been mentioned
in the later records in place of *Vājapeya* and *Jyotiṣṭoma*. It is interesting in this
connection to compare the exaggerated account of sacrifices performed by the
Viṣṇukunḍin king Mādhavavarman as given in the later Chikkulla grant with the
accounts of earlier Viṣṇukunḍin records (*Siracr, op. cit.*, pp. 98-99, 101). In cases of
such discrepancy the earlier accounts are more trustworthy. The Vatsagulma record
is supported by the Puranic tradition regarding Pravira's performance of several
Vājapeya sacrifices.

that palæographically the record must be much later than the age of the founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. Of course the expression धर्ममहाराज found only in the early records of the Pallavas, Kadambas and Gaṅgas of the south, and Pravarasena's epithet हरितोपज्ञ which is not found in other Vākāṭaka inscriptions appeared to support my conjecture. When however I found that the record belongs to a different Vindhyaśakti who lived about a century later and that the record of his 37th regnal year may be assigned to about the end of the fourth century, I believed that the Vatsagulma record is possibly to be taken as genuine inspite of its many mistakes.

The question now is whether the collateral branch represented by Sarvvavarman and Vindhyaśakti II ruled side by side with the main line. Of course the Puranic tradition regarding the four sons of Pravīra (=Pravarasena I) may indicate a division of the kingdom after Pravarasena I. But the tradition has not yet been corroborated, and it is difficult to give opinion on such questions before the full text of Mr. Deshpande's record is published and before further evidence is forthcoming. Gautamīputra however does not appear to have ruled. It is therefore tempting to suggest that Sarvvavarman and Vindhyaśakti II ruled the Vākāṭaka kingdom after Pravarasena I and before Rudrasena I. The latter may have succeeded his cousin Vindhyaśakti II on the Vākāṭaka throne; but the non-mention of the two kings of the collateral branch in the records of the successors of Gautamīputra's son may indicate that Rudrasena I supplanted his cousin with the help of his maternal relatives, the Bhāraśivas.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

REVIEWS

VIMUTTIMAGGA & VISUDDHIMAGGA: A Comparative study by Prof. P. V. Bapat. lix + 171 pages. Poona 1937.

This publication is the result of exhaustive studies made of the Chinese text *Vimuttimaggā* of Upatissa translated into Chinese by Seng-chie-po-lo and the Pali text *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghosa. The Chinese translation was made between 505 and 520 A.C. The Pali text, Prof. Bapat thinks, was brought to China by Guṇabhadra, teacher of Saṅghapāla in 435 A.C. Buddhaghosa composed his work about 422 A.C. Prof. Bapat concludes after an analytical study of the two texts that the *Vimuttimaggā* of Upatissa was an older work belonging to the Abhayagirivāsins, while the *Visuddhimagga* was a slightly later work belonging to the Mahāvihāravāsins, and that Buddhaghosa referred to the former work in a few places, particularly in one (vide p. 35) where Dhammapāla in his comments expressly remarked that Buddhaghosa meant Upatissa's *Vimuttimaggā* by 'ekacce'. Prof. Bapat disagrees with the view of Dr. Malalasekera that both Upatissa and Buddhaghosa drew upon a common source. In view of the frequent references by Buddhaghosa to the *ācariyas*, there is every probability that there existed before Buddhaghosa and Upatissa some texts of the *Visuddhimagga* or *Vimuttimaggā* type. The titles of the two works have also a remarkable similarity—the contents agreeing almost *verbatim* in essential topics as also in the enumerations, sub-divisions, nature of merits acquired and so forth. These facts seem to indicate in spite of Dhammapāla's interpretation of 'ekacce' that both were derived from a common source. The two texts differ vitally in their methods of treatment, the *Vis.m.* follows the method of simple exposition while the *Vim.m.* takes up the catechetical method, and this is also mainly responsible for the differences between the two texts in extent and contents.

Prof. Bapat has tried his best to give us an idea of every chapter of the *Vim.m.*, and we are quite satisfied with it but we wish he had also attempted a full translation of the text as done by the young scholars N. R. M. Ehara, V. E. P. Pulle and G. S. Prelis. I am reproducing three pages from Ch. III of the lithographed copy of the full translation of the above mentioned scholars for convenience of comparison with the text as presented by Prof. Bapat (vide p. 16):

ON AUSTERITIES

Q. Now if a yogin who dwells in pure virtue aspires to accomplish excellent good merits and wishes to acquire the merits of the austerities, he should consider thus: "Why should one acquire the merits of the austerities?"

A. Because of the varying disposition of the yogin. For paucity of wishes, for contentment with little, for freedom from doubt, for the destruction of craving, for the increase of energy, for the sake of using little and not accepting the offerings made to others, for solitude, for the cutting down of clinging and for the protection of moral virtue. These (the merits of the austerities) are equipment of concentration. These are (practices of) the ancient lineage of the Ariyas. These are the excellent considerations.

The thirteen austerities What are the austerities? There are thirteen teachings, two teachings connected with robes, namely, dirt-rags and three robes, five teachings connected with alms, namely, begged food, regular alms-round, eating at one sitting measured food, no food after time; five teachings connected with residence: the first: dwelling in a peaceful place, the second: dwelling under a tree, the third: dwelling in a dewy place, the fourth: dwelling among the graves, the fifth: any chanced upon place; and there is a kind of sitting connected with energy, namely, always sitting and not lying down.

Brief explanation of the thirteen austerities. What is the quality of 'dirt-rags'? A. The quality of enabling to observe—this is the quality of 'dirt-rags.' Others are also like this. What is the meaning of the observance of 'dirt-rags'? The non-acceptance of gifts of householders.

What is the meaning of the observance of 'three robes'? The rejection of extra robes.

What is the meaning of the observance of 'begged foods'? The non-acceptance of the invitations of others.

What is the meaning of the observance of 'regular alms-round'? The abandoning of skipped begging.

What is the meaning of the observance of eating at one sitting? The not sitting again.

What is the meaning of the observance of 'measured food'? The abandoning of greed.

What is the meaning of the observance of 'refusing food after time'? The abandoning of the desire to eat afterwards.

What is the meaning of the observance of 'dwelling in a peaceful place'? The abandoning of dwelling in a village

What is the meaning of the 'dwelling under a tree'? The abandoning of dwelling in a house.

What is the meaning of the observance of 'dwelling in a dewy place'? The abandoning of dwelling in sheltered places.

What is the meaning of the observance of 'dwelling among the graves'? The abandoning of dwelling in other and in good places.

What is the meaning of the observance of 'any chanced upon place'? The abandoning of desire for pleasant places.

What is the meaning of the observance of 'always sitting and not lying down'? The abandoning of beds.

How does one undertake to observe (the austerity of) 'dirt-rags'?
'Dirt-rags'

One sees the fault of asking householders for robes and the merit of 'dirt-rags' (and undertakes thus:) "I refuse the offerings of householders and observe (the austerity of) 'dirt-rags.'"

What are the merits of the observance of 'dirt-rags'? ("Dirt-rags") are just as useful as householders' robes and are enough. One does not depend on others. There is no fear of losing, and one is not attached. Thieves do not want "dirt-rags." ('Dirt-rags') are always sufficient for one's purpose. In getting ('dirt-rags') one is not troubled and (this observance) will be an example to good folk. This observance is proper to those who are doubt-free and virtuous. One lives happily in this life. (This observance) will cause one to be liked by the people, and cause them to practise rightly. These are the merits of the observance of 'dirt-rags' praised by the Buddha.

Q. How many kinds of 'dirt-rags' are there? Who observes? How does one fail?

A. There are two kinds of 'dirt-rags.' The first 'dirt-rags' which are ownerless, the second: 'dirt-rags' which are thrown away by people.

Those which one picks up in a cemetery, from a dirt-heap, in the street, or from the road-side and cuts, dyes, pieces together, sews to completion and uses, are called "dirt-rags" which are ownerless." Remnants of cut-cloth, torn pieces of cattle-bitten, mouse-gnawed or burnt cloth and cloth thrown away, cloth on corpses, and cast-off cloth of ascetics are called "'dirt-rags' which are thrown away by people"

What is the observance of 'dirt-rags'? When a bhikkhu refuses the offerings of householders, it is called the observance of 'dirt-rags.'

How does one fail? When a bhikkhu accepts the offerings of householders, it is called failing.

Three robes How does one undertake to observe (the austerity of) 'three robes'? One immediately gives up one's extra robes. Knowing the fault of keeping (extra robes) and seeing, the merits of the observance of 'three robes,' (one undertakes thus:) "I refuse extra robes from today and observe (the austerity of) 'three robes.'"

On account of the catechetical method (see above) followed in the *Vimuttimaggā* the arrangement of the topics and sub-topics in it is better than that of the *Visuddhimagga* and, looks like a compilation posterior to another work, if not *Vis.m.* It is an undeniable fact that a proper study of the *Visuddhimagga* is essential for a comprehensive knowledge of Buddhism, and I must admit that Prof. Bapat's analysis of the analytical work *Vimuttimaggā* has brought out further the importance of the study of the two texts for a student of Buddhism. The work under review is valuable, not only for a comparative study of the two allied texts but also for placing before our eyes a comprehensive and at the same time cut and dried scheme of the Buddhist *sādhana*. In the Nikāyas and Vinayas, we come across each and every one of the topics but it is difficult if not impossible for us to put them in their proper sequence. This has been done in the *Visuddhimagga*, more clearly in the *Vimuttimaggā* and still more clearly in the present work of Prof. Bapat.

We congratulate Prof. Bapat on the completion of such a difficult task as that of studying a Chinese text and comparing the same with the Pali. One who has dealt with the Chinese characters will only realise what a tremendous amount of labour Prof. Bapat had to put in for bringing out a work like this. We heartily commend this work to all serious students of Pali Buddhism.

N. DUTT

LA SOMME DU GRAND VEHICULE by E. Lamotte
in two volumes, pages 345 + 72. Louvain 1939.

The importance of Asaṅga's works for the study of Mahāyāna is too well-known to need any mention. The terse but methodical

way in which Asaṅga puts the Mahāyānic doctrines and ethical teachings in his *Sūtrālaṅkāra* won the admiration of every Buddhist scholar and we were all feeling disappointed for not having his other works in original or translation. So it is a matter of gratification that Prof. Lamotte has taken pains to present us with the Tibetan and Chinese versions of another important text of Asaṅga entitled *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha* along with a French translation and explanatory notes. The great improvement which one notices in the French translation and notes is the restoration of Sanskrit terms from the Tibetan, the importance of which the earlier savants did not fully recognise. The Tibetan and the Chinese writers translated literally pregnant philosophical Sanskrit expressions and this led to much confusion of ideas among the present-day scholars who were not conversant with the Sanskrit expressions. The only remedy is to restore the original Sanskrit words and then translate them into a foreign language, giving all the implications of the words. Prof. Lamotte has realised this defect and removed the same in this work of his.

As usual with Asaṅga, he first establishes the superiority of Mahāyāna to Hinayāna and then takes up the exposition of *Ālayavijñāna*, one of the most difficult concepts in Mahāyāna philosophy. By way of comparison he discusses the meaning of *Ālaya* as it obtains in the Śrāvaka-piṭaka and particularly in the piṭakas of the Mahāsaṅghikas and the Mahiśāsakas, in the last two of which it is equated to *mūlavijñāna* and *āsamskārika-skandha* respectively. Asaṅga then shows how the *Ālaya-vijñāna* on account of its pervading nature (*vāsanā*) becomes the *jananābhetu* of all dharmas, for which it is also denoted as *sarvabhījakavijñāna*; how it is subject to *saṃkleśa* (defilement) as much as to *vyavadāna* (purification) and how it ultimately attains *nirodhasamāpatti* and *āśrayaparāvṛtti*.

Asaṅga then takes up the other puzzling concept of Mahāyāna

philosophy, viz., *Jñeya* (the truth) and its *lakṣaṇa* (characteristics), and explains how it can be known in three svabhāvas viz., *para-tantra* (dependent), *parikalpita* (imaginary), and *pariniṣpanna* (absolute). In chapter III-VIII, Asaṅga delineates the career of a Bodhisattva, showing how he develops *adhimukti*, applies his energy, acquires the pāramitas, progress along the ten bhūmis and perform the adhiśīla, adhicitā and adhiprajñā practices. He goes into the minute details of each of these several items and points out, whenever he gets an opportunity, the superiority of the sādhanā of a Bodhisattva to that of a Śrāvaka.

In the last two chapters he takes up the toughest problems of Mahāyāna philosophy, viz., *Apratiṣṭhita-nirvāṇa* and *Āśrayaparāvṛtti*, in other words, the ultimate fruits obtained by a Bodhisattva and the three Kāyas of Buddha.

In short, Asaṅga deals in this work with all the topics touched in his *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, but in the present work he has dealt more exhaustively with the philosophical concepts of Mahāyāna philosophy than with the ethical.

It lies greatly to the credit of Prof. Lamotte to have grasped the subtle concepts and presented them in a lucid form. He has utilised the Tibetan commentaries and has thereby been able to enter into the core of Mahāyānic teachings. His bibliography shows that he has not left a single book worth the name unconsulted, and so what he has said is an addition to our present knowledge of Mahāyāna doctrines and practices. His explanatory notes are extremely valuable; his grasp of the intricate details and his patience to explain each and every complicated term deserve commendation. We congratulate him on the completion of this work—a solid contribution to our knowledge of Mahāyāna Buddhism and it may well be said that the mantle of the *guru* has fallen on a worthy disciple.

ALIVARDI AND HIS TIMES by Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., PH.D., Assistant Professor of History, Patna College; published by the University of Calcutta, 1939; pages xix + 306.

Dr. Kalikinkar Datta is well known to the students of the history of Eastern India as the author of the *Studies in the History of the Bengal Subah, 1740-70 A.D.* In the volume under review, the diligent, persevering and learned author has dealt with the career of Nawāb Alivardī Khān (1740-56 A.D.) and the different aspects of the history of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in the mid-eighteenth century. The book is divided into ten chapters, the first six of which describe the Nawāb's eventful life, while the rest deal with such topics as commerce, society and general economic condition of the country in Alivardī's age. A descriptive bibliography and an exhaustive index are appended to the work. There are two useful maps, one indicating places of historical interest in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and the other showing Alivardī's march from Patna to the field of Girīā (Gheria of other writers). There are also several illustrations, one of which is a portrait of Alivardī preserved in the palace of the Nawāb Bahādūr of Murshidabad.

The life of the brave Alivardī, who in the troubled period of the disintegration of the Mughal empire seized the thorny crown of Bengal by the strength of his sword, is of pathetic interest. His reign is a story of continued struggle, with the invasions of the 'Bargīs', the dread of the 18th century, on one side, and the revolt and ingratitude of his trusted officers and beloved relatives on the other. And Dr. Datta has narrated this interesting tale with the sympathy it deserves. He has utilised all the sources including published and unpublished works and records in Persian, English, French, Marāṭhī, Bengali and Sanskrit. The facts have been marshalled with skill, and the author has sometimes exercised his own judgment in the examination of conflicting evidences, such as regarding the success of Alivardī and his brother in Orissa (p. 5),

Wafā's statement as to Hāji Ahmad's devotion to his master (p. 20), Alivardi's ambition and ingratitude (pp. 21, 29, 42), the murder of Abdul Karim (p. 15), etc. Chapter III (pp. 56-118) which deals with the Marāṭhā invasions is an interesting section of the book. Dr. Datta has given a vivid picture of the horrors of those days on the authority of contemporary European and Indian writers including Gaṅgārāma who was an eye-witness of the Marāṭhā ravages in Bengal and completed his *Mahārāṣṭrapurāṇa* (in Bengali) towards the close of the year 1751 A.D. The author has also given an able survey of the commerce and industries of Bengal in the 18th century. Chapter VIII of the book deals with such interesting topics as agriculture, market prices of articles, and the manufacture of guns and boats, silk and cotton cloth, *muslin*, etc. Society has been described from different aspects such as education, position of women, and social relations between Hindus and Musalmans.

It must be said that on the whole Dr. Datta's work is a creditable performance. A fastidious reader might however feel rather uneasy at the author's indifference to the proper use of diacritical marks in Arabic, Persian and Indian names and words. Sometimes names in old English spelling look quite unfamiliar to us, e.g. Kyrietchand (= Kiratcand, from Sanskrit *Kīrticandra*), Cubbrage (= *Kavirāja?*), etc. Names like 'Alivardi' and 'Sarfarāz' have been used without comment. The correct form of the latter name appears to be Sarāfrāz (سرافراز, exalted) and Sarfarāz is a corruption influenced by the noun-form سرفرازی (*sarfarāzi*), exaltation. The author has omitted Gaṅgopādhyāya and Guha from the list of Kulina families amongst the Rādhiya Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas respectively (p. 254). Bhuṣṇā should have been placed in the Faridpur Dist., and not in the Dacca Dist. (p. 218). Imitation of the elders' manners in children's play is a universal psychological phenomenon, while marriage between unequal parties is a universal social problem (Wissler, *Introduction to*

Social Anthropology, p. 219). We therefore find it difficult to follow the author (pp. 248, 253) in valuing the passage of Sahadeva Cakravarti's *Dharmamaṅgala* describing child Umā's play and the section entitled *Narigaṇer patinindā* in Bhāratacandra's *Vidyāsundara*. The author could have referred to *yātrā*, *putul-nāc* and *kavir gān* as sources of pleasure and education for the Bengali society of the 18th century.

These are however minor points which do not detract from the value of Dr. Datta's work. We have no doubt that this important book will be favourably received by all students of the medieval and modern periods of Indian history.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

ANCIENT INDIAN COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST, vol. II—Suvarṇadvīpa, by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University (formerly Professor of History, Dacca University); Part I—Political History; Dacca, 1937; pp. xviii + 436 + 16; Part II—Cultural History; Calcutta, 1938; pp. xiv + 354 + 10; with 75 plates.

The study of Indian colonisation in the [Far] Eastern countries was at its very infancy in this country when Dr. R. C. Majumdar published the first volume of his *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, dealing with Campā (Annam) in 1927. The author must now be congratulated not only for bringing out (inspite of his troubling administrative duties) this second volume of the series which deals with the ancient history of Malayasia (the author's Suvarṇadvīpa), but also for the fact that he has been successful in popularising the most glorious chapter of Hindu history—the expansion of Hindu culture in the [Far] East. It would indeed be most unfortunate if pressure of duties connected with his present post stands in the learned author's way to complete the series by publishing the promised volume on Cambodia and Siam.

Part I of the volume under review has been divided into four books. Book I deals with the land and its people, pre-Hindu civilisation of Malayasia, early Hindu colonisation, and Hindu civilisation of the country up to the 7th century A.D.; Book II with the Śailendras and Book III with the rise and decline of the Indo-Javanese empire; Book IV describes the downfall of the Hindu kingdoms of Malayasia. There is a map of Malayasia and another of Central and Eastern Java.

Part II of the volume is again divided into two sections—Books V and VI. In Book V the author discusses such topics as Law, Economic Condition, Society, Literature and Religion as prevalent in different parts of ancient Malayasia and very ably demonstrates to what extent these were indebted to Indian influence. In Book VI the author gives a brilliant survey of the art and architecture of that country and successfully traces the influence of Indian colonisers, which was gradually modified by indigenous conditions. The author has demonstrated unmistakable influence on Malayasian art of Gupta traditions which may have passed through Eastern India, and has criticised the common belief in its South Indian origin. The section on art and architecture has been documented by 75 plates containing no less than 139 illustrations which have greatly enhanced the value of the book.

The early history of Malayasia is wrapped up in obscurity. Dr. Majumdar has however marshalled the evidences furnished by indigenous as well as foreign (especially Chinese and Arabic) sources with great skill. He has considered all evidences with singular care and a wonderful sense of judgment. The accounts of the Śailendra emperors and the kings of Singhasāri and Majapahit in Part I are most interesting, as also the sections dealing with Indian influence on the art and literature of Malayasia in Part II.

The most pleasant feature of Dr. Majumdar's work to an Indian reader is no doubt the fact that he would have to accept Malayasia

as a replica of his own mother country in many respects. In queen Guṇapriyā Dharmapatnī and others he would find Indian rulers of the fair sex like Rudramma and Diddā. The *Wayang* would remind him not only of the *Pāvakkūttu* of Malabar but also of the *Putul-nāc* of Bengal. The theme of the *Lubdhaka* would appear to him but another version of the story in the *Śiva-caturdaśī-vrata-kathā* found in the *Śivarabasya*. The story of Kaikeyī, sister of Rāma, in the *Hikayat Seri Rāma* would call in his mind that of Bharata's sister Kukuwā as found in Candrāvati's Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa*. These are however only a few of the parallels, a large number of which has been drawn by scholars including Dr. Majumdar himself.

There can hardly be any doubt that Dr. Majumdar's valuable work will be welcomed by all lovers of India's glorious past.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MUGHAL INDIA, (1526-1707) by Sri Ram Sharma, Karnatak Publishing House, 206 pages.

This useful handbook needs no better introduction than the opinion expressed by Sir Jadunath Sarkar that "for sometime to come this will continue as an indispensable work of reference and guide to our workers on Mughal history". A work containing not merely a list of documents but also indications of their importance, and in many cases, details of their contents, should leave no doubt in our minds as to its value, especially for workers in India, where lack of bibliographical aids and published catalogue of documents either in public or in private collections, and their inaccessibility even when their existence is known, is a serious hindrance and has given rise to the paradox that research in Indian history is easier in England than in India. This recognition of its value, however, does not take into account the vast amount of labour that has gone into its making. for, as the book itself will show, documents bearing on the Mughal period are bewildering in their number and variety. The author

has not confined himself to documents of political importance only but has waded through such materials as private letter-books, biographies of literary and religious men and works of purely literary, scientific or religious interest. The sections devoted to these have had, of necessity, to be confined to a representative selection and it would be sheer pedantry to proceed to point out omissions. It would be equally so to expect his appendix on Sanskrit writers of the Mughal period to be exhaustive, for his purpose is really to draw attention to the usefulness of this class of materials. One criticism, however, may be made and that is with regard to the title of the book which may mislead a student. For, a bibliography is expected to include *all* known literary matter *wherever found*, and the exclusion of those available in foreign collections may prevent its attaining that position of authority which it otherwise so richly deserves. With this deficiency made good, the section on provincial histories expanded and the later Mughals included in the survey, it may well claim a place besides the works of Elliot and Bayley. On p. 131 the atrocious *Faqqa* in *Faqqa-i-Babari* is I presume, meant for *Fiqh* (or *Fiqah*). A very minor point this, but I hope it is only the printer's devil that has been at work here.

A. B. M. HABIBULLAH

HUMAYUN BADSHAH by S. K. Banerjee, Oxford University Press, 1938, 284 pages.

Humayun is the only Mughal ruler of account who has hitherto had no separate monograph on his reign, and in this respect alone Dr. Banerji's work should find a ready welcome. The present volume, however, is only the first part and brings the story down to Humayun's final defeat and flight to the Punjab in 1540. Not until the second or final part is published, in which the author proposes to deal with the rest of Humayun's life and such topics as Humayun's religion and Mughal Art, Literature and Administra-

tion, can a reviewer, in all fairness to the author, assess its full value, and the following lines, therefore, are offered only tentatively.

While something might be said against a strictly chronological treatment of such a reign as that of Humayun, this short-coming has been to a large extent compensated by his minute attention to details, and, as Sir Denison Ross puts it in the Foreword, "his delight in setting out in tabular form the reasons for or against whatever action or inaction Humayun was responsible for." He quotes extensively from original authorities, especially on Humayun's correspondence with Bahadur of Gujrat, and his occasional observations on administration, architecture etc. break the monotony of a dry story of political events. New light has been thrown on the Khalifa's move to deprive Humayun of his father's throne, and the author has good reason to hold that it was Babar's brother-in-law, Muhammad Mahdi, and not as Mrs. Beveridge thought, his son-in-law, Muhammad Zaman, who was nominated by the Wazir. The obscure point of Humayun's supposed inactivity in Gaur has been cleared up and he has been exonerated from any charge of dissipation and callous negligence that the Afghan historians laid on him (p. 213-15). Dr. Banerji ably controverts Qanungo's assertion that Abbas Sherwani's story of Sher Khan's treacherous desertion of Afghan cause at the battle of Dadrah cannot be true (pp. 44-46). The account of Humayun's Gujrat campaign is especially full and brings out the truth of the view that he was no match even for Bahadur in statesmanship or military energy. His treacherous attack and capture of Mandu immediately after the conclusion of peace-negotiations with Bahadur and his subsequent atrocities in Cambay and massacre of his own enthusiastic but insignificant followers at Ahmedabad create a suspicion that the story of his justice and good nature is a little exaggerated. His kindness was almost always confined to his own kinsmen, and even in their case, it was fitful rather than uniform. It seems that his mood was more variable than is

generally recognised. By his irresolution and incapacity to grasp realities he made a mess of the situation and it was only the superior military skill of the Mughal soldiery that gave him his initial victories over his rivals. All this is, however, only implicit in the narrative as told by Dr. Banerji for he reserves his conclusions for the final volume. In discussing the "reasons that led to his removal from the throne" (p. 253), he merely confines himself to such immediate factors as the disloyalty of his kinsmen and his recent neglect of duties. Two special features of the book which he specially commends are, (a) brief description of important towns and forts and (b) a list of principal events with their dates at the end of most chapters, to which one may add a historical retrospect of all important dynasties and provinces with which Humayun successively came into contact.

Having said this I may be pardoned if I point out what I think the author had better revised. The foot-notes have been swelled mostly by irrelevant details and unnecessary quotations, and one vainly looks in them for exact reference to authorities for most of the statements made in the body of the text. What authority has he, for example, to say that the Khwaja Mahdi, a Syed of Tirmiz, belonged to a religious order? (pp. 21 & 26). The term '*jagir*' has been used indiscriminately to mean (a) an appanage in which the holder has no defined liability to the central government except obedience (e.g. the Jagir of Kamran, comprising of Lahore, Multan etc., p. 54) (b) a gift of land in lieu of military or other kind of service (e.g. Mian Hasan's Jagir at Shahsaram p. 181), as well as (c) an administrative unit (the *Iqta* of the Sultanate period) in which the holder was merely a bureaucratic official with well-defined civil and military duties and a stipulated share of the revenue as his perquisite (i.e. Yadgar Nasir Mirza, the governor of Kalpi, according to p. 199, is called on p. 240, the '*jagirdar*' of Kalpi). The author himself recognises the distinctions when he reproduces Sher Khan's

argument that a Jagir "belonged to the state and was in exchange for military services rendered" (p. 187). Surely Kamran's Jagir was not of this class. When Humayun granted him the privilege of issuing coins in his name he only formally granted in his case what the vassal rulers usually enjoyed. There is scant justification for the statement on p. 82 that Bahadur was bitterly opposed to non-Muslims outside his dominions "or" that political convention of his (Humayun) day forbade his rendering aid to an infidel engaged in war with a faithful (p. 98). Apart from the fact that his own statement on p. 80 "in 1531 (Bahadur) in alliance with Rana Ratan Singh put an end to the independence of Malwa" (ruled by a faithful, Mahmud II) directly disapproves the above, no such convention ever existed in India. As early as the thirteenth century the fugitive Muslim prince Jalaluddin of Khwarizm did not hesitate to enter into an alliance with the Hindu chief of the Salt Range, in Upper Sindh, against the Muslim ruler of Sindh. (See *Tarikh-i-Jahan Khusa-i-Juwaini*, II p. 145). The history of the Muslim states in the Deccan in the 15th and 16th centuries furnishes ample proof of the fact that the religion of their rivals was no bar to their allying themselves with, or asking help against them from, the infidel ruler of Vijayanagar (see Ferishta's account of the Nizamshahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar, summarised in De: Trans. *Tabkat-i-Akbari*, III, part 1, pp. 141-144 note). Babar's earlier friendship with Sanga of Mewar against Ibrahim and Sanga's subsequent alliance with the Lodi pretender Mahmud and the Mewati chief, Hasan Khan, against him (Yadgar: *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 116-17) are yet further proof that in point of fact religious allegiance hardly played any part in the politics of the Muslim rulers any more than it did in that of the Hindu chiefs. This inability to see that it was material and not religious considerations that generally guided political action, is also evident in the author's explanations of the "occasional outbursts of Muslim iconoclastic zeal (p. 113)" in which he ignores what was

the most potent motive for the sack of temples, namely, greed for the vast wealth that they generally possessed. A little care would have avoided the indiscriminate use of both the Hijra and Christian years in dating events (e.g. p. 100). The book still has the appearance of a University dissertation and the recasting which Dr. Banerji claims to have done since it was presented as a thesis in 1925 does not seem to have gone beyond expanding the chapters. The first five paragraphs in the appendix on Bibliography are a mere reproduction of the 'summary and main features of the thesis a candidate is required to submit to the University, and ought to have been omitted.

A. B. M. HABIBULLAH

HISTOIRE UNIVERSELLE DES ARTS. ARTS MUSULMANS EXTRÊME-ORIENT, Par S. Elisséev, R. Grousset, J. Hackin, G. Salles, and Ph. Stern. Librairie Armand Colin, Paris, 1939, 496 pp., 353 illus.

When five scholars of the reputation and experience as of the authors of these delightful and valuable volume, collaborate to give a survey of the art of Islam and of the Extrême-Orient, one can at once assure himself that all that would be said would be worth listening to, and would present the results of sound and careful study and scholarship. Indeed this considerable volume of about 500 pages printed on art-finished paper and embellished with more than 350 illustrations is a remarkable production from the point of view of scholarship, beautiful presentation and a huge mass of materials condensed within a reasonable stretch of space.

The volume opens with a short introduction, by M. Rene Grousset, giving the historical stages of the evolution of art in Asia. Book I on the art of the Musulmans, is contributed by M. Georges Salles, Officer-in-Charge of the Department of Asiatic Art in the Louvre Museum and Professor at the Louvre School. After a brief

discussion of the generalities of Sassanian art he goes on one by one over the arts of the Ommayyides, the Abbassaides, the Fatimides, the Seljukes, the Mongols, the Timurides, the Ayyubides, the Mamluks, the Moores and the Sefevides, the Mughal art of India, and finally the art of the Ottoman Turks.

Book II, on the art of India, as well as Book III on the expansion of Indian art to the islands and countries of the South Eastern seas, are contributed by M. Philippe Stern, Joint Conservator of the Musée Guimet, and Conservator of the Indo-Chinese Museum at Trocadero and Professor of the Louvre School. In about 75 pages M. Stern gives a rapid survey of the different styles of Indian art and architecture; his comments and descriptions, though of necessity short, hardly miss anything vital and important. The chapter on Indian Colonial art is more detailed and the author seems to feel more at home there.

Book IV, on the art of Iran, Central Asia and Tibet, is contributed by M. J. Hackin, Conservator of the Musée Guimet, and Professor of the Louvre School, and M. Ph. Stern. M. Serge Elisséev discourses on the art of China and Japan comprising Books V and VI, in both cases bringing his story down to contemporary epochs. Lastly, M. Gilberte de Coral-Rémusat, Officer-in-Charge of the Musée Guimet Mission and Corresponding Member of the French School of the Extrême-Orient, concludes with a very short chapter on the art of the Annamites.

All the books are furnished with elaborate and well chosen bibliographies and there are a few very useful maps which help a great deal towards the understanding of the expansion of Indian art and art-motifs.

I am sure it will prove to be a very useful compendium to all students of Asiatic art, and no serious reader can afford to ignore this valuable publication.

N. RAY



STUDIES IN THE TANTRAS, Part I. By Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, M.A., Dr. es Lettres (Paris), Lecturer, Calcutta University. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1939. Demy 8vo. pp. 1-114.

The present volume contains a collection of eight papers of Dr. Bagchi, published in different oriental journals, not all easily accessible. In an appendix, which seems to be published here for the first time, detailed analytic descriptions are given of manuscripts, belonging to the Darbar Library of Nepal, of six Tantra texts which have served as the principal source books for some of the papers comprising the volume. The absence of an index is very keenly felt. The papers which bear the stamp of the scholarship and hard labour of the author deal with different aspects of the language and literature of the Tantras, especially the earlier phases of them, that are little-known in what may be called the classical period of Tantric culture. The antiquity of the source books, rather the versions¹ existing in the Darbar Library, is testified to by the evidence of the manuscripts of them belonging to the aforesaid library which are either dated or supposed on palæographic grounds to be considerably old. It is difficult, however, at the present stage of our knowledge, to ascertain the nature and extent of authority exercised by the works among the various schools of the followers of the Tantras. Different schools of Tantras appear to have had not only different sets of texts expounding different doctrines but also different sets of symbolic and technical terms. For a correct appreciation of the language and literature of the Tantras in their proper setting, this difference, though not very easy to detect, has got to be taken into consideration. And we hope, Dr. Bagchi in a future instalment of his studies in the

1 Of other versions reference may be made to one of the last sections of the *Jayadrathayāmala* found in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. This version deals principally with the worship of Vagālmukhī. It is stated to belong to the *ānandabhāskaras* and there is no reference here to *śiraścheda*.

Tantras will try to throw some light on this knotty problem. We also expect him to follow up his studies with a connected account of the literature and language of the Tantras in their beginnings.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BAJI RAO II AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY (1796-1818). By P. C. Gupta, M.A., (CAL.), PH.D., (LOND.), pp. 219.

To the patriotic Indian Maratha history only records the achievements of Sivaji and Baji Rao I. But past glory though flattering to our sense of national pride does not explain the irretrievable failure. In historical investigation we do well to ascertain low watermark. A history of the last days of the Maratha Raj is thus a very welcome publication.

Dr. Gupta in his narrative of political history does not pass over any controversial topic and deals with domestic events as also foreign relations. The uneventful thirty years of the stay of Baji Rao II at Bithur are of biographical rather than historical interest. A more detailed picture of the Bithur period could not be drawn for want of materials. The author's manner of handling controversial topics is well illustrated in his discussion of Gangadhar Sastri murder. His narrative is very commendably impartial.

The details of Baji Rao II's attempts to build up a confederacy of Indian States are very interesting. Dr. Gupta writes that Baji Rao II was maintaining an agent in the Court of Ranjit Singh in 1815. In fact such an agent was reporting between 1810-1817 and his letters preserved at Poona form a very important original source of Sikh history.

Even among veterans in the field of research there is a tendency to attach exaggerated and disproportionate importance to the subject with which they are concerned. But this book shows a very proper sense of proportion. The author concludes:

"It is usually supposed that Bajji Rao II ruined the empire which the genius of Sivaji and the early Peshwas had created. Such notoriety often attaches itself to the last representative of a line that once was glorious. The dissolution of the Maratha empire had set in before Bajji Rao's time and a man of far superior qualities would have found it equally impossible to arrest the decay."

The style of the book is attractive and all available materials have been utilised.

N. K. SINHA

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Acta Orientalia, vol. XVIII, pars 1.

- J. GONDA.—*Alliteration und Reim im Satzbau des Atharvaveda* (I-VII).

Adyar Library Bulletin (ब्रह्मविद्या), vol. IV, pt. 1.

- C. KUNHAN RAJA.—सामवेदसंहिता. The present instalment of the edition of this Vedic text with the commentaries of Mādhava and Bharatasvāmin comes up to the 4th Decad of the 4th Prapāthaka.
- SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.—सङ्गीतरत्नाकरः. This work on music by Niḥsaṅkaśārṅgadeva is being edited with two commentaries called *Kālānidhi* and *Saṅgītasudhākara* of Caturakallinātha and Siṃhabhūpāla respectively.
- M. DURAISWAMI AIYANGAR AND T. VENUGOPALACHARYA.—श्रीपाद्भारतवक्त्रा. This is the first instalment of a Sanskrit text by Vedānta Deśika on the authoritativeness of the Pañcārtra system.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
vol. XX, pt. II (January, 1939)

- IRAWATI KARVE.—*Kinship Terminology and Kinship Usages in R̥gveda and Atharvaveda*.
- P. K. GODE.—*Oldest Dated Manuscript of Sāyaṇa's Commentary on the Sāmaveda*. A ms. of Sāyaṇa's *Sāmavedārthaprakāśa* deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona is dated 31st March, 1463 A.C.
- S. M. KATRE.—*The Formation of Koṅkanī*.
- H. C. SETH.—*Side-lights on Aśoka the Great*.
- P. K. GODE.—*The Bhagavadgītā in the Pre-Saṅkarācārya Jain Sources*. Some verses from the *Gītā* are found quoted in the Jain *Padmapurāṇa* as also in Haribhadra Sūri's *Śāstravārtā-*

samuccaya and *Lokatattvanirṇaya*. As these works are earlier than the *Gītābhāṣya* of Śaṅkarācārya, the quotations in them will be helpful in the clarification of the problem whether there were different recensions of the *Gītā* current before Śaṅkara, who is regarded by some to have established the vulgate text.

Annals of Oriental Research, vol. IV, part I (1939-1940)

- T. R. CHINTAMANI.—*Fragments of Paiṭhīnāsī Dharmasūtra*. Citations from Paiṭhīnāsī found in Dharmaśāstra digests have been collected and classified according to the subject-matter.
- S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI AND E. P. RADHAKRISHNAN.—*Tattvaśuddhi*. The edition of Jñānaghanaṇapāda's *Tattvaśuddhi*, on Advaita Vedānta presents in this instalment its 23rd section dealing with *anirvacanīya khyāti*.
- V. RAGHAVAN.—*The Date and Works of Ānandapūrṇa Vidyāsāgara*. Ānandapūrṇa has been placed at about A.C. 1350, and his works enumerated.
- M. V. VENKATA RAJULU REDDIAR.—*Primary Significance of Certain Tamil Words*. (In Tamil).
- K. RAMAKRISHNAIYA.—*The Dravidian Languages and Prakrits*. The writer discusses the peculiarities of the Dravidian group of languages and concludes that these languages developed independently of Sanskrit or Prakrit, though in later stages, they influenced one another.
- C. ĀCHYUTA MENON.—*The Histrionic Art of Malabar*. The paper gives an account of the classes and communities composing the Kerala society of Malabar, and describes the histrionic art of both primitive and classical types prevalent there.
- P. KRISHNAN NAIR.—*A Criticism of the Views of the Bhāṭṭas on Dhvani*. (In Malayalam).

Annals of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati,
vol. I, part I (March, 1940)

- S. K. BELVALKAR.—*The Rāmānujīya Text of the Bhagavadgītā*.

- K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.—*Gleanings from the Matsya Purāṇa on War and Peace.*
- P. K. GODE.—*Viśvādarśa and its Commentary Vivaraṇa by Kavikānta Sarasvatī.* A new ms. of this *Dharmaśāstra* has been described in the note and the work assigned to the period between 1200 and 1230 A.C.
- V. RAGHAVAN.—*The Bhallaṭa-śataka.* This contains a textual criticism of the poems of Bhallaṭa who flourished in the 9th century at the time of the Kashmirian king Śaṅkaravarman. The poet felt unhappy under the tyrannical rule of his time.
- K. C. VARADACHARI.—*A Study of Dreams in the Philosophy of Rāmānuja.*

Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, vol. I, part 1.

- V. S. SUKTHANKAR.—*Epic Questions: Does Indra assume the form of a Swan?* In defence of the reading *bāsyarūpeṇa śaṃkarah* adopted in the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* (Ādi, 57, 21) as against the vulgate reading *haṃsarūpeṇa ceśvarah* supported by M. Winternitz and J. J. Meyer, a fresh documentary evidence of the newly discovered eight hundred years old Nepali Ms. has been adduced in this note. It has been doubted whether Indra in the context could have had any reason for assuming the form of *haṃsa* (swan) as suggested by Meyer.
- S. M. KATRE.—*Apropos Epic 'iyāt'.*
- V. M. APTE.—*The Rg-veda Mantras in their Ritual Setting in the Gṛhya Sūtras.* In opposition to the view that the purport of the Mantras has no connection with the sacrificial acts for which they are prescribed, the writer of the paper tries to establish the appropriateness of the Mantra citations in their ritual context. The case of the Rgveda Mantras cited in the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* has been examined to show that "the relation

obtaining between the Mantras and the ceremonies in which they are employed is not as superficial...as is often supposed."

- H. D. SANKALIA.—*XVIIth Century Gold-gilt Copper-board Inscriptions and Sculptures from Nepal*. The inscriptions record the donation of two sacred mss. of the Buddhist scripture with covers of copper-board bearing on them both engraved and embossed gilt figures of Buddhistic deities.
- S. M. KATRE.—*Reduplicatives in Indo-Aryan*.
- M. A. MEHENDALE.—*Absolutives in the Critical Edition of the Virāṭaparvan*.
- C. R. SANKARAN.—*Reconstruction of the Proto-Dravidian Pronouns*.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (London), vol. X, part 2.

- L. D. BARNETT.—*Another Ancient Tribe of the Panjab*. *Agodakā* and *Agāca-jana-pada* mentioned in the legends of some coins in the British Museum have been inferred here to have relations with the *Aggala-pura* of the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, signifying the town of the Aggalas. These Aggalas are identified with the Agalassesis, a tribe of the Panjab flourishing in Alexander's time as described by Diodorus.
- T. BURROW.—*Dravidian Studies II*.

Calcutta Police Journal, vol. I, no. 2 (January, 1940)

- BIREN MUKHERJI.—*Detectives in Ancient India*. After a brief description of several institutions relating to espionage in ancient India, the writer paints out striking similarities between the ancient and modern systems of espionage in the East and the West in certain matters like cipher writing, carrier-pigeons etc.
- B. C. LAW.—*Prostitution in Ancient India*.
- O. C. GANGOLY.—*Rauhiṇya: The Exploits of Thief in Ancient India*.

Eastern Buddhist, vol. VII, nos. 3-4.

DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI.—*The Shin Sect of Buddhism.* The principal teachings of the Shin school of Buddhism in Japan have been outlined in the paper. The ideas developed by the school are regarded as the latest evolution of the Pure Land theory of Mahāyāna Buddhism, which expanded itself into the doctrine of pure faith as opposed to Buddha's "original teaching of self-reliance and enlightenment by means of Prajñā."

KENSHO YOKO-GAWA.—*Shin Buddhism as the Religion of Hearing.* The basic principle of Shin Buddhism appears as the "hearing" of the name of Buddha Amida which awakens faith in a devotee leading to the realisation of Nirvāṇa (Enlightenment) in the Pure Land through rebirth there.

SHIZUTOSHI SUGIHARA.—*Hōnen Shōnin and Shinran Shonin: Their Nembutsu Doctrine.* The Shin Buddhism of Shinran Shōnin who established the sect on the foundation of the Pure Land teaching of Hōnen Shōnin (1132-1212 A.C.) in Japan lays much emphasis on the Nembutsu or the practice of invoking the name of the Buddha with singleness of heart (= buddhānusmṛti). This Nembutsu is mainly an easy vocal practice capable of securing Amida's mercy for the devotee.

Indian Culture, vol. VI, no. 2 (October, 1939)

VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA.—*Patañjali and the Vāhika-grāmas.* Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* refers to names of several grāmas in the Vāhika country which roughly corresponded to the modern Panjab. An attempt has been made in the paper to identify many of those grāmas.

KALYAN KUMAR GANGULI.—*Jaina Images in Bengal.* A few Jain images representing the Tirthaṅkaras have been found in Bengal. These images belong to the Pāla period.

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.—*The Origin and Development of the Bhāṭṭa and Prabhākara Schools in Pūrvamīmāṃsā.*

BENOYCHANDRA SEN.—*Administration in Pre-Pāla Bengal.* The available information about the administrative arrangements under different governments in Bengal from the 4th to the middle of the 8th century A.C. has been collected in the paper mainly from epigraphic evidence. The nature of the various executive units, the operations of their functionaries, and the laws regulating their activities, have been discussed.

S. K. DIKSHIT.—*Candragupta II, Sāhasāṅka alias Vikramāditya and the Nine Jewels.* The writer of this article contends that the *Iyotirvidābharaṇa* popularly attributed to Kālidāsa is in fact a work of that poet, and the contemporaneity of the traditional 'nine jewels' mentioned in the work need not be regarded as fictitious. The 'jewels' including Kālidāsa flourished in the time of "Śakāri Vikramāditya alias Sāhasāṅka, who is no other than Candragupta II."

Jaina-siddhānta-bhāṣakara (Hindi), vol. VI, no. 4

KAILAS CHANDRA SASTRI.—पाणिनि पतञ्जलि और पूज्यपाद. The writer points out the worthlessness of the arguments put forward in support of the contention that Pūjyapāda, the first Jain grammarian was a contemporary of Pāṇini and Patañjali.

K. BHUJABALI SASTRI.—वीरमार्तण्ड चावुण्डराय. The article deals with the achievements of Cāvunḍarāya, who was a minister of the Gaṅga kingdom in the 10th century, and erected the famous statue of Gommateśvara at Śravaṇa Belgolā.

Journal of the Annamalai University, vol. IX, no. 2.

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA.—*Certain Philosophical Bases of Madhva's Theistic Realism.*

N. V. MALLAYYA.—*Studies in Sanskrit Texts on Temple Architecture with special Reference to the Tantrasamuccaya.*

Journal of the Benares Hindu University, vol. IV, nos. 1-3 (3 issues)

- K. C. VARADACHARI.—*The Philosophy of Śrī Rāmānuja*. The nature of God in relation to the world as conceived in the philosophy of Rāmānuja has been discussed.
- FATEH SINGH.—*Yama and Pitrs*. In support of the theory that the Polar region was the original home of the Aryans, the Indian Yama myth is explained here to show that it originated in the Polar phenomenon of light and darkness.
- BHAGWAT SARAN UPADHYA.—*Education and Learning as depicted by Kālidāsa*.
 —.—*Fine Arts as depicted by Kālidāsa*.
- A. S. ALTEKAR.—*Can We Reconstruct the Pre-Bhārata War History?* In this Presidential Address delivered at the Archæological Section of Indian History Congress, Calcutta, it has been shown that the Purāṇic accounts about kings, sages, and incidents of the pre-Bhārata War period get confirmation from the Vedic literature. The pre-Bhārata dynasties mentioned in the Purāṇas are as historical as the Mauryas of later times. If the history of the period be reconstructed with the help of the available Purāṇic and Vedic data, the current ideas about the time of the Aryanisation of India will have to be revised by pushing it back to a considerable extent. A discussion about the date of the Bhārata War and annotated lists of teachers and pupils in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* and the *Vamśa Brāhmaṇa* are appended to the paper.
- RAJ BALI PANDEY.—*The Hindu Saṃskāras of Childhood*. The sacraments of *niṣkramaṇa*, *annaprāśana*, *cūḍākarāṇa* and *karnavedha* have been dealt with in this instalment of the article.
- KRISHNA KUMAR.—*Hindu Toleration of Early Islam in India*.
- BHAGWAT SARAN UPADHYA.—*The State, King and some other Incidents of Polity in Kālidāsa*.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, vol. XXV, parts III-IV
(September and December, 1939)

ADRIŚ BANERJĪ.—*The Extent of the Sena Kingdom*. The epigraphic evidence shows that there was a steady expansion of the Sena rule by the various members of the dynasty, the ultimate extent of territory ruled over by Lakṣmaṇasena comprising the whole of Bengal, Bihar, and parts of the present United Provinces.

RAHULA SANKRITYAYANA.—*Pramāṇavārtikavṛtti*. The editing of this work on Buddhist logic continues.

Journal of the Greater India Society, vol. VII, no. 1 (January, 1940)

J. HACKIN.—*The Buddhist Monastery of Fondukistan*.

O. C. GANGOLY.—*Relation between Indian and Indonesian Culture*.

Journal of Indian History, vol. XVIII, part 3 (December, 1939)

B. C. LAW.—*Buddha's Life in Art*. It is a general survey of the works of ancient artists, both in India and abroad, representing the life-story of Buddha in various forms. In the portrayal of Buddha's life, prominence has been given by the artists to the five major events, birth, renunciation, meditation, enlightenment, and death; the minor incidents also have not been altogether ignored.

S. H. ASKARI.—*The Bengal Revolution of 1757 and Raja Ramnarain*.

MOHAMMAD AZIZ AHMAD.—*Theocracy versus Autocracy*. In the writers' opinion, the Muslim State in Mediæval India cannot be described as 'theocracy'. The *shari'at* was neglected, and the will of the sovereign was the law. Tortures and massacres were often perpetrated as a matter of policy.

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. XIII, part III (July-September, 1939)

M R. RAJAGOPALA IYENGAR.—*Phonetic Changes in Tamil Words borrowed from Classical Sanskrit*,

E. S. VARADARAJA AIYAR.—*Ancient Tamilian Warfare.*

E. P. RADHAKRISHNAN.—*Mānamanobara.* References to and quotations from Vāgīśvara's *Mānamanobara* show that he may be placed between 780 and 1100 A.C. The views ascribed to this author indicate that he was an exponent of the Vaiśeṣika system of thought.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, vol. IV, no. 3.

S. N. CHAKRAVARTI.—*Development of the Bengali Alphabet from the fifth Century A.D. to the End of the Muhammadan Rule.*

P. C. SENGUPTA.—*Bhārata-Battle Traditions.* The writer relies on the Vṛddha Garga tradition that the Yudhiṣṭhira era began in 2449 B.C. and concludes, on the evidence of the *Mahābhārata* itself, that the great fight took place in the same year. The Āryabhaṭa tradition and the Purāṇic testimony that do not support this date are therefore regarded as erroneous.

—.—*Solstice Days in Vedic Literature.* The paper attempts to show that the Hindus of Vedic times knew of a method of finding the solstice of any year. The Vedic passages referring to the solstice indicate that the Brāhmaṇa literature had developed during the period falling between 3550 B.C. and 2100 B.C.

—.—*Madhu-Vidyā or the Science of Spring.*

—.—*When Indra became Maghavan.*

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.—*Kāśinātha Bhaṭṭa and his Works.*

The writer gives an account of a large number of small treatises in Sanskrit ascribed to Kāśinātha Bhaṭṭa who lived in Benares about the 17th century.

Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society,

vol. XII, part I (July, 1939)

SUKUMAR BANERJI.—*Humāyūn's flight across the Panjab, 1540 A.D.*

- VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA.—*Further New Inscriptions from Mathura*. Ten short epigraphs found on the inscribed sculptures deposited in the Mathura Museum have been published with English translations and notes as to their significance.
- RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI.—*Notes on Early Indian Art*.

Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. VIII, part 4 (January, 1940)

- R. N. SALETOR.—*The Genealogy of the Medakere Nāyakas of Citradurga*. The Medakere Nāyakas ruled over the principality of Citradurga from 1568 till they were crushed by Hyder Ali in the year 1779.
- MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT.—*The Ranvād (Uran) Inscription of the Times of Hambira Rao, Śaka 1287*. This inscription of Hambira, a scion of the Yādavas, records the sale-deed of some land.
- H. GOETZ.—*Indo-Muslim Architecture in its Islamic Setting*.
- H. R. KAPADIA.—*The Jaina System of Education*.

New Indian Antiquary, vol. II, no. 7 (October, 1939)

- SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.—*Some Etymological Notes*. The words discussed in these notes are *kareṇu*, *gaura*, *tundi-cela* and *musāra-galva*.
- E. V. VIRA RAGHAVACHARYA.—*Dharmasūri—His Date and Works*. Dharmasūri, the author of the *Sāhityaratnākara*, a well-known treatise on poetics has been assigned to the first quarter of the 15th century A.C. and his works described in the article.
- V. RAGHAVAN.—*The Vaiśyavaṃśasudhākara of Kolācala Mallinātha*. This ms. of a work from the pen of the famous commentator Mallinātha is in the nature of a report determining the eligibility of a certain section of the mercantile castes to some specific appellations.

H. HERAS.—*The Numerals on Mohenjo Daro Script.*

M. HĪDAYAT HOSAIN.—*Shāh Ṭāhir of the Deccan.* Shāh Ṭāhir came to India and exercised considerable influence on the royal court of Ahmadnagar in the 15th century A.C. He was instrumental in the propagation of Shī'āism in the Deccan and in other parts of India.

DINESH CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*Bengal and the Rajputs in the Early Mediæval Period.*

Poona Orientalist, vol. IV, no. 4 (January, 1940)

P. C. DIVANJI.—*Gauḍapāda's Asparśayoga and Śaṅkara's Jñāna-vāda.* The term *asparśayoga* in Gauḍapāda's *Kārikā* signifies a particular kind of yoga or process of worship in which the mind has to be cleared of all objective or subjective ideas. Gauḍapāda has not used the expression in the sense of the realisation of non-duality as is generally believed. Śaṅkara, though known to have advocated the view that Mokṣa is possible only through knowledge unsupplemented by any kind of yoga, admits the utility of the practice of *asparśayoga*.

H. G. NARAHARI.—*On the Origin of the Doctrine of Samsāra.* The writer is of opinion that the theory of Transmigration originated among the Aryans themselves, and no proof of their borrowing it from the aboriginal neighbours is available. The conception in its kernel is found in the early texts, from which the Upaniṣadic seers formulated the doctrine.

E. P. RADHAKRISHNAN.—*A Rare Commentary on Nyāyakusumāñjali.* A ms. of the commentary shows that its author was Vāmadhvaja, a disciple of Virūpākṣa who probably lived in the 16th century A.C.

S. K. SAKSENA.—*The Problem of Experience in Sāṅkhya-Yoga Metaphysics with Special Reference to Vācaspati and Vijñānabhikṣu.*

Sāhitya-parisat-patrikā (Bengali), vol. XLVI, no. 4

JOGES CHANDRA RAY.—বৈদিক কৃষ্টির কালনির্ণয় (*The Date of the Vedic Culture*). On the basis of some astronomical interpretations of Vedic texts, it has been contended in this instalment of the discussion that some of the well-known *Brāhmaṇas* were composed between 1827 B.C. and 1600 B.C.

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Lāmā Tāranātha's Account of Bengal¹

The Tibetan historian Lāmā Tāranātha was born in 1573 A.D. and completed his famous work *History of Buddhism in India* in the year 1608 A.D. His main object was to give a detailed account of the Buddhist teachers, doctrines and institutions in India during the different periods. He has, however, always taken care to add the names of the kings under whose patronage, or during whose regime, they flourished. In this way he has preserved a considerable amount of Buddhist traditions regarding the political history of India. That these traditions cannot always be regarded as reliable data for the political history of India, admits of no doubt. At the same time there is equally little doubt that they contain a nucleus of historical truth which neither Indian literature nor Indian tradition has preserved for us. This fact, which will be illustrated in the following pages, makes it desirable to give a short summary of the political history and geography of Bengal which may be gleaned from the pages of Tāranātha.

Political history

The only kingdom in the east, of which Tāranātha gives the names of successive generations of kings, is Bhaṅgala, which may

¹ The account is based on the German translation of Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism* by A. Schiefner (*Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien, aus dem Tibetischen ubersetzt von Anton Schiefner*, St. Petersburg 1869. Figures within bracket refer to the pages of this book). Portions of this book were translated into English in *Indian Antiquary*, (vol. IV) but the translation is not always accurate as the following pages will show.

be taken to denote southern and eastern Bengal, but the exact significance of which will be discussed later.

According to Tāranātha, the Candra dynasty ruled in Bhaṅgala before the Pālas, and the names of all the kings mentioned by him prior to Gopāla end in Candra.

One of the earliest of these kings was Vṛkṣacandra whose descendants, king Vigamacandra and his son king Kāmacandra, ruled in the east during the time of Śrī-Harṣa (i.e. the emperor Harṣavardhana) (p. 126). Next we hear of king Siṃhacandra, of the Candra family (presumably the one founded by Vṛkṣacandra), who flourished during the reign of Śīla, son of the emperor Śrī-Harṣa (p. 146). Bālacandra, son of Siṃhacandra, being driven from Bhaṅgala (presumably by the powerful king Pañcama Siṃha of the Licchavi family whose kingdom extended from Tibet to Triliṅga and Benares to the sea) ruled in Tirahuti (i.e. Trihut in N. Bihar) (pp. 146, 158). Bālacandra's son Vimalacandra, however, retrieved the fortunes of his family and ruled over the three kingdoms Bhaṅgala, Kāmarūpa and Tirahuti. He married the sister of king Bhārthari (Bhartrhari?) of the Mālava royal family, and was succeeded by his son Govicandra about the time when Dharmakīrti, the famous Buddhist teacher, died (p. 195). Govicandra was succeeded by Lalitacandra, his relation on the father's side, who ruled for many years in peace (p. 197).² After referring to the reigns of Govicandra and his successor Lalitacandra, both of whom attained *siddhi* (spiritual salvation) Tāranātha remarks:

"Thus Lalitacandra was the last king of the Candra family.³ In the five eastern provinces, Bhaṅgala, Oḍḍiṣa (Orissa) and the rest, every Kṣatriya,

2 S. C. Das gives a different version of this account (*JASB.*, 1898, p. 22).

3 In spite of this clear statement of Tāranātha Dr. M. Shahidullah writes that according to Tāranātha Govicandra was the last king of the dynasty, and Gopāla was elected king of Vaṅga some years after the abdication of Govicandra (*IHQ.*, VII, 530, 533). He leaves out of account the reign of Lalitacandra "who ruled for many years in peace." Hence his chronological theory does not deserve serious consideration.

Grantee, Brāhmaṇa, and merchant was a king in his own house (in the neighbourhood) but there was no king ruling over the country' (p. 197)."

Then follows a long account of the Buddhist teachers of the period. Continuing the historical narrative in the next chapter, Tāranātha first tells us how a Tree-god begot a son on a young Kṣatriya woman⁵ near Puṇḍravardhana, how this son became a devotee of the goddess Cundā, how directed by the goddess in a dream he went to the Vihāra of Ārya Khasarpaṇa, and, having prayed there for a kingdom, was directed to proceed towards the east (p. 202). Then occurs the following queer story:

"At that time the kingdom of Bhaṅgala had been without a king for many years and people were suffering great miseries. The leaders gathered and elected a king in order that the kingdom might be lawfully ruled. The elected king was, however, killed that very night by a strong and ugly Nāga woman who assumed the form of a queen of an earlier king (according to some Govicandra, according to others Lalitacandra). In this way she killed every elected king. But as the people could not leave the kingdom without a king, they elected one every morning only to see that he was killed by her during night and his dead body thrown out at day-break. Some years passed in this way, the citizens being elected in turn as king for the day. At this time the devotee of the goddess Cundā came to a house, where the family was overwhelmed with grief. On enquiry he learnt that next day the turn of the elected king fell on a son of that house. He, however, offered to take the place of the son, on receiving some money, and the joy of the family knew no bounds. He obtained the reward and was elected king in the morning. When in midnight the Nāga woman, in the form of a Rākṣasi, approached towards him, he struck her with the wooden club (which he always carried) sacred to his tutelary deity, and she died. The people were greatly astonished to see him alive in the morning. He thereupon offered to take the place of others whose turn came next to be elected as kings, and he was elected king seven times in course of seven days. Then on account of his pre-eminent

4 The translation of this passage as given in *LI.*, IV, 365-66 viz., 'In Oḍiṣa, in Bengal and the other five provinces of the east..... etc.' is wrong. This has been followed in *Gauḍarājamālā* (p. 21) and *Bāṅglār Itihās* (p. 162) by R. D. Banerji. The original German passage is:

"In den fünf östlichen Ländergebieten Bhangala,
Oḍiṣa und den übrigen....."

5 "A shepherdess" according to Buston (p. 156).

qualifications the people elected him as a permanent king and gave him the name Gopāla (pp. 203-4)."

This story is a fine illustration of historical myths. The anarchy and turmoil in Bengal, due to the absence of any central political authority, and the election of Gopāla to the throne by the voice of the people, undoubtedly form the historical background against which the popular nursery-tale of a demoness devouring a king every night has been cleverly set. Such a story cannot be used as historical evidence except where, as in the present case, the kernel of historical fact is proved by independent evidence. By a further analysis of the story it may be possible to glean a few more facts about Gopāla.

According to the story Gopāla was born near Puṇḍravardhana i.e. in Varendra, although he became king of Bhaṅgala which undoubtedly stands for Vaṅgāla or Vaṅga. This offers a solution of what might otherwise have been a little riddle. For whereas in the *Rāmacarita*, Varendra is referred to as *janakabhūḥ* (fatherland) of the Pālas, the contemporary inscriptions call them Vaṅga-pati or rulers of Vaṅga and refer to Gauḍa and Vaṅga as separate kingdoms. Tāranātha also uses the name Varendra, as distinguished from Bhaṅgala.⁶ It may thus be assumed that the birth-place of Gopāla was in Varendra but the throne which was offered to him was that of Vaṅgāla or Vaṅga.

The question naturally arises, what was the extent and political importance of the kingdom of Bhaṅgala about this time. According to Tāranātha, Bimalacandra, father of Govicandra, ruled over the three provinces Bhaṅgala, Kāmarūpa and Tirahuti i.e. Northern Bihar, Vaṅga or Vaṅgāla and lower Assam,⁷ and presumably his two

6 Cf. footnote 13 below, examples (2) and (3).

7 Cf. fn. 13 below. As will be seen from the extract quoted at the end of that footnote, Tāranātha distinguishes Kāmarūpa from Haṣama which no doubt stands for Assam. Kāmarūpa, therefore, probably denotes lower or western Assam valley.

successors ruled over the same territories. Then ensued the anarchy "in the five eastern provinces, Bhaṅgala, Oḍivisa and the rest", as has been referred to above. These five provinces were presumably Bhaṅgala, Kāmarūpa, Tirahuti, Oḍivisa and Varendra, the last being named as a province in the east in connection with Candragomin.⁸ It would appear, therefore, that according to Tāranātha, Bhaṅgala was the leading power in the eastern group, ruling over Tirhut and Kāmarūpa and presumably also Gauḍa or western Bengal,⁹ while Oḍivisa and Varendra were independent territories. This also follows from the account of political history given by Tāranātha in the earlier chapters of his work. He generally begins with a short description of the important kingdoms of the west, the east and the centre, and their rulers, and then gives a detailed account of their religious activities and of the noted Buddhist teachers that flourished during their reigns. In this enumeration Bhaṅgala is the only eastern kingdom to which reference is made and in one case we are told that Bālacandra, son of Siṃhacandra, driven from Bhaṅgala, ruled in Tirahuti.¹⁰ According to Tāranātha, therefore, Bhaṅgala was the leading kingdom in the east, under the powerful Candra dynasty, till the death of Lalitacandra, the last ruler of the family. Then followed a complete political disintegration in Bhaṅgala and the other eastern countries. It was at this stage that Gopāla, a native of Varendra, came to occupy the throne of Bhaṅgala and restored order.

Tāranātha says that although Gopāla commenced his career as ruler of Bhaṅgala he conquered Magadha towards the close of his reign (p. 204). In order to understand this properly we must consider Tāranātha's account of the gradual growth of the Pāla empire under the successors of Gopāla. According to Tāranātha, Gopāla

8 Tar., p. 148.

9 As noted below, in fn 13 Tāranātha refers to Gauḍa as a part of Bhaṅgala.

10 Tar., p. 158.

ruled for 45 years and was succeeded after his death by Devapāla (p. 208) who conquered Varendra (p. 209). Devapāla died after a reign of 48 years and was succeeded by his son Rasapāla who ruled for 12 years (p. 214). The son of the latter was Dharmapāla who ruled for 64 years and subjugated Kāmarūpa, Tirahuti, Gauda and other countries so that his empire extended from the sea in the east to Delhi in the west, and from Jālandhara in the north to the Vindhya mountains in the south (pp. 216-17).

Tāranātha's list of successive Pāla kings is obviously wrong, as we know from the copper-plate grants of the Pālas that the true order of succession was Gopāla, his son Dharmapāla and the latter's son Devapāla. Rasapāla is otherwise unknown, unless we identify him with Rājyapāla who is referred to as the son and heir-apparent of Devapāla in the Monghyr copper-plate grant of the latter. But even then, according to the copper-plate grants, he never succeeded his father as king.

As regards the conquests of these kings it is difficult to understand how Gopāla could conquer Magadha, while Gauda and Varendra were yet unsubdued. Again, the Khalimpur copper-plate clearly shows that Dharmapāla ruled over Varendra and it must have, therefore, been conquered before the time of Devapāla.

In spite, however, of these obvious discrepancies, we must hold that Tāranātha had access to some historical texts, now lost to us, and did not draw purely upon his imagination. For the election of Gopāla, the long reign and extensive conquests of Dharmapāla and the existence of a ruler named Devapāla with a long reign are known to us today only from the inscriptions of the Pālas, to which Tāranātha had no access. Similarly his account of the Candradynasty may have some foundation of truth as will be shown later. Evidently he gathered his information from certain texts, and either these were wrong in many details, or he misunderstood them. Any one of these causes or both might account for the distorted version

of the Pāla history which we meet with in his book. It is, therefore, unsafe to rely upon his statements except where they are corroborated by other evidences, though it would be wiser to have them in view in so far at least as they are not unintelligible in themselves nor contradicted by more positive testimony.

As an instance we may refer to his description of the extent of Dharmapāla's empire which is not perhaps very wide of the mark. Then, again, Tāranātha gives us some data by which we can approximately determine the dates of events he relates. Thus he says that Govicandra ascended the throne about the time when the great Buddhist teacher Dharmakīrti died. As Dharmakīrti was a disciple of Dharmapāla (p. 176) who was a professor in Nālanda at the time when the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited it,¹¹ Govicandra's reign may be placed in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. As his successor Lalitacandra ruled for many years, his death and the end of the Candra dynasty may be placed about 725 A.D. Then followed the period of anarchy during which 'Bhaṅgala was without a king for good many years' (p. 203). If we assign twenty-five years to this period the accession of Gopāla may be placed about the middle of the eighth century A.D.¹² This fairly agrees with the Pāla chronology derived from independent data.

It is needless to pursue any further the historical account of Tāranātha as we have epigraphic data for the later history of Bengal.

Geography

As already noted above, Tāranātha uses the term Bhaṅgala (and never Vaṅga) to indicate the province where the Candras and

¹¹ For date of Dharmakīrti cf. I-tsing, *Records*, pp. lviii-lix, 181. He is said to be a contemporary of the Tibetan king Sron-tsan-gam-po who reigned from A.D. 630 to 698 (V. A. Smith—*Early History*, p. 359).

¹² Dr. M. Shahidullah, working on these data places the end of the reign of Govicandra at about A.D. 700. Nevertheless he places the accession of Gopāla

the Pālas ruled. That he meant by this term, in a general way, the whole of southern and eastern Bengal, admits of no doubt. This is clearly proved by numerous passages scattered in his work.¹³ It is, however, more difficult to trace the origin of the name. It has been generally assumed that Bhaṅgala is derived from Vaṅga and is equivalent to Bengal.¹⁴ The latter assumption is certainly wrong, as Bhaṅgala did not denote the whole of Bengal but only a part of it. As regards the other assumption, the question is complicated by the fact that we know of two geographical terms Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla, used at least as early as the tenth century A.D. to indicate territories comprised within Tāranātha's Bhaṅgala. Phonetically Bhaṅgala may be more readily derived from Vaṅgāla than Vaṅga.

That Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla originally denoted two different countries is now generally admitted.¹⁵ But the name Vaṅgāla, and

about 715 A.D., as he ignores altogether the long reign of Lalitacandra (*IIIQ.* VII, 530 ff.).

13 Attention may be drawn to the following passages: (1) In Oḍiṣa, Bhaṅgala, and Rādha (p. 72); (2) In the land Puṇḍravardhana, lying between Magadha and Bhaṅgala (p. 97); (3) In Bhaṅgala and in Varendra (p. 211); (4) Vimalacandra ruled over the three provinces Bhaṅgala, Kāmarūpa and Tirahuti (p. 172).

In one passage Gauḍa is referred to as a part of Bhaṅgala (p. 82) but it is not clear whether it means that Gauḍa was included within the kingdom of Bhaṅgala, or formed geographically a part of it. The former seems to be the intended meaning.

Tāranātha's geographical notion is clearly indicated in the following passage:

"Eastern India consists of three parts: Bhaṅgala and Oḍiṣa belong to Aparāntaka and are called its eastern part. The north-eastern provinces Kāmarūpa, Tripura and Hasama are called Girivarta, adorned with mountains. Proceeding towards the east near the Northern Hills are the provinces Nangata, Pukham on the sea coast, Balgu etc., Rakhang, Hamsavati and the remaining parts of the kingdom of Munjang; further off are Campā, Kamboja and the rest. All these were called by the general name Koki (p. 262).

14 Cf. for example the translation of the passage quoted in f.n. 4 above.

15 The point was first noted by Dr. H. C. Raichaudhury (*Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 188 ff.) More evidences have since then come to light to support this view (*Early History of Bengal* by P. L. Pal, p. v). Mr. R. C. Banerji has discussed the question at length and located the Vaṅgālas, whom he considers different from the Vaṅgas, to the east of the Brahmaputra river (*IC.*, II. 755).

not Vaṅga, seems gradually to have been applied to the whole of the modern province of Bengal, specially by the foreigners.¹⁶ An inscription in Nepal¹⁷ refers to the invasion of that kingdom in 1346 A.D. by Sultan Shamasuddin (Shamsuddin Ilyas) with a huge Vaṅgāla army (*sūratrāṇa-samasdino vaṅgāla-vahulair-balaib*). Here Vaṅgāla could not possibly have been used in a restricted sense. The *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* also applies the name Bangālah to the whole province,¹⁸ and so do Ibn Batūtah,¹⁹ Ma-Huan²⁰ and other later writers.

The name Bangālah also occurs in a poem of Hafiz sent from Shiraz to Sultan Ghiasuddin who reigned in Bengal in the fourteenth century A.D. Here also the name is applicable to the province rather than to a small part of it.²¹

The evidence of Abul Fazl is both interesting and instructive on this point. "The original name of Bangāl", says he, "was Bang. Its former rulers raised mounds measuring ten yards in height and twenty in breadth throughout the province which were called *āl*. From this suffix the name took its rise and currency".²² Whatever we might think of the ingenious explanation about the origin of the name Vaṅgāla, it is obvious that in Abul Fazl's time Vaṅgāla was the more commonly used name, and it was not only regarded as identical with Vaṅga but also derived from it.

The name Bengala or Bengale used by the early European writers²³ must also have been derived from Vaṅgāla, made familiar

16 The name Vaṅgāla is also met with in early literature. Cf. Bhusuku's verse in *Caryācaryaviniscaya* where both Vaṅgāla and Vaṅgāli are used (H. P. Sastri, *Bauddha Gān O Dobā*, p. 73). 17 *JBORS.*, vol. XXII, pp. 81 ff.

18 Raverty, *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p. 590, fn.

19 Tr. by Gibb, p. 267.

20 Ma-Huan calls it Pan-ko-lo (=Bangāla) *IRAS.*, 1895, (p. 529).

21 *Proc. ASB.*, 1870, p. 110.

22 Jarrett, *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 120. Jarrett uses the term Bengal in his translation but the original has Vaṅgāla.

23 The Portuguese writers and Ralph Fitch call it Bengala; Bernier calls it Bengale.

by the Muslim writers, and the present name Bengal is only a contracted form of Bengala. How the name Vaṅgāla came to denote, at first Vaṅga, and then the whole of the modern province of Bengal, it is not easy to explain. But some light may be thrown on this important and interesting problem by locating the original kingdom and tracing its early history.

Mr. R. C. Banerji, as noted above, places the original kingdom of Vaṅgāla to the east of the Brahmaputra. His conclusion rests upon the assumption that Govindacandra of the Tirumalai Rock Inscription is identical with Gopicand. This identity, however, is open to serious doubts.

As we have seen above, Tāranātha refers to a king Govicandra of Bhaṅgāla, and certain details given by him make it more probable that he is identical with king Gopicandra of Indian legends.²⁴ But this is not material for our present purpose. What is more important is that it was the kingdom of this Govicandra which came into possession of Gopāla. It may, therefore, be presumed that the original kingdom of the Pālas is also to be located in the region where Govicandra ruled.

Now Tāranātha mentions in another work²⁵ that Chāṭigrāma, i.e. Chittagong, was the capital of Gopicandra, or at least quite close to it. There is no doubt that this Gopicandra is the same person as Govicandra king of Bhaṅgāla mentioned by him in his History of

24 In a Hindusthani version of the ballad Gopicand is said to be the sister's son of Bharthāri. Tāranātha also says that the sister of Bharthāri, a member of the Mālava royal family, was the mother of Govicandra (p. 195). Besides, Jalandhari is named as the spiritual preceptor of Govicandra both by Tāranātha as well as in the popular ballads. Cf. al'o f.n. 26.

25 *Bkah-babs-bdun* or the Book of the Seven Mystic Revelations. The passage is quoted by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das in *JASB.*, 1898, p. 23. The references have been verified by Pandit Vidhusekhara Sastri. Cf. also Grunwedel, *Edelsteinmine* (p. 62) which is a German translation of this work.

Buddhism.²⁶ This would mean that according to Tāranātha, the capital of Bhaṅgala, and therefore also of Gopāla at least at the beginning of his reign, must have been either Chittagong or a place quite close to it.

If we admit this we have to attach the greatest importance to the city of Bengala referred to by early European writers. We have already seen that Bengala is the European corruption of Vaṅgāla, and if there was actually a city of this name near Chittagong which was referred to in later works as the capital of Vaṅgāla, or very near it, we may not unreasonably conclude that this city was the capital of Vaṅgāla and gave its name to the kingdom, or *vice versa*, and that in either case the old kingdom of Vaṅgāla must be located in the region round the city.²⁷

As there has been some controversy over the city of Bengala we have to review the question at some length. In the foreign accounts of India of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, particularly those of the Portuguese, frequent reference is made to the 'city of Bengala'. Varthema (1510) speaks of taking his route to this city of Bengala though it is doubtful whether he actually went there. Duarte de Barbosa, one of the earliest Portuguese writers on Indian Geography, says that the (Bay of) Bengal is "a gulf which enters towards the north and at its inner extremity there is a very great city inhabited by Moors which is called Bengala, with a very

26 The names of the father and maternal uncle of both Govindraja and Govindra are the same.

27 Since my article was written I found that Dr. H. C. Raichaudhury long ago made this suggestion tentatively in a Bengali article (reprinted in *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, (1957), pp. 184 ff.). But in the absence of any corroborative evidence such as is furnished by Tāranātha's account it has not evidently drawn much attention so far. Mr. J. N. Gupta, who has quoted the passage in his second edition of *Vikramপুরer Itihās*, just published, says that the city of Bengala is indicated in a map in the *Travels of Cornelius Le Bruyn* (published in 1701 A.D.) a copy of which he possesses (p. 215). Dr. H. C. Raichaudhury also states that 'Bengala' is shown in the map drawn by Gastaldi in 1651 A.D.

good harbour". Ovington (1696) remarks: "Teixeira and generally the Portuguese writers reckon that (Chatigam) as a city of Bengala; and not only so, but place the city of Bengala itself upon the same coast, more south than Chatigam".²⁸ Purchas says in his *Pilgrims* that "Gauro (Gauḍa), the seat royall and Bengala are faire cities". Rennell also mentions the town as being given "in some ancient maps and books of travels".²⁹

In spite of all these references some writers hold that there was never any city of Bengala.³⁰ Even Blochmann subscribed to this view.³¹ The main ground for his conclusion is that the town is not mentioned by the Muhammadan historians nor by Ibn Batūtah and many European travellers. This negative evidence cannot, however, be regarded as of much value in the face of express references to the city of Bengala mentioned above. On the other hand, I believe that the existence of a city called Bangāla may be reasonably inferred from the statements of Ibn Batūtah. He refers to Bangāla as a vast country (p. 267).³² But in course of his description of the kingdom he says that 'Fakhr-ud-din revolted in Sudkawan and Bangāla' (p. 268). Further he remarks that "the Blue River is used by travellers to Bangāla and Laknawti" (p. 271). The use of Bangāla along with the names of two well-known cities of Bengal, viz., Saptagrām and Lakṣmaṇāvati (Gauḍa) indicates that Bangāla in the last two expressions indicates a city of importance.

28 The above account is based on *History of the Portuguese in Bengal* by J. J. A. Campos, pp. 75-76.

29 *JASB.*, 1873, p. 233. Cf. also f.n. 27.

30 Ovington remarks: "A late French Geographer (Baudrand) has put Bengala into his Catalogue of imaginary Cities, and such as have no real Existence in the world; but I wish he had given us a more particular account of his Reasons" (J. Ovington, *A voyage to Surat in the year 1689*, London 1696, p. 534). (The passage is quoted in *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. XIII, p. 262).

31 *JASB.*, 1873, p. 233.

32 The pages refer to the translation of Ibn Batūtah's Travels by Gibb.

As regards the location of the city of Bengala, opinions vary between the city of Chittagong and Dianga, opposite it, on the southern bank of the river Karnaphuli. Lord Stanley points out that where Ortelius places Bengala, Hommanus places Chatigam or Chittagong. Yule also concludes from a chart of 1743 in Dalrymple that "Chittagong seems to have been the city of Bengala."³³ Ovington, however, as noted above, remarks that the city of Bengala was different from Chittagong, and to the south of it.³⁴ "In Blaeu's map and the chart of the empire of the Grand Mogul by N. Sausson the city of Bengala is placed on the southern bank of the Karnaphuli more or less where Van den Broucke places Dianga. Vignorla in a map of 1683 assigns the same position to the city of Bengala. But in an old Portuguese map in Thevenot the city of Bengala is placed above Xatigan (Chittagong) or probably it is meant to be Chittagong itself."³⁵ The same appears to be the case in a map accompanying the Travels of Bernier in the edition published at Amsterdam in 1672.³⁶ In view of all these I feel inclined to agree with Hosten³⁷ that Dianga, opposite Chittagong, represents the

33. The views of Lord Stanley and Yule are taken from Campos, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

34. Campos observes: "Ovington, it must be remarked, reckons Chatigam or Chittagong as the City of Bengala" (*op. cit.*, p. 77). This is not correct. As the quotation in the text will show, Ovington regards Chatigam as a "city of Bengala" i.e. a city in the kingdom of Bengal, but immediately after distinguishes it from "the city of Bengala" which lay to the south of Chatigam.

35. Campos, *op. cit.*, p. 77. Blochmann, *JASB.*, 1873, p. 233.

36. *Bernier's Travels* (A. Constable, 1891)—Map facing p. 454.

37. *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. XIII. (Nos. 25-26), p. 262. Campos on the other hand regards Chittagong as the real City of Bengala (*op. cit.*, p. 77). Campos argues that "Dianga could not be the city of Bengala as it really formed a part of the kingdom of Arakan" (*op. cit.*, p. 77). But then, according to Ralph Fitch and *Ain-i-Akbari* Chittagong also was often in the possession of the king of Arakan (Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 26, Jarrett, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Tr. p. 119).

For an account of Dianga by Hosten Cf. *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. XIII, pp. 261-2. Hosten identifies it with the place now called Bandar, on the left bank and almost at the mouth of the Karnaphuli river. Fr. Fernandes in his letter written from Dianga on 22nd December 1599 calls Dianga a town in the port of Chittagong

site of the city of Bengala, though the probability is that originally both were included in the ancient city of that name and hence came to be called as such. But this point is not very material for our present purpose. Whether the city of Bengala or Vaṅgāla was Chittagong or Dianga or included both, it is a reasonable conclusion that the original kingdom of Vaṅgāla must be located in this region.

This identification also solves another interesting historical problem. It is well-known that in the account of India written by the Arab merchant Sulaiman about 851 A.D. reference is made to three important and rival powers *viz.*, the Juzr, the Balharās, and Rahma. The first two refer to the Pratihāras and the Rāṣtrakūṭas, and there has never been any doubt that the third refers to the Pālas, though the term Rahma and its connection with the Pālas could not be ascertained.³⁸ Now if we assume that the original kingdom of the Pālas was in the region round Chittagong we get a satisfactory explanation why the Pālas were called Rahma.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das observed long ago that the country to the south of Tripura and north of Rakham (Arakan) was called Ramma (Sanskrit *Ramya*).³⁹ I have not been able to trace the evidence on which this statement is based. The passage in *Dpag-bsam-bjon-bzang*, on which S. C. Das presumably relies, merely includes Ramma in a list of countries surrounding Jambudvīpa.⁴⁰

(Campos, *op. cit.*, p. 77). According to Hosten, Dianga was the first Portuguese settlement on the Gulf of Bengal and called by them Porto Grande, (*op. cit.*, p. 262). Campos denies this (*op. cit.*, p. 76). Blochmann identified Dianga with the Dakhindanga or the Brahmandanga, both on the Sangu river, south of Chittagong (*JASB.*, 1893, p. 233).

³⁸ For a recent discussion of the whole question cf. S. H. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Moslem History* (1939), pp. 4 ff. Hodivala's view that Rahma is a mistake for Dharma and that it stands for the kingdom of Dharmapāla, was suggested to me long ago by my friend Dr. Shahidullah. But this is improbable as the term continued in use long after Dharmapāla's death, and was later used to denote the kingdom of Pegu.

³⁹ *JASB.*, 1898, p. 24.

⁴⁰ For this information I am indebted to Pandit Vidhusekhara Sastri who, in a letter dated 20. 7. 38, has sent me the following translation of the passage:

Fortunately, however, the statement of S. C. Das is confirmed by the accounts of the foreign travellers. Ralph Fitch, who visited India between 1583 and 1591 A.D., refers to a kingdom of Rame situated between Chittagong and Arakan, all three being subject to the same king.⁴¹ A more detailed account is given by Manrique who visited the city of Ramu on July 5, 1630 on his way from Dianga to Arakan. It was then the seat of a governor of the king of Arakan who was at the head of the Chancery of Arakan, all Farmans having to be endorsed by him. Regarding the location of Ramu, Rev. Hosten supplies the following information in course of his annotation of the travels of Manrique: "Ramu must have been reached, not by the sea, but by the network of channels which connected it with Dianga. The Bengal Survey Map, (Sheet no. 425 1" = 1 mile) identifies Ramu with Cox's Bazar. L. S. S. O'Malley says it is a village in the Cox's Bazar, on the continuation of the Arakan Road. It is a police outpost and an important market serving the south of the district. The map in O'Malley's *Gazetteer of Chittagong* shows Ramu east of Umkhali, and that seems to be the place visited by Manrique."⁴²

It is permissible to infer that this Ramu, Rame or Ramya represents the kingdom of Rahma referred to by the Arabs.⁴³ It is perhaps because the home-kingdom of the Pālas was situated in this region that they designated them by this term. It is significant that later the term Rahma denoted the kingdom of Pegu, presu-

"Jambudvipa is surrounded by thousands of small countries—Tibet, China, Khutan, Khasa, Ramma, Tokhar, etc".

41 Foster, *Early Travels in India*, (Oxford University Press, 1921), p. 26, fn. 5.

42 *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. XIII, pp. 229 ff., 268.

43 Yule suggested long ago the identification of Rahmi (or Ruhmi) of the Arab writers with "Ramu, which lies half-way between Chittagong and Akyab, a few miles east of Cox's Bazar in Arakan". *Travels of Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 100). But he could not explain the connection between the Pālas and Ramu.



mably because it then formed a part of the later kingdom.⁴⁴ As Ramu and Vaṅgāla were on the sea-coast the assumption would further explain why the Pāla family was known as Samudra-kula i.e. family of the sea.⁴⁵

Although the evidence cannot be regarded as conclusive, we should not, at the present state of our knowledge, ignore altogether the indications furnished by these data regarding the home-territory of the Pālas. It must be mentioned in this connection that even as late as the sixteenth century A.D. powerful kingdoms flourished in this region. We learn from *Ain-i-Akbari* that the king of Tippera had a force of 200,000 foot-men and a thousand elephants.⁴⁶ The kingdom of Arakan is also said to be a considerable tract, including the port of Chittagong.⁴⁷ The existence of the important kingdom of Pateikkara in this region during the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. is testified to by the Burmese chronicles and the Mainamati copper-plate of Raṇavaṅkamalla.⁴⁸ Further, it has been noted above, that according to Tāranātha a long line of kings, whose names ended in Candra, ruled in Bhaṅgala, from about the sixth century A.D. On the other hand we know from inscriptions, coins, and Burmese chronicles that a long line of kings with names ending in Candra ruled in the Arakan region before the tenth century A.D.⁴⁹ This indirectly supports the state-

44 Ferrand. *Relations de voyages et textes Géographiques Arabes, Persans et Turks relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient*, pp. 29, 36, 43 (fn. 2).

45 *Rāmacarita*, I. v. 4. Commentary.

46 Jarrett's Transl. p. 117.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 119.

48 *IHQ.*, vol. IX, pp. 284-5.

49 The traditional account of the nine Candra kings of Arakan ruling from A.D. 788 to 957, as preserved in the later chronicles, is given by Phayre in his *History of Burma* (p. 45). For the names of these kings and an account of the coins, cf. Phayre, 'Coins of Arakan, of Pegu, and of Burma' (*Numismata Orientalia*), pp. 43, 28-9. A brief account of the inscriptions found on the platform of the Shitthaung temple at Mrohaung is given on pp. 146-147 of the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* (1925-6). The names of eighteen royal predecessors of Ānandacandra are given in one inscription. The first king is Bālacandra, a name also occurring in Tāranātha's account. According to Mr. Hirananda Sastri

ment of Tāranātha and the location of Vaṅgāla in the Chittagong-Arakan region.

Now if we assume that the Pālas originally ruled over Vaṅgāla and gradually spread their power and authority over the rest of Bengal, it is not difficult to believe that their long and glorious reign is mainly responsible for the application of the name of their home-territory to the whole of the province.⁵⁰ It would appear from Tāranātha's account that in the first stage of this extension, Vaṅgāla denoted only the territories formerly comprised within Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla. The rule of the Pālas and Candras over this region and the similarity of the two names probably facilitated this earlier extended connotation. Later, the process continued, and perhaps thanks to the Pālas, Vaṅgāla came to denote the whole of the modern province of Bengal.

Such a phenomenon is, of course, not unknown and the name Gauḍa came at one time to be applied to whole of Bengal for similar

the oldest inscription is written in characters resembling those of the late Gupta script. The inscription recording the names of the Candra kings, mentioned above, is said to be 'many centuries older' than the temple which was built in the 16th cent. A.D.

The name Priticandra is found both on the coins as well as in the inscriptions. The name read by Phayre on the coin as Vammacandra is clearly Dhammacandra. The other name that can be read on the coins is Viracandra. The alphabets on these coins are to be referred to the seventh or eighth century A.D. if not earlier.

50 The *Jāmi'-ul-Twarikh* of Fakir Muhammad places Bhāṭi (the coast strip from the Hughly to the Meghna; vide *JASB.*, 1873, p. 226) to the west of Baṅgāla. This supports the location of Vaṅgāla proposed in this paper. The same book also states that the territory which in after times was styled Baṅgālah, according to such writers as have written about it, consisted of Bihar, Gauḍa or Gaur Lakhana-wati, Bang and Jainagar (Orissa). (Raverty, *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, English Transl., p. 592 f.n.). Thus practically the whole of the Pāla kingdom was called Baṅgāla. It is evident from this passage as well as another in Afīf's *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* which refers to Bang and Baṅgāla (Bib. Ind. Edition, p. 114, f.n. 2) that the Muslim writers knew the name Baṅg but distinguished it from Vaṅgāla, and used it only to denote a part of Bengal, roughly Vaṅga. In *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* also Bang is used in this limited sense (*Ibid.*, p. 587) and neither Baṅgāla nor any other name indicating the whole province of Bengal is mentioned therein.

reasons. The process of Vaṅgāl-isation of the whole province must also have been very gradual. The name Vaṅga was ancient and sanctified by sacred texts, and hence its use did not altogether die out at least in literary documents. The similarity of the name Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla also often led to confusion, and at times, to the indiscriminate use of either for the other or the two combined. The important sea-port of Vaṅgāla (Bengala) may also have some influence in giving currency to the designation of the whole province by that name. In any case, gradually the name Vaṅgāla superseded Vaṅga in ordinary use and came to be the name of the province.

It is difficult to say how long the old kingdom of Vaṅgāla continued as a separate unit. For when we find references to a kingdom under this name we cannot always be certain whether it refers to the original kingdom or is used in its later meaning, denoting the whole province. Marco Polo's reference to Bangala (1290 A.D.) is an instance to the point. This Bangala is generally taken to refer to the province of Bengal as a whole. But his statements that it is "tolerably close to India"⁵¹ and that Mien (Burma) and Bangala were under the same king,⁵² rather point to the smaller province of Vaṅgāla. For the province of Bengal (or even old Vaṅga) could hardly be regarded as outside India, or at any time within the political jurisdiction of Burma. But both of these would be truly applicable to the Arakan-Chittagong region. For, the territories beyond the Brahmaputra and the Meghna rivers have not unoften been regarded as outside India proper, and we have reliable evidence that as early as the eleventh century A.D., the king of Burma established his authority over Arakan, and his kingdom was extended up to the Tippera district.⁵³ It is therefore not necessary to assume, with Yule, that Marco Polo confounded Bengal with Pegu.⁵⁴

51 Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 97.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 81.

53 *Arch. Surv. Report, Burma 1923*, p. 31. Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 37.

54 Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 82.

Even as late as the fifteenth century A.D. Nayacandra Suri mentions Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla side by side and presumably as names of two separate territorial units.⁵⁵ Unless this was due to a confusion of the author it may be regarded as an evidence that Vaṅgāla existed in his time as a separate province. This is quite probable, as Bengala, as noted above, is shown in the maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. The epithet Bāṅgāl, applied even today by the inhabitants of Western Bengal to those hailing from the eastern part of the province, is probably a reminiscence of the old province of Vaṅgāla. But we have no positive evidence of its existence as a separate territorial unit after the fifteenth century.

In conclusion a few words may be said regarding the origin of the name Vaṅgāla. Abul Fazl's explanation has been noted above. Modern writers derive it from Vaṅgālaya (i.e. Vaṅga + ālaya or home of Vaṅga).⁵⁶ These views rest upon the supposition that Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla are synonyms, both denoting the same country. As this assumption has been proved to be erroneous we need not seriously consider these views.

At the same time the proximity of the two localities and the resemblance of the names suggest that the name Vaṅgāla was derived from Vaṅga. It is important in this connection to bear in mind that some ancient Sanskrit texts mention side by side Vaṅga and Upa-Vaṅga as the names of two different but neighbouring provinces. It may be easily surmised that Vaṅga-Upavaṅga of old days correspond to Vaṅga-Vaṅgāla of later days. Now Upa-Vaṅga has been undoubtedly formed from Vaṅga by the addition of prefix *Upa*. According to rules of Sanskrit Grammar *Upa*, prefixed to nouns, "expresses direction towards, nearness, resemblance, relationship, contiguity in space, number, time, degree etc., but generally involving the idea of subordination or inferiority." Upa-Vaṅga

55 In Hammira Mahākāvya. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, 1879, p. 58.

56 Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. V, part I, p. 11.

perhaps denoted one or more of these senses, specially nearness and inferiority. In any case the mention of Vaṅga and Upa-Vaṅga in old literature shows that from early times there were two provinces side by side which were regarded as Vaṅga Major, and Vaṅga Minor. The same condition seems to be reflected in the later nomenclature Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla.

The term Vaṅgāla seems to have replaced the Sanskritic Upa-Vaṅga by adding the termination *āla*, in place of the prefix *upa*. This *āla* may be derived from *āli*, as Abul Fazl supposes, but then it must have been used in a figurative sense, to denote that the territory called Vaṅgāla was regarded as the boundary wall or embankment of Vaṅga. But it is not necessary to speculate on these hypotheses. It is enough for our present purpose to know that probably Vaṅgāla was derived from Vaṅga and stood in the same relation to it, both in geographical position and literary meaning, as Upa-Vaṅga.

The discussion of Tāranātha's account has led us too far from the main subject. But several interesting facts have emerged from it—facts which have not hitherto received the attention they deserve. First, that the name Vaṅgāla, and not Vaṅga, came to be the general name of the province. Secondly, that Vaṅgāla originally denoted a small kingdom round modern Chittagong, and had as its capital the famous sea-port Vaṅgāla, called by the Europeans Bengala, which was either Chittagong or a place in its immediate neighbourhood. Finally, the modern name Bengal or Vāṅgālā (Vāṅgālī) is derived from Vaṅgāla and not Vaṅga.

RAMESH CHANDRA MAJUMDAR

The *Lalitavistara* and *Sarvāstivāda*

The position of the *Lalitavistara-sūtra* in its relation to Pāli Buddhism has been variously judged. The work was described by Rhys Davids some fifty years ago as, "a poem of unknown date and authorship, but probably composed in Nepal, and by some Buddhist poet who lived sometime between six hundred and a thousand years after the birth of the Buddha."¹ This illustrates the extraordinary misconceptions then prevailing, as well as the attitude of the Pāli school, which sought to reconstruct the early history of Buddhism from Pāli sources alone. But the *Lalitavistara* is not a poem, there is no probability that it was composed in Nepal, and it contains passages as old as anything in Pāli.

It was against this attitude of the Pāli scholars that the late L. de La Vallée Poussin protested in his *Buddhisme, études et matériaux* (pp. 2-4) where he wrote:

"Pre-occupied in establishing the history of Buddhism and in starting by fixing its origin, the orientalists abandon the path so intelligently opened up by Burnouf; they relinquish the examination of the Northern sources, and take no account of them, they attach themselves passionately to the exegesis of the Southern Scriptures, which in appearance are more archaic and better documented. The results that these labours give us are of the highest importance, both for the history of religions in general as well as for that of Buddhist and Indian ideas. Oldenberg's book is a perfect exposition: Pāli Buddhism cannot be better described, its intellectual and moral factors more artistically demonstrated, or a more precise exposition given of the idea that a Singhalese doctor makes of his religion and his destiny. Oldenberg's error was to entitle his book, *Buddha, his life, his doctrine and his community*. He should have added, 'according to Pāli sources and the principles of the Singhalese Church.'"

And he went on:

"Far from giving us the key to the origin of Buddhism and the understanding of its historical evolution, the examination of the canon and the Pāli

chronicles gives us information about only one of the sects of the Southern school. Further, these accounts have an absolute value only for an epoch relatively late in the history of this Church. To describe the fortunes of the community, the constitution of the Saṅgha, the formation of the Scriptures, and the life of the Master according to documents which date from the first or the fourth century of our era is an illusory undertaking. Consecrated by the faith and piety of the schools, learnedly elaborated, proud of a regularity (suspect, although exaggerated by certain authors), the Pāli canon boasts of an authenticity of little probability. Like the Buddhist monks of naïve piety and imperfect critical sense European scholars have not hesitated to admit this authenticity. It was only at a recent epoch that the books were fixed in writing; but does not India offer us in the fastidious preservation of the Vedas a marvellous example of memory and fidelity? This pious hypothesis does not hold against the facts."

These incisive words of the industrious scholar whose loss we are still deploring are not yet obsolete. They still stand as a protest against the idea that by excising the marvellous and the contradictory in the accounts of the Pāli school it is possible to arrive at a sound historical basis. It may be here remarked that the recent investigations of Mrs. Rhys Davids have been equally destructive of the theories of Oldenberg and T. W. Rhys Davids, though without advancing on the lines suggested by La Vallée Poussin.

Although this article is concerned with the doctrinal relations of the *Lalita-vistara* with the Sarvāstivāda school, it is necessary to say something about the structure of the sūtra. When the Sanskrit text was first published (1877-8) it was found to contain many verse passages embedded in the prose. The question was raised as to which was the older, the prose or the verse; but it was a futile proceeding to try and solve the problem by setting up rival theories of the structure of the sūtra without looking for the sources of the verse passages. It can now be seen that many come from the canon of the Sarvāstivādins. On the other hand, when we find a passage in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, it suggests a very late period of literary activity. But there is now no doubt that not only many of the verses but also many of the prose passages are textually taken from the

Sarvāstivādin scriptures. That there was such a canon was not even recognized when Childers declared, "the North Buddhist books have no claim to originality, but are partly adaptations of the Pāli sacred books, made several centuries after Gautama's time, and partly late outgrowths of Buddhism exhibiting the religion in an extraordinary state of corruption and travesty."²

The real facts have been stated by La Vallée Poussin. It should be almost self-evident that the most widely-spread group of schools in India, the Sarvāstivādins, a group that continued to flourish widely long after the Pāli school had been cut off from its Indian home, should have had a canon of its own. Although not entirely identical with the Pāli, the structure of the Āgamas and much of the wording is the same. As La Vallée Poussin said, "We speak in the singular of the canon. It is not doubtful that a considerable body of scriptures served as basis for the two canons of Sthavirian sects, the canon in the Pali language and the Sanskrit canon of the Sarvāstivādins. This body of scriptures may be referred to under the name of the Buddhist canon."³ It is from the Sarvāstivādin source that the ancient passages both prose and verse, in the *Lalita-vistara* were taken. How the whole sūtra was compiled will need more detailed investigation. Here we have only to consider how the Mahāyāna compiler or compilers of the *Lalita-vistara* dealt with the doctrinal matters in the passages incorporated.

Although the metaphysical doctrines of Mahāyāna are not ignored, the whole interest is concentrated on the nature of a Bodhisattva and his attainment of Buddhahood, when he becomes an omniscient Tathāgata. The Bodhisattva-doctrine itself was not new, for all the schools recognized it, as well as the doctrine of a Tathāgata with his ten powers. But while according to the older doctrine the

2 Childers' *Dictionary*, *preface*, p. xii.

3 *Le doctme et la philosophie du Bouddhisme*, p. 97.

Bodhisattva in his last birth was a being who still had to learn the painful facts of old age, sickness, and death, in Mahāyāna he knew the essential doctrines already and had acquired all the qualities of a Buddha except those peculiar to a Tathāgata. At the very beginning of the actual sūtra (ch. 2) we are told how the Bodhisattva was dwelling in the excellent abode of Tuṣita. Then follow over four pages of epithets beginning thus :

"Adored by adorable ones, having obtained his *abhiṣeka*, praised, lauded, and extolled by hundreds of thousands of gods, having obtained the *abhiṣeka* produced from his vow, having acquired the full and purified buddha-knowledge due to all the buddha-qualities, having won the highest perfection of skill in means, knowing the brahma-states of great friendliness, compassion, joy, and equanimity, having reached the peak of fulfilment of all the bodhipakṣika-dharmas consisting of the stations of mindfulness, the right efforts, the bases of psychic power, the faculties, the powers, the parts of enlightenment, and the way, having his body adorned with the marks and minor marks due to the accumulation of unmeasured merit." (*Lal.* p. 8).

Nor were these attainments lying dormant, for we are told that while the Bodhisattva was in his seraglio,

"He was not deprived of hearing the doctrine, or deprived of meditating on the doctrine. Why was that: It was because the Bodhisattva had long shown reverence for the doctrines and reciters of the doctrine, he was eagerly earnest for the doctrine, delighting in the doctrine, unwearied in investigating the doctrine, exceedingly liberal in bestowing the doctrine, teaching it without reward, ungrudging in the gift of the doctrine, not having the closed fist of a teacher." (*Lal.* p. 215).

Yet the narrative retains the story as told in all schools, and when the Bodhisattva acts like an ordinary man of the world, it is repeatedly said that this is due to *lokānuvartanakriyādharmatā*, the rule of acting in accordance with the practice of the world. In the same way, when as an infant he was being taken to the temple, he knew that it was unnecessary as he was *devātideva*, but he consented to go "in accordance with the custom of the world."

When in the older story he first learns the dark facts of human life, he is distressed and returns to his palace in agitation of heart.

The *Lalita-vistara* retains the accounts of his asking what an old man, a sick man and the others were, but adds the words, *jānann-eva*, although he knew, for he was not really an ignorant youth, but a Bodhisattva already understanding the reality of existence, and he asked in accordance with the *dharmatā*, the rule of action followed by all Bodhisattvas.

These are instances of direct modification of the story, but the latter portion of the Sūtra gives examples of a different way of expressing the special teaching introduced into the narrative. The traditional course of events remains unchanged. The contest with Māra is recounted with the addition of much mythological detail, then the attainment of the four dhyānas, the divine eye, the remembrance of the former births, the chain of causation and the destruction of the āsravas, all given in the words of the older sūtras. The events at the Bodhi tree follow, the journey to Benares, and the first sermon. Most of the essential narrative is given in the words of the older texts and the Mahāyāna portions are distinct insertions. These display what may be called devotional Mahāyāna, for although *śūnyatā* and such Mahāyāna doctrines are taken for granted, no attempt is made to emphasise them or expound them. When the Bodhisattva is going to the Bodhi tree Brahmā Sahāmpati informs the gods, and his speech consists of a repetition of the Bodhisattva's achievements.

It might have been thought that after the recital of the chain of causation some explanation of the formula in the style of Nāgārjuna would have been given, but what follows is chiefly a series of *stutis* by various gods. In one of them Buddha replies, and gives a verse account of his enlightenment, but the nearest approach to any Mahāyāna metaphysics is where he says he has attained by enlightenment the void of the world (*jagacchūnyam*), which arises from the chain of causation, and which is like a mirage or a city of Gandharvas. That the standpoint is Mahāyāna can be seen from the

use of certain terms, such as *dharmatathatā*, *bhūtakoti*, *tathāgata-garbha*, and *śūnya*. Even *māyā* occurs, but in the sense of "deceit, and it merely illustrates the dependence on Sarvāstivāda, in this case on the Abhidharma.⁴ The terms occur along with *mātsarya* and *irsyā*, and they also occur together in the Sarvāstivādin list of upakleśas, and here are mentioned among the forest of vices (*kleśāranya*) which Buddha had cut off.

The additions to the first sermon are more extensive, but still without any tendency to develop the doctrine. It is followed by a versified version of the chain of causation addressed to *Kaundinya*, the first of the five disciples. Then Maitreya, one of the Bodhisattvas present asks Buddha for the sake of the Bodhisattvas present to expound how the Wheel of the Doctrine has been turned. But no exposition is given. What follows is little more than a string of epithets. Buddha replies;

"Profound, Maitreya, is the Wheel, for it cannot be acquired by grasping; hard to perceive is the Wheel through the disappearance of duality"

This list then passes into a description of the Tathāgata:

"Even so, Maitreya has the Wheel of the Doctrine been turned by the Tathāgata; through the turning of which he is called Tathāgata; he is called fully enlightened Buddha; he is called Svayambhū; he is called Dharmasvāmi; he is called Nāyaka; he is called Vināyaka; he is called Parināyaka; he is called Sārthavāha"

This extraordinary list continues for over fourteen pages, and this, Buddha tells Maitreya, is the turning of the Wheel and a summary exposition of the virtues of the Tathāgata. If explained at length the Tathāgata might expound for a kalpa or the rest of a kalpa. Of real explanation there is nothing, although in a poem immediately following the turning of the Wheel is said to be *anutpādam*. This is the very word which forms the basis of the system of *Nāgārjuna* in his *Madhyamākārikās*. There can be little

4 *Lal.*, p. 486. *Māyā* is translated 'esprit de deception' by La Vallée Poussin in his translation of the *Abhidharmakośa*, vol. I, bk. ii, §. 27. Cf. *Mahāvinyūtpatti*, 104.

doubt that this avoidance of points of difference and metaphysical subjects of dispute is due to the fact that the sūtra is intended for lay people. The compilers have aimed at harmonising the old accounts with the more exalted conception of the Bodhisattva. There is one place where a severe judgment is passed on the holders of other views. In the account of the Bodhisattva's passing from the Tuṣita heaven and being conceived Ānanda expresses his wonder, and Buddha replies that in the future there will be some who will disbelieve that the Bodhisattva passed through the processes of conception and birth. But those who reject the excellent sūtra, whether monks or lay people, will be hurled at death into the hell of Avīci. Faith is needed, and Buddha illustrates by a parable:

"It is as if, Ananda, a certain man had a son, and the man was of fair speech, received presents, and had many friends. The son, when his father died, was not left desolate, but was well received by his father's friends. Even so, Ānanda, any of those who shall believe in me I receive as my friends — those who have taken refuge in me. The Tathāgata has many friends, and these friends of the Tathāgata, truth-speakers, not speakers of falsehood, I hand on. They that are truth-speakers are friends of the Tathāgata, the Arhats and perfect Buddhas of the future. Faith should be practised. Herein this is what I make you to understand."

But the basis of the faith has been changed. The sport, *lalita*, of the Bodhisattva is not merely his sport in the seraglio, but all the acts which as Bodhisattva he had to perform. His fight with Māra is expressly said to be done in sport, and finally the whole sūtra is said to be played (*vikrīḍita*) by the great Bodhisattva.

E. J. THOMAS

Dārṣṭāntika, Sautrāntika and Sarvāstivādin

Brāhmanic literature contrasts quite usually *śruti* to *smṛti*. The former term includes the revealed texts (Veda and Vedāṅga); while the latter the tradition contained in the Upaveda. Another classification, found in some late works, has been examined by L. Feer.¹ It is on the one hand *adrṣṭārtha*, which includes Veda, Vedāṅga, philosophical systems, jurisprudence; and on the other, *drṣṭārtha* which refers to the Upaveda, that is to say what constituted formerly the *smṛti*. The notion of *drṣṭa*, what is "seen" or known through experience, has thus encroached upon that of *smṛti*. At first sight, it seems that the distinction between what is founded or what is not founded upon experience has replaced the former distinction between Tradition and Revelation.

This change must probably be ascribed to a novel theory of knowledge. The materialists used to put perception (*pratyakṣa*) at the source of knowledge, and denied *śruti*, intuition, any value. Perception (*pratyakṣa*) is thus opposed to intuition (*śruti*): and, in the same way, *drṣṭa* to *adrṣṭa*. Finally, what we find in the classification of knowledge by *adrṣṭārtha* and *drṣṭārtha*, is the contrast between *śruti* and *pratyakṣa*. The substitution of those two terms for the former categories named *śruti* and *smṛti* shows the progress of philosophical speculation. It throws light, moreover, on a part of the Buddhist terminology and, consequently, on some problems of religious and literary history.

In Buddhist thought the notion of *śruti* is far more important than is generally believed. It explains the frequently used term of *bahuśruta*, rendered literally in Chinese by *to-wen*, "who has much

1 *Trente deux récits du trône*, Intro., p. xxii-xxviii.

heard." The initial formula of the sūtra: *evam mayā śrutam* not only alludes to the promulgation of the sacred texts by Ānanda when the First Council was held, but also indicates that those texts were revealed and that the whole of them constitutes the *śruti*.² And, just as *śruta* is opposed to *drṣṭa* or *śruti* to *pratyakṣa*, the former term implied, as compared to the latter, a knowledge of superior quality, *śruti* is opposed to *drṣṭi* in the Buddhist vocabulary. It seems easier now to understand why Pali *ditṭhi* "view, opinion" is so frequently used deprecatingly with the meaning of "ill-founded or false opinion." When the word is used in good sense, it is necessary to insist upon the adjective *sammā* as in *sammā ditṭhi*; this expression shows that, formerly, *ditṭhi* must have been given a neutral and very general sense; the interpretation "false view" is a secondary one.

The contrast *śruti/drṣṭi* allows perhaps to explain two obscure terms which hold an important place in the controversies among the Buddhist sects. Masuda's work on the Vasumitra treatise³ relates some traditions which might induce us to consider the Dārṣṭāntika and Sautrāntika sects as two sub-divisions of the Sarvāstivādin school. To my mind, these sects owe their respective names to two categories of texts: *drṣṭānta* and *sūtrānta*. *Drṣṭānta* is formed with *drṣṭa*, like *sūtrānta* with *sūtra*. If a *sūtra* is what has been "heard" (*śruta*), it is probable that the terms *drṣṭānta/sūtrānta* rest

2 It is true that, for Buddhaghosa, followed in this respect by the European scholars (Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 2 quoted by de La Vallée Poussin, *Opinions*, p. 35), *evam mayā sutaṃ* means *sammukhā paṭiggahitaṃ* (*Sumaṅgalavilasīnī*, I, p. 31). But this interpretation, which is a late one, dates from a moment when one had to prove the authenticity of the texts, tracing them back to the Buddha through Ānanda, rather than to rank them with the Veda. In other words, the controversies between Buddhists had altered the mentality of the doctors: those of the earlier centuries were anxious, above all, to resist the Brahmins, whilst Buddhaghosa disputes with the people who recognize the Buddha's omniscience.

3 *Asia Major*, 1925.

finally upon the contrast *dṛṣṭi*/*śruti*. Let us examine this thesis in the light of the documents.

Since H. Lüders published the fragments of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍī-tikā*, the attention of the learned world has been driven towards Kumāralāta, author of this collection and the founder of the Dārṣṭāntika school. Several Japanese and European scholars have endeavoured to gather some pieces of information concerning this school, and more particularly those supplied by K'oueï Ki, one of Hiuan-Tsang's most famous disciples. The most important texts will be found in the commented translation of the *Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi* by L. de La Vallée Poussin.⁴ Before I bring forth K'oueï Ki's testimony, I will quote the learned scholar's translation, which, being exactly literal, forms a solid basis for discussion.

K'oueï Ki, *Vasumitra*, II, 9 b (Genealogy of the sects): "The comment of the *Siddhi*, iv, 1, 53 b says that the Sautrāntika are of three kinds: 1. Mūla (*ken-pen*), that is to say, Kumāralāta; 2. Śrīlāta; 3. in a vague way (*wei-fan*) the so-called Sautrāntika."

This text means probably that there are three kinds of Sautrāntika: 1. the Mūlasautrāntika, that is to say, Kumāralāta's followers; 2. Śrīlāta's disciples; 3. those who are called Sautrāntika without any other precision.

The comment of the *Siddhi*, alluded to in the above quotation, is a little more explicit:

"These (the Sautrāntika) are of three kinds: 1. Mūla, that is to say Kumāralāta; 2. Śrīlāta, who composed the *Sautrāntika-Vibhāṣā*, whom Saṅghabhadra calls "the Sthavira"; 3. the so-called Sautrāntika.⁵ As the Mūlācārya composed the *Kie man louen*, the *Kouang chono p'i yu*, he received the name of *Dārṣṭāntikācārya*, borrowing his name from what he said."

4 *Buddhica*, t. I, p. 221-224: K'oueï ki sur les Sautrāntikas.

5 I prefer this translation to another one, given in a dubious way by de La Vallée Poussin in a note.

This text, confirming the information given by the preceding one, adds that Śrīlāta, author of the *Sautrāntika-Vibhāṣā*, was also called the Schavira and states that the Mūlācārya, that is to say Kumāralāta, was also called Dārṣṭāntika-ācārya. As a result Mūla-sautrāntika, disciples of Kumāralāta and Dārṣṭāntika are three ways of describing the same group.

That Kumāralāta the famous author of a *Dṛṣṭāntapañkti* or *Dṛṣṭāntamālya* should have been called Dārṣṭāntikācārya, is not astonishing. We know by the colophons of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* that this collection was a *Dṛṣṭāntapañkti* and that its author was precisely Kumāralāta. L. de La Vallée Poussin (p. 223) points out, after Schiefner that: "There is a *Dṛṣṭāntamālya* in the Tandjur." Referring to the Tibetan text, Sylvain Lèvi established without difficulty that the Tandjur *Dṛṣṭāntamālya* is a fragment of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*.⁶ K'oueï Ki's *Kie man louen* or *Yu man louen* is probably nothing else.⁷

K'oueï Ki (*Vasumitra* II, 9 b) tells us besides that Kumāralāta, the Dārṣṭāntikācārya, appeared during the first century after the disappearance of the Buddha, and that at the time there was no Sautrāntika yet. How is it possible to reconcile this assertion with another one given by the same text, according to which Kumāralāta would be the Sautrāntika-mūlācārya? It seems that the Sautrāntika separated from the Dārṣṭāntika at a late date; then the latter could have been looked upon as the Mūlasautrāntika and Kumāralāta, their founder, was really the Sautrāntika-mūlācārya because the Dārṣṭāntika bore in them the future Sautrāntika.

On the whole, whether it be a question of the properly so-called Sautrāntika, or of Śrīlāta's disciples, both groups can be con-

6 *JA.*, 1929, II, p. 270 ff.

7 For the different readings *Kie man louen*, *Yu man louen* cf. La Vallée Poussin, *ibid.*, p. 221-222. About the equivalence *Yu man louen*—*Dṛṣṭāntapañkti*, cf. Sylvain Lèvi, *JA.*, 1927, II, p. 100.

sidered as two branches sprung out of the original Dārṣṭāntika or Mūlasautrāntika.

Where does this name Dārṣṭāntika come from? K'oueï Ki admits that Kumāralāta was called Dārṣṭāntikācārya because of the *drṣṭānta* that he had composed. In fact, *dārṣṭāntika* derives normally from *drṣṭānta*. This term is the synonym of *avadāna*, as the Chinese translators render both the one and the other by *p'i-yu*⁸ "example." In literature, the *drṣṭānta* is then opposed to the *sūtra* or *sūtrānta*, to which it is a kind of complement, or illustration.⁹

It seems strange that two names so different, Sautrāntika and Dārṣṭāntika should have served to describe Kumāralāta's followers. If *drṣṭānta* is opposed to *sūtrānta*, one does not see at first how names derived from these two terms could have meant the same school. This difficulty can be solved if one admits that the two names were used during different periods and in different places.

If *drṣṭānta* and *sūtrānta* mean texts of unequal value, it is scarcely probable that Kumāralāta's disciples should have called themselves *dārṣṭāntika*, because in so doing they would have recognized implicitly the superiority of the *sautrāntika*. The word *dārṣṭāntika* could only have been applied to them by their opponents. In the same way, the deprecativ expression Hinayāna was probably used only in the Mahāyāna school. We can therefore admit that at the time where Kumāralāta's disciples reserved for themselves the title of Mūlasautrāntika, they were called Dārṣṭāntika by their opponents.

Here is how things may be explained. After Kumāralāta composed the collections of *drṣṭānta*, he was given the name of Dārṣṭāntika-ācārya and his disciples were called Dārṣṭāntika. Later on, the latter name being regarded unfavourable, Kumāralāta's disciples reacted and took the title of Sautrāntika. In course of time, Kumāra-

8 Cf. *Mahāvinyūtp.* 62. 7; 139, 30; 200, 6.

9 Cf. *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, VIII, p. 14 ff.

lāta's school having been divided into several groups, the practice was made of describing as Mūlasautrāntika those who claimed to follow Kumāralāta, the other factions being called by the name of Śrīlāta, or described as Sautrāntika without any more precision.

The passage from the *Ta tche tou louen*, according to which the Vinaya of Mathurā and that of Kāśmīr differ considerably should probably be ascribed to the same period. At Mathurā, the Vinaya is composed of 80 chapters. There is besides a second part: the Avadāna and Jātaka in 80 chapters. At Kāśmīr we must distinguish between a text in 10 chapters and a *vibhāṣā* eight times bigger; Avadāna and Jātaka are excluded from this Vinaya.¹⁰

The Vinaya of Mathurā and that of Kāśmīr mark undoubtedly two successive stages in the evolution. The Buddhist tales are literary compositions, the authorship of which could not be ascribed to the Buddha. Theoretically these productions must therefore have been excluded from the Canon, and this course must have been followed at first. Later on, this strictness relaxed and the tales were included in the one or the other basket. The Kāśmīr school is faithful to the old exclusiveness, whereas the Mathurā school is inspired by the novel tolerance.

Dārṣṭāntika, Sautrāntika, Mathurā or Kāśmīr schools, all these names refer, in the whole or in parts, to the great North-Western school, the texts of which were written down in Sanskrit and which was called Sarvāstivādin. The formula *sarvamasti* proves a liking for metaphysical subtlety that is foreign to primitive Buddhism. Likewise the refinement in the way of thinking and in the style of Aśvaghōṣa's writing is very far from the origins. However, we must not forget that some works, ascribed at a late date to Aśvaghōṣa, may have been composed long before his time.

10 Cf. 'Fables in the Vinaya-piṭaka of the Sarvāstivādin School,' *IHQ.*, V, March, 1929, p. 3 ff.

Since Ed. Huber translated into French the Chinese version of the *Sūtrālamkāra* ascribed to Aśvaghōṣa, the original was discovered in Central Asia by the German mission of Turfan, and published by M. H. Lüders under the title of: *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta*. The following colophon can be reconstructed in it: *āryakaumāralātāyāṃ kalpanāmaṇḍitikā [yāṃ nāma dṛṣṭānta] paṃktyāṃ*.¹¹ Notwithstanding this discovery, Aśvaghōṣa's defenders have not deserted their own thesis. Sylvain Lèvi has supposed that Aśvaghōṣa was the author of the primitive work which would have been remodelled later on by Kumāralāta, and this new edition of the *Sūtrālamkāra* would have been called *Dṛṣṭāntamālā* (or *paṃkti*).¹²

When I took up again in 1930 the study of this question, I showed that Kumāralāta was rapidly forgotten, whereas Aśvaghōṣa's fame kept on growing. It is incredible therefore that one of Aśvaghōṣa's works may have been ascribed at a late date to Kumāralāta. As indicated by the colophon of the original published by Lüders, Kumāralāta is the author of the collection of *dṛṣṭānta* (*dṛṣṭāntapaṃkti*) called *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*. Later on, this work, remodelled, was given the name of *Sūtrālamkāra* and was ascribed under a new shape to the famous Aśvaghōṣa.¹³

In 1932, I insisted upon the fact that, against the opinion stated above, the Chinese title of the *Sūtrālamkāra*: *Ta tchouang king louen* stands for an original: *Mahā-sūtrālamkāra-śāstra*. This shows that at the time where the former *dṛṣṭāntapaṃkti* was given the title of *Sūtrālamkāra*, this text was considered as a *śāstra*,

11 The part in brackets is blotted out on the manuscript and, according to the editor, 6 akṣaras would be missing (*Bruchstücke*, p. 19). To fill up this void, H. Lüders has proposed °yāṃ dṛṣṭānta, which is too short. I suggest yāṃ nāma dṛṣṭānta, exactly 6 akṣaras.

12 *Journal Asiatique*, Oct.-Dec. 1929, pp. 279-280.

13 Aśvaghōṣa et la Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, *Bulletin of the section of Letters of the Royal Academy of Belgium*, sitting of Nov. 3, 1930, pp. 425-434.

which means that it was classified with the treatises of Abhidharma.¹⁴

Thus it appears that the Buddhist texts were submitted to frequent alterations. Neither the contents, the title nor the classification of the works were fixed. The literature was subject to perpetual transformations, like the composition of the canons, the grouping of the collections and the nomenclature of the sects.

The testimonies that we have just gathered have permitted us to place in three successive periods the activity of three doctors belonging to neighbouring groups: Kumāralāta, author of a *Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti*, Śrīlāta, author of a *Sautrāntika-vibhāṣā*, Āśvaghoṣa, to whom the *Sūtrālamkāra* is ascribed. The mere title of these works indicates that the first doctor belonged to the Dārṣṭāntika school, the second to the Sautrāntika school; the third one is attached by tradition to the North-West of India and to the Sarvāstivādin school. We may then suppose that Dārṣṭāntika, Sautrāntika, Sarvāstivādin are three successive names which correspond to the three phases in the development of the great North-Western school. From now on it seems presumable that the Mūlasarvāstivādin are the Mūlasautrāntika's successors, so they called themselves because they were connected with the teaching of the Mūlācārya Kumāralāta.

To the three stages that we have just noted correspond different doctrinal attitudes which are marked by some changes in the way the Scriptures are classified and the schools and texts are called.¹⁵ *Dṛṣṭānta*, *avadāna* and *sūtrālamkāra* are three equivalent terms. It seems that the *dṛṣṭānta* was excluded at first from the Canon and this was reasonable: the *dharma*, being the word of the Buddha, could not include tales which were the works of a

14 'Sautrāntika et Dārṣṭāntika,' *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, VIII, p. 20.

15 Of course the appearance of a new term did not cause the former one to disappear everywhere, on the contrary it was liable to survive for a long time still in some spheres.

doctor. Later on, the basket of the Vinaya having separated from the Dharma, some schools, like that of Mathurā, inserted in it narrative texts which were called *avadāna* or *jātaka*. The authority recognized to the *sūtra* at the time explains the fact that several groups claim the title of Sautrāntika. Finally, during a third period, the activity of the theologians, of the prose-writers and of the poets is shown by the multiplication of the texts of every kind. One observes then the development of the Abhidharma. The liking for metaphysical discussion brings into favour the name of Sarvāstivādin; the use of poetical ornaments in order to enhance the style of the tales cause the latter to be described as the ornaments (*alaṃkāra*) of the *sūtra*, and these new texts are considered as *śāstra*, that is to say, classified by the side of the Abhidharmapiṭaka treatises.

On the whole, the evolution marked by the names Dārṣṭāntika, Sautrāntika, Sarvāstivādin is parallel with the movement that ends in the codification of the Scriptures. At first, the dharma was an undistinguished mass. Later on, the two baskets of the *Sūtra* and of the Vinaya separated. Finally, a third basket formed which is the Abhidharma-piṭaka.

JEAN PRZYLUŚKI

Remarks on the Khotanese Jātakastava

Among the treasures found in the cave of the Thousand Buddhas near Tun-huang is a complete manuscript, Ch. 00274, in Khotanese Saka, described by Sir Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, p. 915, as "a Buddhist text in thirty-nine folios, apparently complete, but as yet unidentified." The beginning, the verses of fol. 1, is reproduced in plate CL of the same publication.

In a paper read at the gathering of the German Orientalists in Bonn. 1936,¹ Professor H. W. Bailey gave the information that the title is *Jātakastava*, and that it is a poem in praise of the Buddha's deeds in various births, illustrating his power of endurance. A text with the same title is, he states, to be found in the Derge Tanjur.

Bailey has subsequently brought out a facsimile reproduction of the whole manuscript, with a short introduction, in which he says that an edition of the text is in preparation.²

In the introduction it is stated that the poem is dedicated to the great king Śrī Viśa Sūra, that it is the work of an ācārya in the Sāmānyā bhikṣusaṅgha, and that the colophon mentions a certain Kīmāśana, in Sogdian script Kymś'n. He further gives a list of 47 *jātakas* contained in the work.

Bailey has also succeeded in getting photographs of the Jātaka-stava of the Derge Tanjur, and published this text.³

It comprises fourteen lines of printed text in Tibetan script and contains the Sanskrit text, with an interlinear partial Tibetan gloss in smaller print, of a Jātakastava attributed to Jñānayaśa. "The literary type of this Jātakastava," he says, "is the same as that of

1 Published in German translation by Schrædar, *ZDMG.*, 90, pp. 573 ff.

2 See his *Codices Khotanenses*. India Office Library Ch. ii, 002; Ch. ii, 008, Ch. 00274, in *Monumenta lingvarum Asiæ majoris* Ed. K. Grönbech, II, Copenhagen 1938.

3 *BSOS.*, IX, pp. 851 ff.

the Khotanese, but the contents are largely different. A less developed type is represented by the Pāli *Cariyā-piṭaka* and the verses of the *Rāṣṭrapāla-paripṛcchā*, p. 21 ff. Different too is the alternating prose and verse of the *Jātakamālā*.....The scribe has evidently at times misread his Sanskrit original, at times carelessly omitted letters and syllables. The Tibetan gloss, besides being literal in the usual way, is not always to be trusted to give a correct explanation."

The text contains 20 verses in *Śardūlavikrīḍita*, of which 5-18 give a short abstract of a jātika followed by an eulogy of the Buddha.

Through these publications we have learnt to know a new type of Buddhist jātika literature.

We have long known how great a rôle the tales about the Buddha's doings in former births played in early Buddhism, as themes for preaching and means of propaganda, and that collections of such stories were incorporated in the Canon. We also know that these Jātakas were largely taken from common Indian folk-lore, and only adapted to Buddhist notions, sometimes even rather loosely, and further that not all known Jātakas have been incorporated in the Canon. But we are not able to say how the oldest canonical collection was composed, or what was the original form of individual Jātakas in this collection.

It has sometimes been maintained that the short collection of 35 jātakas in the *Cariyāpiṭaka* represents an earlier stage in the development. But this view has not been accepted by leading scholars. There is rather a consensus of opinion to the effect that the tales of the *Cariyāpiṭaka* were solicited from the current stock of such tales in order to illustrate the Bodhisattva's practice of the Pāramitās. The narrative is quite short and there is no attempt to make it particularly attractive and interesting. There is more of learning than of propaganda, while the original aim in adapting such tales must have been to appeal to sentiment and imagination, in order to win as many as possible for the teaching of the Buddha.

Also in the *Jātakamālā* the object is the same, but here we have to do with a real *kavi*, versed in all the methods of the educated poet. The work is however of a learned character and not intended for common people. The case is different with the Pāli Jātaka book, where as many stories as possible have been put together, arranged according to the number of gāthās, and in a popular and interesting form. But then only the gāthās are canonical, and the *Aṭṭhakathā* is comparatively late, and, as is well known, full of misunderstandings.

It is *a priori* likely that the oldest canonical collection was a kind of summary, meant to be supplemented by word of mouth by the preacher, and that it was a large collection. Works like the *Cariyāpīṭaka* would then be based on this collection, and the *Jātakamālā* a poet's treatment of a selection made with a similar aim, under the influence of the tendency we know from the early centuries of our era to do everything to enable Buddhism to hold its own in the highest spheres of civilisation in contemporary India.

In the *Rāṣṭrapālāparipṛcchā* short résumés of fifty Jātakas are put in the mouth of the Buddha, in a discussion of the dharmas of the Bodhisattva. Each Jātaka contains one stanza, with the exception of the last one, which has four. The case is similar with regard to the Jātakastavas. The stories are put together without any attempt at making them interesting as attractive tales and apparently without any systematic arrangement, in order to recall some more or less well-known event, and ending with the praise of the Buddha. The two Stavas are absolutely different. Though several Jātakas have found place in both, they cannot be derived from a common source. The common titles, on the other hand, point to the conclusion that we have to do with a type which was in favour at a certain period, just as we have more than one *Jātakamālā*.

The Tanjur text, just as the *Rāṣṭrapālāparipṛcchā*, devotes one stanza only to each Jātaka. It is written in an artificial style and apparently presupposes a full knowledge of the stories. In the

summing up we are told about some lasting effect of what the Bodhisattva did. Thus the Hari jātaka ends with the remark: Therefore even now on earth your fame is to be observed in the hare sign in the Moon.

The Khotanese text is fuller, but does not contain more than indications of the principal traits, and more space is allotted to praise of the Buddha usually ending with some such sayings as: "therefore homage to you O Gracious One."

We have no indication of the age of the Tanjur text, but it is hardly old. It bears a similar relation to the Khotanese text as the jātaka passage of the *Rāṣṭrapālāparipṛcchā* to the *Cariyāpiṭaka*. With regard to the Khotanese text Bailey states, as we have seen, that it was dedicated to the Khotan king Viśa Sūra, and it is perhaps possible to utilize this piece of information.

Before trying to do so I shall put together all the indications contained in the introduction. The first line runs *janttiṣi mistā pramuhā sahemdera pumñā*, where I take *sahemdera* to be a name and translate "the great leading *jyotiṣa*, the meritorious Sahendra." Of him it is said that he wanted to give expression to all that there is of praise (*stava*) of the Buddha's merits, as an attempt to reach Buddhahood. But the Jātakastava was difficult, and he wished to see it in Khotanese. He then summoned a great knower of the three Piṭakas, in the Sāmanyā monastery, named Vedyāśila, well-versed in the *vyāñjanas*, like a fisherman in water, asking him to translate it, for the benefit of king Viśāśūra, so that every trouble in the country might be removed; after further wishes the first tale about the Bodhisattva as the balacakravartin Mahājasabhāsa begins. Kimāśana is then later on, in the colophon, mentioned as the person who caused the manuscript to be written. We accordingly learn that the Jātakastava is a translation, evidently from Sanskrit, and we can confidently say that Kimāśana's manuscript is a copy of an older one.

Bailey⁴ has found Viśāsūra's name in another manuscript, which contains a date from his fifth regnal year, but we do not know in which connection the date occurs.

Viśāsūra belongs to a series of Khotan kings, who all use the designation *viśa*, which Tibetan sources render as *vijaya*. Several of them are known from Tibetan annals and from Khotanese documents, but none of these sources are very old. Reference to the 'Vijaya'—dynasty are also found in the *T'ang-shi*⁵ where we are told that the family name of the Khotan king was *Weih-chih*, which may be a rendering of *vijaya*, though the final vowel is suspicious. There is another Chinese form *fu-tu* (old pronunciation *buik* or *bicu*)-*zia*, and we also find *wei-chih fu-chih* (*biuk*-, or *bicu*-, *chi*). All these forms seem to be so many renderings of Khotanese *viśa*, i.e. *viśa*. But *viśa* does not exactly correspond to Sanskrit *vijaya*, which would be expected to result in *viśe*; cf. *prace* Sanskrit *pracaya*. On the other hand *viśa* can well be derived from *vijita* in the days of these kings, cf. Khotanese *ja*, older *jita* 'subdued', and Bailey has actually found the form *Vijittasagrāma* for *Viśasagrāma* in a Paris manuscript. When we, finally, bear in mind that *vijita* and not *vijaya* is the form this designation takes in the oldest known source, viz., in a Kharoṣṭhi document of the *Khotana maharaya rayatiraya binajha dbeva Vijidasimba*,⁶ I think there can be little doubt that the dynastic 'title' was *vijita* and not *vijaya*.

Several kings of this line can be dated from the remarks in the *T'ang-shu*, and most of them belong to the 8th century, but some also to the 7th. Among the latter is Fu-tu Hiung, who visited China in A.D. 674. *Hiung* means 'virile, martial, brave', and might

⁴ BSOS, VIII, p. 936.

⁵ Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou Kue (Toues) Occidentaux*, pp. 126 ff.; Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*, i.e., specially pp. 162 ff.

⁶ Kharoṣṭhi Inscription discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan, No. 661, and, with regard to the reading see my remarks *AO*, IV, pp. 233 f.

be a translation of *śūra*, but it would be rash to take this for granted. On the other hand we do not seem to have any information of *viṣṭa* kings later than the 8th century, and it is allowed to assume that the Khotanese Jātakastava was translated in the 7th or the 8th century. The Sanskrit text must consequently be older, since the *jyotiṣa* must have known it, but found it too difficult, but we cannot say how much older.

It is hardly possible to point out the original on which our Jātakastava is based. Our manuscript evidently contains several mistakes and is often difficult to understand. When Bailey, who is better acquainted with late Khotanese manuscripts than any other scholar, has brought out his edition, the matter will be different. In the remarks which follow I have been obliged to leave some words and short sentences untranslated, but I am confident that they are not essential for our review of the position of the Jātakastava with reference to other collection of Jātakas.

With regard to the relationship of our text to other collections I shall limit myself to some notes on the tale corresponding to Jātaka 537 of the Pali collection, *Cariyāpīṭaka*, iii, 12; *Jātakamālā*, 31.

Jātaka 537 gives a lengthy account of Sutasoma, the son of the Koravya rājā of Indapattana. He went to study in Sakkarita, and there became intimate with other princes, especially with prince Brahmadatta, the son of the Kāśī king. After having finished their studies, the princes returned to their respective countries, and Sutasoma gave them sound advice for the future. He had, we learn, some misgivings with regard to the Benares prince.

Brahmadatta became king of Benares. He always had meat for his dinner, and once his cook, having run short of supplies, prepared some flesh taken from a human corpse. The king at once took a liking to such food, according to the *Atthakathā*, because he had been a yakṣa in his last birth and eaten much human flesh. When this became known and all remonstrances proved useless, he retired

to the woods, killing human beings and eating their flesh. On one of his expeditions he was wounded, and he promised the rukkhadevatā to make her a *balikamma* with *ekasata* kṣatriyas, if she would heal him. He was healed, and went about bringing back *ekasata* kings, whom he tied up with ropes through their hands and left hanging from the branches. The tree god was distressed and was referred to Sutasoma as the only one who could help. He went to the man-eater, who took him to be one of the kings, who had escaped, and now went to fetch Sutasoma instead. Just then a brāhmaṇa had come to offer Sutasoma some *subhāṣitas*, knowing how fond he was of such. Sutasoma had no leisure to listen at once but took care that the brāhmaṇa was attended to till he returned, and went to perform his ablutions. Then the man-eater came and carried him off. He shed tears, what the man-eater misunderstood. As Sutasoma however convinced him that the reason was that he had promised the brāhmaṇa to come back to listen to him, he was finally allowed to do so, on the condition that he would return after having satisfied the brāhmaṇa. True to his word he did so, to the astonishment of the man-eater, who had in the meantime prepared everything for the performance of the sacrifice. Now he himself became interested and wanted to hear the precious sayings which Sutasoma valued so much. Sutasoma at last complied with his wish, and the stanzas made such an impression on him that he reluctantly promised to desist from the evil ways. Both went together to release the captured kings, who are described, as *kammāsapādena viheṭṭhita* harassed by *kammāsapāda*, a word which the commentator found in the gāthās but did not evidently understand.⁷ Then they all returned to their homes.

7 The commentary on gāthā 24, when the tree-god says: *na nāmagottam parivattayāmi*, he says: *yathā tvaṃ pubbe Brahmaddatto hutvā taṃ nāmaṃ jābitvā porisādo hutvā idāni kammāsapādo jāto, khattuyakule jāto abhakkhaṃ bhakkhetti, mahaṃ tathā nāmagottam parivattayāmi*. Fausbøll was evidently right in considering *kammāsapāda* as a noun and not as a name.

In the *Jātakamālā* we read that the Bodhisattva was born in the royal Kauravya lineage. As he was a son (*suta*), lovely to look at as the moon (*somapriyadarśana*), his father gave him the name Sutasoma. He was made *yuvārāja*, but his great predilection was *subhāṣitas*. When once a brāhmaṇa had come to communicate some such stanzas, and before he could be properly attended to, there rose a great uproar. Sutasoma was informed of the reason: The terrible *puruṣāda* Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa had turned up. He was further told that this man-eater had been born to Sudāsa by a lioness, that he had been brought to the king, who took care of him, because he had no other son, and whom he succeeded as king. In consequence of his descent from a lioness he was addicted to human flesh, and when this became known, he had to leave his country. He made the vow to perform a *bhūtayajña* with 100 princes to the bhūtas who accept human blood and flesh as *bali*, if they would help him. Now he had carried off *rājakumāras* and came to fetch Sutasoma, who knew his perversity, and deciding to cure him went to meet him. Like a lion Saudāsa left everybody else alone and seized Sutasoma. The latter was distressed, because the brāhmaṇa expected him back. Then the account goes on much as in the Pali text, Saudāsa reflecting that he had already got hold of hundred *rājakumāras*. After Sutasoma's return we have the same development as above.

The *Cariyāpitaka* is based on a similar account. Seized by a *porisāda* king Sutasoma remembers his promise to the brāhmaṇa. After having starved *ekasata* kṣatriyas, through whose hands he had put strings, he (the *porisāda*) brought Sutasoma for his sacrifice. Promising to return, the latter goes home, hands over his kingdom, satisfies the brāhmaṇa, and returns to the *porisāda*, saying "this is my *saccapārami*."

In the *Jātakastava* we first have a description of *kalmāṣāṣādā* (!) *sibā Saudāysā rre* 'Kalmāṣapāda the lion, the son of Svetasa, the king.

He became strong through eating plenty of *tcāra* prepared with human blood. In various countries all sorts of atrocities were committed, and he was terribly dirty, like a *vetāla*, with a mace in his hand. 99 kings he carried off from their countries and placed them in holes on a hill (?), and tortured them for a long time. He made up his mind to perform a *bali* to the *bhūtas*, in a sacrifice: "But thou (the Buddha) warded it off, being *śrūttasūṃ* (i.e. *Śrutasoma*), the only saviour of all the beings in Jambudvīpa. Even Śakra's throne shook through this good deed, the troubles were overcome and everybody prospered. Because you were such a good and skilful protector, therefore I proceed to worship you hundred ten thousand times."

It will be seen that there are several common traits, but also much difference. The *Jātaka Atthakathā* has, as in many other cases, to a great extent recast the narrative and also introduced details and features which did not belong to the original tale. The Benares king who took to eating human flesh is here called Brahmadatta, the most common name of Benares kings in the *Atthakathā*. The occurrence of a misunderstood Kammāsapāda in two gāthās shows that this is a secondary innovation. The *Cariyāpīṭaka* only speaks of a *porisāda*, without giving any name, but the other sources give Kalmāsapāda Saudāsa, and this name is known to belong to ancient Indian folklore, whence it was taken over by the Buddhists.

In the *Mahābhārata*, ed. Sukthankar, I. 166 f., we read about Kalmāsapāda Saudāsa of the Ikṣvākuvaṃśa. When out hunting he met Vasiṣṭha's eldest son Śakti, and as neither of them would stand aside, the king struck Śakti with his whip, and the latter cursed him: since you, like a *rākṣasa*, beat an ascetic, you will from to-day become a *puruṣāda*, addicted to human flesh. When later on the king wanted to conciliate Śakti, Viśvāmitra caused the *rākṣasa* Kimkara to enter him. Later on a dvija asked the king for food, and as the cook could not provide other meat, he told him to

satisfy the dvija even if he had to take human flesh. This led to a new curse, and later on the king ate first Śakti and subsequently the remaining ones of Vaśiṣṭha's hundred sons, as a lion would eat small deer, *simhaḥ kṣudramṛgān iva*. Vaśiṣṭha in vain tried to take his own life, but desisted when he learnt from Śakti's widow Adṛśyanti that she had given birth to a son. Kalmāṣapāda now came to kill Vaśiṣṭha, who was told by Adṛśyanti that none but he could restrain the *poriṣāda*. Subsequently he released him from his curses, and Saudāsa promised never more to molest dvijas.

This is evidently the same story, and even some minor features such as the number of victims and the statement that there is only one who can restrain the *puruṣāda* are easily recognizable in the Buddhist story.

The account of how Saudāsa became a *puruṣāda* is quite in accordance with current Indian notions in the *Mahābhārata* story. The *Jātakamālā* version, according to which he owed his predilection to human flesh to his descent from a lioness, may find some support in the use of the word *simha* 'lion' about Kalmāṣapāda in the *Jātakastava*, but it can also be due to expressions such as that in the *Mahābhārata* tale that he devoured Vaśiṣṭha's sons as a lion devours deer. The remark in the *Aṭṭhakathā* that Sudāsa had, in his previous birth, been a man-eating Yakṣa, sounds like a *pis aller*, the author feeling the necessity of giving an explanation of a feature he knew belonged to the tale and which looked strange. The story about how he first came to test human meat, because his cook could not provide other meat, has as we have seen a parallel in the *Mahābhārata*.

The story about the intended sacrifice of hundred princes is found only in the Buddhist sources, but there is evidently a certain connection with the eating of Vaśiṣṭha's hundred sons. The *Cariyāpitaka* gives the number of intended victims as *ekasata*, which elsewhere means '101', and also the *Aṭṭhakathā* states that

Brahmadatta had promised to perform a *balikamma* with *ekasata* kṣatriyas. The *Jātakamālā*, on the other hand, says 'with hundred princes', *kumāraśatena*, and in the *Rāṣṭrapālāparipṛcchā*, p. 22, ll. 9-10, Sutasoma is said to have saved 100 kings that were to be sacrificed (*vadhyagataṃ rājaśataṃ parimocitaṃ*). Hundred, and not hundred one, was evidently the number, and *ekasata* in the *Cariyā-piṭaka* may have been used in this sense. The author of the *Aṭṭhakathā* seems to have been in some confusion, and he had to explain why Brahmadatta wanted to fetch Sutasoma when he had already brought together *ekasata*, through the introduction of the tree god, whom he took to be one of the captured princes who had escaped. It seems possible that this incident is due to the existence of some such remark as that about Sutasoma being the only one who could help in the sources on which the *Aṭṭhakathā* drew. Cf. the *Mahābhārata* tale. The *Jātakastava* here seems to be in better accord with what we are led to believe was the original story, that the number of victims was to be hundred, and that Sutasoma was carried off in order to fill this number, because it says that Kalmāṣapāda had carried off 99 kings from their kingdoms.

In one detail the *Jātakastava* differs from all other sources, viz., in giving the name of the Bodhisattva as Śrutasoma and not Sutasoma. In its oldest form the *jātaka* was probably written in Ardhamāgadhī, and the two names would not have been distinguishable. Āryaśūra has misunderstood the name he found, which must have been *Sutasoma*, as meaning 'Soma' instead of 'Soma-offerer.' *Śrutasoma* would seem to be just as likely a name, because the prince's predilection for *subhāṣitas* plays a considerable rôle in the tale, the *Jātakamālā* verse 32 speaking of *śruta* as a lamp (*dīpa*) removing the darkness of infatuation in this connection. But just for that reason *śruta* may be a wrong Sanskritisation. Sutasoma is, as is well known, a well authenticated name, and Śrutasoma only occurs as a variant.

The whole story about the prince's fondness of *subhāṣitas* might even be a later accretion, though it is implied in the *Cariyā-piṭaka*, the *Aṭṭhakathā* and the *Jātakamālā*. There is no reference to it in the *Jātakastava*, but this fact can only serve as a warning, and we cannot as yet arrive at certain results. The *Mahābhārata* story has nothing of the kind, but it is possible, and perhaps likely, that the Indian tale about Kalmāṣapāda was combined with another tale about a *Subhāṣitagavesin* when it was adopted by the Buddhists.

The preceding remarks will have shown that even a comparatively late text such as the *Jātakastava* may prove to be of interest for our understanding of the history of the Buddhist jātakas. A thorough discussion of the various problems connected with this text can hardly be attempted before Bailey has published his edition. I have, however, thought that it might be useful to give an idea of the general character of the work, and I shall therefore add an account of a few of the Jātakas it contains.

The *Ṣaḍdantajāataka* (Jāt. 514, etc.): Six tusks, white like a conch, or nich, or a pearl-liana (Skt. *muktālatā* i.e. string of pearls), or snow, producing the splendour of the autumnal moon were yours, when you were the king of elephants, beautiful to behold. When a hunter came and asked for the tusks, you did not for a moment act niggardly. You pulled them out from the cavity of your mouth, as one would pluck sprouts from a branchy tree or as a man would tear lotus roots from Mount Himavat. Happy and content, with a stroke out of mercy, you quickly gave away your tooth jewels, as you feared much lest he might die from hunger. At all times you will be my foremost teacher, you are my refuge; save me, O gracious one; in the whole world, in all the realm of living beings there is no salvation without you, O powerful great One.

The Bodhisattva and the *vyāghri* (Suvāṇabhāsa 18 etc): When a female tiger, weakened by hunger and thirst.....wanted to devour her cubs, you took great compassion on them. For the sake of that

tigress you let yourself then fall from a hill, so that she would not eat her own small cubs. You made your mind suffer for the sake of the world. Homage to You, the bestower of security, O gracious One.

Temīyajātaka (Jāt. 538): You were born afraid of the high royal seat and feared much to receive kingship. For many a long year you remained without speaking.....You lost the good name you had, viz., Sunetra, and were called deaf-mute, tongue-tied. Your longing was for pravrajyā, your striving towards renunciation, for the good state of emancipation. When they put you into power, you were a *ṛṣi*. Unmeasured crores of beings you saved from evils. O Lord, you performed deeds of vigour there in that country. Many beings reached dhyāna, settled in vratas. The deep torpor in the mind's abodes, the dense and hard darkness of wrong views you dispelled with ease through the rays of the Law, as the sun in the autumnal sky, as the thunderbolt breaks the *urvārīna* (?) mountain. So for a long time you dispelled the evil darkness of torpor. Homage to you, O glorious One.

The meeting with *Dīpaṅkara* (*Nidānakathā*, pp. 11 ff.): You were acknowledged by the Buddha *Dīpaṅkara*, lovely as the moon would shine in pure air without clouds in the midst of the *nakṣatras*. When you saw, wandering on the road, that teacher, you extended your matted hair in the dust before him and threw blue lotuses towards him. You received a prediction of Buddhahood. You are meritorious with immeasurable merits, O Lord, you are the Knower of the best path to *Nirvāṇa*. Therefore homage to you.

It will be seen from these extracts that the collection of eulogies of the Buddha is the chief aim of the compiler. The various tales are more or less considered as well known and only indicated as giving occasion to this praise. Nevertheless they are not without some interest of their own.

STEN KONOW

The Pattern of the Nissaggiyas

The Pali Vinaya-piṭaka, Basket, Casket of Discipline is, as its name implies, a compilation whose main emphasis is on control, on restraint, on training. That of the Vinaya known as the Suttavibhaṅga has, as its chief object, the regulation of the life of the individual as a member of a community by means of a body of rules or restrictions external to him. These rules numbering 227 in the Pali Vinaya, together constitute the Pātimokkha. They decree for the monks and nuns of Gotama's Orders such behaviour as was considered correct and suitable according to the standards of the time with its concomitant circumstances. Any expression of the ideals of monastic life has to be sought in the *Suttapiṭaka*; the Vinaya is concerned with conduct, with life as outwardly lived, with facts, with expediency. Yet although discourses on the need for ideals and their value, and for man's inner spiritual and mental training and the means of realising these may be practically absent from the Vinaya, there is no doubt that its legal and somewhat austere character is based on a high and mature standard of morality, justice and common sense.

The spheres which the Vinaya touches in operating these foundations of ethics, common to civilised societies, are those of monks and nuns as individuals; as members of a one-sided Order, male or female, and in relation to other members of that same side of the Order; as members of a two-sided Order, male and female, and in relation to members of the opposite side of the Order; as members of a community whose conduct may affect the life of the laity, of those still living in the world; or as members of a community whose life and actions are comparable to those of votaries of other existing communities also following a life of religion.

Each of the 227 rules of the *Pātimokkha* is, as the *Suttavibhaṅga* has come down to us, embedded in a greater or lesser amount of auxiliary material. Generally speaking, this comprises a story leading up to the formulation of the rule, *sikkhāpada*, and the penalty for breaking this, while in some cases there follows another story showing that it was necessary to remodel the rule, and at whose conclusion the amended draft is given; next comes the Old Commentary or *Padabhāṇiya*, explaining the words of the rule; then cases where the penalty of the rule or some other heavier or lighter penalty is incurred; and finally a list of cases which entail no offence against the rule.

In this paper, of the eight groups of rules for monks' into which the *Bhikkhu-vibhaṅga* of the *Suttavibhaṅga* is divided, I have chosen for examination the class known as *Nissaggiya*. The *Vinaya* is said to contain many inconsistencies. Here I hope to show that, while usually following the general pattern outlined above, the *Nissaggiyas* also disclose some exceptions and irregularities, although even underlying the differences there may be, at all events on occasion, some recognisable, and perhaps purposive, unity of design.

I have confined myself to the *Nissaggiyas* for this investigation of the formal structure of rules and their attendant parts, principally because their number is suitable. Thirty rules with their auxiliary material is neither too large to handle comfortably, as would be the ninety-two *Pācittiyas*, nor too small to yield sufficient results, as might be the four *Pārājikas* and, although to a lesser degree, the thirteen *Saṅghādisesas*.

This survey, therefore, because it does not take into account a wider range of comparisons, because it does not marshal the *Nissaggiyas* beside the *Pārājikas*, *Saṅghādisesas* or *Pācittiyas*, but only one *Nissaggiya* beside another, is not a study in the com-

1 There is also a separate *Vinaya* or discipline for nuns. The *Nissaggiyas* for nuns are not under consideration here.

parative structure of various classes of offence and rule. It is no more than a preliminary investigation into the likenesses and contrasts, apparent in the scheme or pattern on which the Nissaggiyas are arranged, and in which necessarily some account has been given of their subject matter. How closely or how distantly other classes of offence resemble this scheme is a question whose answer will emerge when more widely comparative work on these lines has been accomplished.

Each of the thirty Nissaggiya rules for monks, if broken, gives rise to a *nissaggiya pācittiya* offence, that is to an offence of expiation, *pācittiya*, involving forfeiture, *nissaggiya*. In reality, the form of expiation enjoined by the Old Commentary, the Padabhājanīya, on these rules is confession of the offence. A *pācittiya* is (a minor offence) to be confessed, *āpatti desetabbā*. But the more literal translation of the term *pācittiya* would be "offence of expiation". For etymologically this term has no connection with confession although, as is seen from the Old Commentary, the offence is to be expiated by confessing it. Literally *pācittiya* as *prāyaścittaka*, a derivation to which various authorities incline,² would mean "in repentance, in compensation, in expiation". *Nissaggiya* means something to be forfeited or given up, and such a thing was that in respect of which the offence had been committed, for example a robe, a bowl or a rug. It would therefore seem best to translate *nissaggiya pācittiya* by "offence of expiation involving forfeiture."

The whole Nissaggiya group is introduced by the sentence, "These thirty rules, your reverences, of expiation involving forfeiture come up for recitation." Each rule is named in the Sinhalese edition, numbered in the Siamese edition, but neither named nor numbered in Oldenberg's edition.

The thirty rules fall into three sections of ten rules each. At the end of every tenth Nissaggiya the fact that the end of a section

² *Vin. Texts*, I, 32; Geiger, *Pali Lit. und Sprache* § 27; B. C. Law, *Hist. Pali Lit.*, I, 46 ff., 54; E. J. Thomas, *Hist. Bud. Thought*, 18 f.

has been reached is marked by saying, "The first section, the second section, the third section", accompanied by its name. The first is called, in Oldenberg's edition, the section on *kathina* (privileges), in the Sinhalese and Siamese editions the section on robes, *civara*; the second is called the section on silk; and the third the section on bowls. Then there follows a kind of mnemonic verse, abbreviation or key, called *uddāna*. A leading word from each rule is given here, for the *uddāna* was to help the memory of the monk who was to recite the rules, all the teaching being given orally.

In the second and third sections, the first word of the key is the same as the name of the section, that is "silk" and "bowls", and refers to the first rule, or in the case of the third section, to the first two rules of that section. But in the first section there is no mention of either *kathina* or *civara*, robes. The reason for this discrepancy is, I think, that in the middle section only the first rule deals with silk, and in the third section only the first two rules deal with bowls. Therefore the words "silk" and "bowls" could appear in the key without unduly puzzling the reciter. But in the first section, not only is every rule concerned with robes or robe-material, but as many as the first three rules are concerned with *kathina* (privileges). Hence other and more distinctive points had to be chosen from this set of rules in order to prompt the reciter's memory.

After the key at the end of the third section, it is said that these thirty rules have been recited. The reciter then says thrice to the monks present that he hopes they are pure in respect of these thirty rules, and concludes that they are, since they keep silence.

Twenty-two of the rules are said to have been formulated when Gotama was staying at Sāvattthi, three while at Rājagaha, two each while he was at Vesālī and Kapilavatthu, and one while at Āḷavi.

Of these thirty Nissaggiya rules for monks, as many as sixteen are concerned with robes, and fall into two groups, Nos. I-X, XXIV-XXIX; five are concerned with rugs (*santhata*). Nos. XI-XV; two

with sheep's wool, Nos. XVI-XVII; three with gold and silver and bartering, Nos. XVIII, XIX, XX; two with bowls, Nos. XXI, XXII; one with medicine, No. XXIII; and the last one, No. XXX, is against a monk appropriating for his own use benefits intended for the Order. There are moreover a few cross-sections. For example, in the matter of exchange of robes (No. V), in the matter of washing, dyeing and beating robes (No. IV), and in the matter of washing, dyeing and beating sheep's wool, the correct behaviour of a monk towards a nun also comes under legislation; and in two of the rules concerned with making rugs (Nos. XII, XIII), sheep's wool also receives legal attention.

About half the rules were formulated because monks acquired something by means considered unbecoming or tiresome: they asked for too much, they pressed potential donors, they put forward suggestions, for example as to the quality of the robe-material that they particularly desired. The remaining half were formulated because monks used various things or did various things in ways thought unsuitable: they had an unnecessary amount of robes or bowls, they laid their robes aside for too long, they made nuns wash their robes and their sheep's wool, they carried their sheep's wool so far that lay-people made fun of them. And so on.

Oddly there is no Nissaggiya concerned with lodgings, *senāsana*, or with almsfood, *piṇḍapāta*, which with robes and medicine, are regarded as a monk's four indispensable requisites. There are offences regarding these which had to be confessed, and which occur in the Pācittiya section, but evidently there are no types of offences where lodgings and almsfood had to be forfeited in addition to their wrongful acquisition or usage being confessed.

The most usual plan in each Nissaggiya is first to give an introductory story showing that a monk or monks behaved in a way that was thought unsuitable by someone who had seen it or who had been affected by it. The complaints of these critics even-

tually reached Gotama who, it is stated, having confirmed the reports, rebuked, the offending monks, and said that such behaviour was "not for pleasing those who are not yet pleased nor for increasing the number of those who are pleased", that is, with the Sākyan teaching and way of life. After this there comes the rule, always ascribed to Gotama, and designed to control such behaviour. The rule states the offence incurred for transgressing it, here, of course a *nissaggiya pācittiya*. Thirdly there follows the Old Commentary or Padabhāṇiya, explaining words appearing in the rule, and including the method of forfeiting the article to be forfeited. Fifthly there is a set of clauses giving offences incurred, *nissaggiya pācittiya* and *dukkata*, wrong-doing, if a monk thinks, whether rightly or wrongly, or is in doubt about some point raised in the rule, but acts wrongly. Lastly there comes a list of cases where there is no offence, *anāpatti*. These naturally bear some relation to the rule, while all end by saying that there is no offence if a monk is mad or is the first wrong-doer. Nissaggiya XIX is alone in containing no more than these last two invariable exemptions from incurring offence.

As is to be expected the Nissaggiyas exhibit a certain amount of variation from this general plan. I will discuss some of these discrepancies shortly. But first let us consider the forfeiture which is the distinguishing feature of this section of the Pātimokkha.

The article to be forfeited had, as a general rule, to be forfeited by the offending monk either to the *saṃgha*, a part of the Order, five or more monks residing within one boundary or one *āvāsa*, residence; or to a *gaṇa*, a group of from two to four monks; or to an individual monk. The offending monk had to state the reason, due to transgression of an important point in the rule, for forfeiting the article. Having forfeited it, he should confess the offence, and then, if the article was forfeited to an Order or to a group, the offence should be acknowledged by an experienced, competent monk; if it was forfeited to an individual monk, the offence should

be acknowledged by him. The forfeited article should be given back to the monk who had acquired it wrongfully by the body to whom he had forfeited it. Nissaggiyas XVIII, XIX, and XXII, but no others, decree that forfeiture should be made to the Order only, and not to a group or individual; they also preclude the customary return of the forfeited article to the monk who had obtained it unlawfully and who had confessed his offence.

The formulation of sixteen Nissaggiya rules resulted, as is recorded, from criticisms made of a monk monks by the laity, eight rules resulted from criticisms made by modest monks, three from those by nuns, two from those by Ānanda, and one from those made by a wanderer. With the exception of Ānanda, who complained for the sake of the Order and not because he himself had been specially inconvenienced, these various classes of critics put forward their complaints because they personally had been in some way affected by the monk's behaviour. Thus there is a parallelism between the sources of the criticisms and the sections of society annoyed. Once Gotama is recorded to hear of unsuitable behaviour from Mahāpajāpati while he was talking to her (No. XVII), and once he came upon signs of it himself (No. XV). Four times a new rule is formulated in place of one already existing, for occasions arose where its too scrupulous observance resulted in unfair situations. Hence the rule was altered to allow for such occasions.

It will be seen that the number of Nissaggiya rules formulated, according to this reckoning, is thirty-six. This means that six times the rule, as originally framed, had to be altered, but that both versions, and there are never more than two, together with their introductory stories, are set forth in six Nissaggiyas.

Indeed on these grounds the Nissaggiyas, in the interests of textual criticisms, may be divided into two sections. Section I, the smaller, may be taken to contain six Nissaggiyas: four in which the rule had to be altered in accordance with circumstances which

had not been foreseen when it was first set forth (Nos. I, II, XIV, XXI); and two others (Nos. V and VI) in which close adherence to the rule, as originally drafted, is shown to result in occurrences so unsuitable as to provoke complaints and criticism.

Section II, the larger, may be taken to contain the remaining twenty-four Nissaggiyas. In these the rule in its original form was able to stand and was in need of no remodelling. This section, because it is the larger, is naturally the more typical, but even here there are some exceptions to the general plan which merit attention.

In Section I the first formulation of a rule is always followed by the phrase, "And thus this rule of training for monks came to be laid down by the lord." There is no instance of this phrase occurring either after the second formulation of the rule in this Section, or anywhere in Section II, that Section where each rule is formulated once only. Yet in every case are rule and revised rule ascribed to Gotama in the text of the Vinaya. I do not know whether the occurrence of this phrase points to some older stratum in the *Suttavibhaṅga*, where only the rules so pointedly said to have been laid down by the lord genuinely were prescribed by him; or whether it in any way supports the theory that the stories were invented after the drafting of the rules and in order to account for them. The point of leaving in the original version, together with its attendant material, is doubtless to show why it would not work. Yet it seems queer so deliberately to ascribe to Gotama only those rules which had to be amended, a queerness not peculiar to the Nissaggiyas. It may be said that these rules worked well enough for some time, but that then there came a case, perhaps before the Founder's death, perhaps after, which made it clear that a revision and a more exact delimitation of the rule was necessary in the interests of justice and reason. This however does not explain the mystery why, in those more numerous Nissaggiyas where the rule is only once formulated, there is no addition of any phrase attributing the rule to Gotama.

In all of those Nissaggiyas where two versions of a rule are laid down, there is also and without exception the insertion of an *anujānāmi*, "I allow", an allowance which Gotama is reputed to have made to monks, and in some way mitigating the rigidity of the rule as first drawn up. For in Nissaggiyas I, II, V, VI, XIV, XXI an *anujānāmi* occurs in the talk, always ascribed to Gotama, which leads up to the second framing of the rule.

It is something more than coincidence that in the six Nissaggiyas where a rule is twice drafted, there should occur, after its first formulation, the phrase, "And thus this rule of training for monks came to be laid down by the lord", and before its second formulation, an *anujānāmi*. But whereas this phrase never occurs outside these six Nissaggiyas, an *anujānāmi* also occurs in five of the remaining twenty-four Nissaggiyas (Nos. III, XV, XXII, XXVIII, XXIX). In all these cases, except in Nissaggiya XXII, the pattern of which is in any case unique, the *anujānāmi* is inserted not immediately before but some way before the rule, here of course formulated only once.

Thus in Section I, as I have called it, which comprises the six Nissaggiyas under consideration, there is first a story leading up to a rule, and then another story showing that for some unforeseen reason the rule is not sufficiently elastic. An *anujānāmi* is then made counteracting this rigidity, followed by the revised version of the rule. Then there come the Old Commentary's explanations, and lastly the cases which incur no offence.

There are certain similarities between Rules I and XXI, and between Rules II and XIV. Each pair may be considered in turn.

In Nissaggiya I it is recorded that Gotama was staying at Vesālī while in Nissaggiya XXI he was at Sāvattthi. In Nissaggiya I the the group of six monks are recorded to have used three different sets of the three robes for different occasions, while in Nissaggiya XXI they made a hoard of bowls. The first drafting the rule results,

in the case of Nissaggiya I, from the criticisms of the modest monks, and in the case of Nissaggiya XXI, from the criticisms of the laity. Such complaints are here, as always, taken up by the modest monks, but in both of these Nissaggiyas the modest monks shift the emphasis. The consequence is that the first draft of the rule is more severe in character than it might otherwise have been. For these modest monks neither complained that the group of six monks wore various sets of the three robes, nor that they made a hoard of bowls. They complained that they wore an extra robe and used an extra bowl. The first draft of these rules therefore runs, "Whatever monk should wear an extra robe...should use an extra bowl, there is an offence of expiation involving forfeiture." In each case the word translated as "should wear" and "should use" is *dhāreyya*.

It is interesting to find that the story given after the first draft of the rule is precisely the same in Nissaggiyas I and XXI, merely reading "robe" in Rule I where "bowl" is read in Rule XXI.

In the light of the events which these stories recount, the rules came to be relaxed, and in one and the same respect. For an extra robe, and an extra bowl, accrued to Ānanda, and he, knowing that he must not keep them, wanted to give them to Sāriputta. But Sāriputta was in Sāketa, and would not arrive for nine or ten days. When Ānanda told this to the lord, it is recorded that Gotama gave an allowance, one suspects because Ānanda and Sāriputta were among his most favourite disciples, enabling monks to wear an extra robe and use an extra bowl for at most ten days.

Before this allowance had been given it was an offence to wear the one or use the other in any circumstances. In each case this allowance forms the substance of the second which is the final version of the rule, and under it less uncompromising in tone than the first version. Here, in addition to the articles with which these two Nissaggiyas deal, Nissaggiya I differs from No. XXI, since it brings in a new time-element, absent from No. XXI. This is probably

because bowls lasted longer than robes, and there was no ceremonial giving and making of bowls, as there was in the case of robe-material. For it is apparently only "when the robes are settled, when a monk's *kathina* (privileges) have been removed" that "an extra robe may be worn for ten days at most. For him who exceeds that (period), there is an offence of expiation involving forfeiture." Nissaggiya XXI merely reads "An extra bowl may be used for ten days at most. For him who exceeds that (period), there is an offence of expiation involving forfeiture." Here the ten days are not themselves conditioned by any other considerations of time.

When the Old Commentary on Nissaggiya I has defined the two opening phrases of the rule, it proceeds on the pattern found also in this portion of Nissaggiya XXI. That is to say both not only define "for ten days at most" in precisely the same terms, but also "extra robe" and "extra bowl", as something 'not allotted, not assigned'. But here Nissaggiya XXI gives a description of bowls according to their size, while Nissaggiya I has no corresponding description of robes. Both go on to an identical explanation of the method to be used in forfeiting the robe and the bowl that has been used for more than ten days, and to an identical list of offences incurred if the monk thinks that the ten days have elapsed when they have elapsed and acts against the terms of the rule, with permutations on this theme, due to doubt and modes of thinking wrongly. Or he may think that various events; being allotted, assigned, bestowed, lost, destroyed or stolen, have overtaken his robe or bowl when in fact they have not done so. Amongst these events there is only one which differs in these two Nissaggiyas, and naturally. Between "destroyed" and "stolen" we get, in Nissaggiya I "burnt" of a robe, and in Nissaggiya XXI "broken" of a bowl,³ a difference which also obtains in the list of cases where there is no

3 Cf. Bhikkhuni-vibhaṅga, Nissag. I, than on "a hoard of bowls."

offence. This same list, with "burnt" of a robe, also occurs again in the *anāpatti*, no offence, clauses of Rules II, III, XXVIII, XXIX.

It is perhaps worth while to draw attention to a curious convention prevailing here. As we have seen, in the enumeration of the ways in which a monk may incur an offence by wrong thinking or by doubt, he may think that his robe or bowl is stolen when it is not stolen, *avilutte viluttasaññi*. But in the *anāpatti*, no offence, clauses, the phrase "if it is stolen" invariably gives way to the phrase "if they tear it from them (or him)", *accchinditvā gaṇhanti*.

There is one other point peculiar to Nissaggiyas I and XXI. For they are alone in giving a short additional story after the "no offence" clauses with which otherwise the Nissaggiyas always end. Moreover these additional stories are identical, the one merely reading "robe" where the other reads "bowl"; and both end in ascribing to the lord the formulation of a *dukkata* offence: "Monks, a robe ... a bowl that is forfeited is not to be given back. Whoever should not give it back, there is an offence of wrong-doing."⁴

Some points in common may also be found between Nissaggiyas II and XIV. Nissaggiya II, whose first rule emanated from criticisms made by Ānanda, is concerned with the offence which a monk incurs if he should be away, separated from his three robes even for one night. Nissaggiya XIV, the first rule of which emanated from criticisms made by the laity, is concerned with the offence which a monk incurs if he should have a new rug made within six years. In both the lord is recorded to have been staying at Sāvathī.

In both of these Nissaggiyas, after the first version of the rule has been laid down, a monk is recorded to have become ill in Kosambī. His realtions offered to nurse him if he would go to them. Monks urged him to go, but he refused on the grounds that, in Nissaggiya II, a monk must not be away, separated from his three robes, and he was not well enough to set out taking them;

4 Cf. Bhikkhuni-vibhaṅga, Nissag. I, "a bowl.....wrong-doing."

and in Nissaggiya XIV, on the grounds that a rug should last for six years, but he was not well enough to set out taking a rug and "without a rug there comes to be no comfort for me." To meet these difficulties the lord made an allowance, which in both cases took the form of an agreement (*sammuti*) to be given by the Order to the ill monk at his request. In Nissaggiya II the agreement that was allowed means that the Order was to agree to regard the monk who was ill as *not* away; separated from his three robes (*ticivarena avippavāsasammuti*)—although in fact he was separated from them. In Nissaggiya XIV the agreement allowed means that the Order should give the monk who was ill the agreement as to a rug (*santhatasammuti*). This is not explained either in the *anujānāmi* or in the Old Commentary. But in Buddhaghosa's VA. (691) it is said that an ill monk without waiting for the six years to elapse, may have a new rug made at the place to which he goes.

The way in which an ill monk should ask the Order for the agreement and the way in which it should be given to him because they form part of the *anujānāmi* of each of these Nissaggiyas, are thus couched in terms ascribed to Gotama. In each case the asking and giving is to be carried out in the same manner. When all this has been explained there follows immediately the second draft of the rule. In both Nissaggiyas this merely repeats the first draft, but after adding the phrase, "except on the agreement of the monks".

From now on however Nissaggiyas II and XIV diverge. The Old Commentary necessarily differs in each case, only agreeing in the method of forfeiting the article to be forfeited. And this, it may be noted is, with three exceptions,⁵ the same in all the Nissaggiyas.

Nissaggiya II then proceeds to a list, which may be compared with the list at Pārājika II. 4, of such sites as villages, various types of houses, boats, caravans, fields and so forth, and then states the place at which a monk should remain—at the main-entrance, the

5 Nissag. XVIII, XIX, XXII.

gate, the inner room, for example, if he has laid his robe aside in one of those sites. Nothing of this kind occurs in any of the other Nissaggiyas. After this, Nissaggiya II has the usual clauses concerned with a monk's thinking, rightly or wrongly, and doubting, but acting wrongly. In Nissaggiya XIV these clauses are replaced by others concerned with the offences, all *nissaggiya pācittiya*, into which a monk falls if he finishes by himself or gets others to finish for him what was incompletely executed by himself or by others. This theme on four variations also occurs in Rules XI, XII, XIII, XV, which, with Rule XIV, form the group connected with rugs.

To have made the pattern of Section I perfectly homogeneous, it would have been necessary to pair Nissaggiyas V and VI. But except that they each contain the two drafts of the rule, the first followed by the sentence, "And thus this rule of training for monks came to be laid down by the lord", and an *anujānāmi* preceding the second draft of the rule, they share little of note. For the nice parallelism found in the clauses connected with the offences incurred if a monk thinks, whether rightly or wrongly, or doubts, but acts wrongly, is not sufficient to set these two Nissaggiyas apart from all the rest. For others follow precisely the same course, namely, "If a monk thinks that a woman is not a relation when she is not a relation" (Nissag. V; cf. IV, VII); "If he thinks that a man (or woman) householder is not a relation when he is not a relation" (Nissag. VI, and cf. VII, VIII, XXVII, "if he thinks that a man is not a relation....."). These clauses then run through the usual variations, depending for whether it is "woman" or "man" on the wording of the rule. Thus in Nissaggiya V it is an offence for a monk to accept a robe from the hand of a nun who is not a relation, "except in exchange." In Nissaggiya VI it is an offence for a monk to ask a man or woman householder who is not a relation for a robe, "except at the right time."

In both of these Nissaggiyas the second version of the rule

differs from the first by the insertion of the phrases, "except in exchange" and "except at the right time." But in Nissaggiya V "except in exchange" is explained in the *anuñānāmi*, and is not explained again in the rule. It means, according to the *anuñānāmi*, exchange with five classes of people: monks, nuns, probationers, male novices, female novices. In Nissaggiya VI however "except at the right time" is explained not only in the *anuñānāmi*, but also in the text of the rule itself. Here the explanation comes after the rule and the penalty for breaking it have been set forth. The rule defines "except at the right time" to mean "if a monk becomes one whose robe is stolen or one whose robe is destroyed." Yet this is only stating in much the same way the opening words of the rather long *anuñānāmi* of this Nissaggiya. For this begins by saying, "I allow monks, one whose robe is stolen or one whose robe is destroyed to ask a man or woman householder who is not a relation for a robe."

The *anuñānāmi* then goes on to say what a monk should do if at the first residence he visits there is for the Order a robe or some other covering that he could put on. But if there is nothing, he must not come back to the monastery naked, but must come covered up by leaves or grass. This is in order that he shall not be taken for a naked ascetic. But here, this Nissaggiya strikes a new note. For by saying, "Whoever should so come back (naked), falls into an offence of wrong-doing," it exhibits itself as the only Nissaggiya in which the *anuñānāmi* concludes with, or even contains the formulation of, a *dukkata* offence.

There are however three other occasions when an offence of wrong-doing is formulated in the Nissaggiyas, and is in each case attributed to Gotama. The occurrence of other *dukkata* offences in the more stereotyped clauses belonging to the Old Commentary and setting forth the offences entailed by a monk's thinking, doubting and acting, are not ascribed to the lord. I have drawn attention to the *dukkata* offences formulated at the end of Nissaggiyas I and

XXI. Another occurs in Nissaggiya XXII. With this Nissaggiya we come to a discussion of what I have called Section II. I shall now point out some of the more important exceptions to the general scheme of this larger group of the Nissaggiyas.

The whole of this is arranged upon rather a different plan from all the other Nissaggiyas. It begins with the introductory story, the criticism made by the laity and taken up by the modest monks, followed by their report on Gotama. He does not rebuke the offending monks themselves, but says to those who tell him of their conduct. "How can these foolish men, not knowing moderation, ask for many bowls?" This form of indirect reproof is not however peculiar to this Nissaggiya. Then comes, as would be expected, a formulated rule with the offence for transgressing it. But in this case, the offence is not a *nissaggiya pācittiya*, but an offence of wrong-doing, "Monks, a bowl is not to be asked for. Whoever should ask (for one), there is an offence of wrong-doing." Here the "many bowls" of the story appear in the rule as "a bowl," as in Nissaggiya XXI the "hoard of bowls"

Next comes another event which again aroused lay-people's displeasure and then that of modest monks. The criticism was not however levelled because a monk had been at fault in regard to the rule. He had indeed observed it too scrupulously for the lay-people's taste, for he had received almsfood into his hands because his bowl was broken. This made him, in their eyes, "like members of other sects," and it was of this that they complained. The *dukkata* rule had, in fact, been tried and found wanting, for clearly it was not elastic enough to cover those times when it might be reasonable for a monk to ask for a bowl, and when close adherence to the rule only produced undesirable results. Gotama therefore made an allowance, "I allow you, monks, when a bowl is broken or when a bowl is destroyed, to ask for a bowl."

But then there came a time when the group of six monks

abused this privilege, by asking for many bowls when theirs were only a little broken, only a little chipped, only a little scratched. Again the laity and modest monks were critical. Gotama rebuked the six monks, and set forth a rule, with the offence, a *nissaggiya pācittiya*, for infringing it: "Whatever monk should get another new bowl in exchange for a bowl mended in less than five places, there is an offence of expiation involving forfeiture."

Thus in this Nissaggiya we get a *dukkata* rule framed, an *anujānāmi* and a *nissaggiya pācittiya* rule framed, and a story to account for each. The inclusion of three stories in one is unique.

As in Nissaggiya VI there is some extra material in the text of the *nissaggiya pācittiya* rule itself occurring after the rule and the penalty for breaking it have been set forth, so in Nissaggiya XXII, there is also some extra material inserted in the same way. Strangely, it deals with forfeiture, giving a definite instruction that the article wrongfully acquired is to be forfeited, saying to whom it is to be forfeited, and shortly describing the way in which another bowl is to be given to the offending monk: "That bowl is to be forfeited by that monk to the company of monks, and whatever is the last bowl belonging to that company of monks, that should be given to this monk with the words: 'Monk, this is a bowl for you; it should be kept until it breaks.' This is the proper course in this case."

In the other Nissaggiyas the person or persons to whom the article should be forfeited, together with the method of forfeiting it, are given in the Old Commentary only, and never in the rule itself. The inclusion of a rubric as to forfeiture in this place, and as an elaboration of the term *nissaggiyam*, suggests that the rubric derives from days when the implications of *nissaggiyam* were not so clearly understood as to be in no need of concomitant explanation.

Moreover in these directions as to forfeiture, an expression unusual in the Nissaggiyas is used. For the rule says that the article is to be forfeited not, as in either of the expressions used in the Old

Commentary on Nissaggiya XXII, in the midst of the Order, *saṅghamajjhe*, or to the Order, *saṅgha*, but to a *bhikkhuparisā*, an assembly, congregation, company of monks. The word *saṅghamajjhe* occurs again in the Old Commentary's exegesis on Nissaggiyas XVIII and XIX, but *bhikkhuparisā* never.

Thus another interesting point arises in this connection. For in this Nissaggiya the new bowl got in exchange for the mended bowl, can, apparently, only be forfeited to the Order. But this is not because bowls are more particularly communal property than anything else. For robes too and all other utensils used by monks, should be regarded as communal property. Moreover in Nissaggiya XXI an extra bowl, to be forfeited if it has been used for more than ten days, may be forfeited either to the order or to a group or to an individual. I think that in the whole injunction which follows the *nissaggiya pācittiya* rule, but which as it were forms part of the rule in Nissaggiya XXII, more stress is laid on communal ownership and custom than in the other Nissaggiyas, although apparent in these too. Yet in these others, although the Order or sections of it receive and return the forfeited article, the community as a whole assumes no further responsibility for it.

But here, in Nissaggiya XXII, the forfeited article is not itself given back to the monk who acquired it and forfeited it. Now, although at the end of Nissaggiya XXI failure to give back a bowl that has been forfeited is said to entail an offence of wrong-doing, in Nissaggiya XXII a bowl, on being forfeited, becomes an extra bowl for the Order, and is absorbed by the community into their stock of bowls. Otherwise only in Nissaggiyas XVIII and XIX is the forfeited article not to be given back to the monk who forfeited it. The result of the Order's obtaining an extra bowl thus is that all its members profit. For their bowls, on the accretion of this additional one, may be shuffled round. But this is not to be done haphazard.

The Old Commentary explains the right procedure. A monk

who would not follow any of the four *agatis*, wrong courses, and who would know what is taken and what is not taken, is to be agreed upon by the *saṃgha* as assigner of bowls. He should make the bowl pass (presumably the new one obtained unlawfully by the offending monk), by first asking an elder to take it. Then the elder's bowl should be offered to a second elder, doubtless according to age. "In this way the bowl should be made to pass down to the youngest member of the Order." It therefore looks as if the youngest member's bowl became free. This is "the last bowl (*pattapariyanta*) belonging to that company of monks," mentioned in the rule. And this was the bowl to be given to the offending monk.

As I have said, in all the other Nissaggiyas, except XVIII and XIX, the thing that the offender had acquired, although wrongfully, was returned to him after forfeiture and confessed his offence.

Again, in Nissaggiya XXII, in place of the clauses dealing with offences incurred by a monk's thinking and doubting with his subsequent action, are substituted clauses dealing with offences incurred if a monk gets an unmended bowl or a bowl mended in from one to five places in exchange for an unmended bowl or for one mended in from one to five places. Similarly in Nissaggiyas XI-XV, which are all concerned with rugs and the making of them, the clauses on thinking and doubting are absent, but replaced by others on finishing by himself or by others what was incompletely executed by himself or by others. It is worth noticing that Nissaggiya XXII, which in other respects is exceptional, is also alone, apart from the group of Nissaggiyas on rugs, and whose substituted clauses are all identical the one with the others, in not containing clauses on thinking and doubting.

I think it possible that this Nissaggiya may date back to some time before the pattern of the Nissaggiyas had become stereotyped and moulded into the two standardised types. It might be argued, in the first place, that this Nissaggiya points to a time when en-

trants were drawn more from those who had a true religious vocation than from those who entered from a greater variety of motives. For the earlier entrants would not have been so liable to fall into serious offences, and a *dukkata* was perhaps sufficient penalty for their delinquencies. This would mean that some *dukkata* offences and rules were older than some Nissaggiya offences and rules.⁶ Again it might be argued that this Nissaggiya, in common with those others which contain an *anujānāmi*, an allowance, and a rule, and with these which contain two versions of a *nissaggiya pācittiya* rule, shows, as it were historically, the trial and error involved in attempts that were being made, but before they had been satisfactorily concluded, for regularising behaviour, and also for mitigating the rigidity of the rules where circumstances showed that the enforcement of the penalties they entailed led to unsuitable results.

In the third place, this Nissaggiya also suggests that there was a tendency, operative within the Order, to set up a working mechanism. The appointment of an experienced, competent monk as assigner of bowls, together with the appointment, in Nissaggiya XVIII of a silver-remover, *rūpiyachaddaka*, are pieces of not unimportant historical evidence that offices in the Order were in process of creation at the time to which these Nissaggiyas purport to refer.

In the fourth place, it might be said that because the *nissaggiya pācittiya* rule itself, in Nissaggiya XXII, includes the statement that the article wrongfully acquired must be forfeited, this rule antedates the other Nissaggiyas. In these, although forfeiture is intended, or their rules, when framed, would not contain the word *nissaggiya*, it is left to the Old Commentary to supply the

6 The occurrence of four *dukkata* offences in those parts of the Nissaggiyas which are not Old Commentary, should correct the impression given at *Vinaya Texts*, I. xxv that the term *dukkata* occurs only "in the latest portion of the Pīṭaka". i.e. in the Old Commentary.

information as to the procedure which, in Nissaggiya XXII, is made explicit in the text of the rule itself.

In the fifth place, it is possible that the word *bbikkhuparisā*, because it merely indicates an assembly, a 'Company of monks,' belongs to those earlier days before Gotama's followers had been fully organised into a *saṅgha*, bound by the same observances and obligations, the same rule, and living in the same communion.

In the sixth place, it is possible that, since the forfeited article was taken possession of by the "company of monks," a time is thereby indicated when communal ownership and usage were more actual than nominal.

Lastly, an argument might be based on the fact, although I am not prepared to press this, that in this Nissaggiya a monk incurs offences by merely *doing* something, namely getting an unmended bowl in exchange for another unmended one, and so forth, and not by thinking and doubting and then acting. This, it might be said, is because Nissaggiya XXII derives from a time prior to the growth of interest in psychology, to a time prior to much analysis of mind-processes, to a time when a monk's actions were the criterion of the penalties deserved, and not these coupled with the thoughts and doubts preceding his actions. But the same conclusions would then have to be drawn from the action, namely the finishing of the rugs, which occurs without the more usual references to thinking and doubting, in Nissaggiyas XI-XV. And in any case these clauses belong to the Old Commentary.

As there are grounds for thinking that the twelfth Saṅghādisesa represents some specially ancient fragment of the Pātimokkha,⁸ so I believe there may also be grounds for thinking that Nissaggiya XXII represents some other ancient fragment.

7 It is possible too that in such a context *bbikkhu* did not mean all that it at some time came to mean.

8 See *Book of the Discipline*, I. xxix.

Besides Nissaggiya XXII there are two others, Nos. XVIII and XIX, which, as has been mentioned, do not prescribe the return of the forfeited article to the monk who obtained it unlawfully. These two Nissaggiyas, although not saying so in their rule, also require the monk to forfeit the article to the Order only, and not to a group or individual. For both are concerned with gold and silver, called *jātarūparajata* in the one case and *rūpiya* in the other. These commodities may not be forfeited to a monk, for the rule itself precludes him from having either gold or silver in his possession. The *saṅgha* is more impersonal. As Buddhaghosa points out in his Commentary (VA. 691), *rūpiya* is not allowable, therefore it is not said that it must be forfeited "to the Order or to a group or to an individual," for however little is taken it cannot be exchanged for allowable goods, therefore it is to be forfeited in the midst of the Order. This expression, "it must be forfeited in the midst of the Order" *Saṅghamajjhe*, is peculiar to Nissaggiyas XVIII, XIX and XXII. The Order should dispose of the gold and silver by getting some lay-follower, according to the text of the Old Commentary, either to obtain medicine with them, or to throw them away. Failing both these eventualities, a monk should be agreed upon by the Order as silver-remover, whose business it would be to throw the gold and silver away, making no sign that he is doing so. The method of appointing the silver-remover is the same as the method of appointing the assigner of bowls in Nissaggiya XXII.

Having now considered Nissaggiya XXII which, even although it contains an *anuṣānāmi*, is unique in form, it will be found that the four Nissaggiyas III, XV, XXIII and XXIX, in what I call Section II, also contain an *anuṣānāmi*. They are therefore, on account of this point, exceptions to the general pattern of Section II.

Three of these Nissaggiyas Nos. III, XXVIII, XXIX are concerned with the laying aside of robes. All of them begin with an introductory story, at the conclusion of which comes the *anuṣānāmi*,

attributed as is invariable, to Gotama. This, in Nissaggiya III, reads, "I allow you, monks, having accepted a robe not at the specified time to lay it aside in the expectation of a robe;" in Nissaggiya XXVIII, "I allow you, monks, having accepted a special robe (*acceka-civara*, i.e. a robe given by somebody in a hurry or emergency, who wants to give with no delay) to lay it aside;" and in Nissaggiya XXIX, "I allow you, monks, when staying in lodgings in the jungle, to lay aside one of the three robes inside a house." The *anuñānāmi* is in each case followed by a story showing that, probably thoughtlessly and not deliberately, the monks caused some abuse of the allowance. In Nissaggiya III and XXVIII exactly the same story is told and in exactly the same words, the only difference being that each naturally employs the words of its own *anuñānāmi*. After this story comes the rule, improved to meet the kinds of events that intervened after the allowance had been given and then the Old Commentary arranged on the normal pattern with explanations of terms used in the rule and the occasions when no offence in connection with the rule is incurred.

Nissaggiya XV also contains an *anuñānāmi*, ascribed as is usual to Gotama, but it is of rather a different pattern from the others. It is, "I allow those monks who are jungle-dwellers, who are almsmen, who wear robes to come up to see me if they wish." A long story is related before the rule is framed. Unique in the Nissaggiyas is the statement found in Nissaggiya XV which precedes the laying down of the rule. In all the other Nissaggiyas without exception, it is said that the unsuitable behaviour of the offending monks is "not for pleasing those who are not yet pleased, nor for increasing the number of those who are pleased. And thus this rule of training for monks should be set forth." But here Gotama is recorded as saying, "I will lay down a rule of training for monks based on the grounds," which are stated." There is very

good reason for this. For in Nissaggiya XV, Gotama is not portrayed as receiving criticisms of unbecoming behaviour, but as himself detecting tokens of behaviour which struck him as undesirable, in the sense that it savoured of deception, less probably because it was wasteful or injurious to health. He saw here and there discarded rugs lying about, and was told that monks, longing for a sight of him, had discarded their rugs, thereby apparently assuming the sign (*āṅga*) of jungle-dwellers, of almsmen, of wearers of rag-robcs. The rule itself appears at first sight, to bear little relation to the events recorded as leading up to its formulation, but it is in reality a nice example of Gotama's methods of gentle coercion. It is concerned with the way in which to make a new *nīsīdanasanthata*, which is a difficult word to translate. Here it is enough to say that *nīsīdana* is a piece of cloth to sit upon, and is so called if it has a border, while *santhata* is most likely a rug. It is very possible that Gotama realised that the monks would need new rugs in the place of those that they had discarded, since really they were nothing but ordinary monks, and not the more austere jungle-dwellers, almsmen and wearers of rag-robcs who could dispense with things like rugs.

The legacy which they, in their deception, have bequeathed to posterity is that when a new *nīsīdanasanthata* is being made for a monk, he must take a piece from all round an old *santhata*, rug, in order to disfigure the new *nīsīdanasanthata*.

I. B. HORNER

Tun-Huang Tibetan Documents on a Dharmadāna

In vol. II of the *Inventaire des manuscrits tibétains de Touen-Houang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, will appear a great number of documents dealing with the civil and religious life of the country around Tun-Huang during the ninth to eleventh centuries. Some of them refer among other topics to jurisprudence, commerce, administration, family life, and throws light upon the social organization. References to pious donations, lists of texts copied by groups of monks and nuns, inventories of ecclesiastical properties, and so forth show the activity of Buddhist life.

The present document¹ is concerned with "a great gift of the Law" made by king Khri-gcug-lde-brcan (ཁྲི་གུག་ལྡེ་བརྩན་). The gift consists of hundreds of copies of the *Amitāyus sūtra* in Tibetan and in Chinese, and in the offering of a stūpa. Although the text does not mention expressly, we may assume that this stūpa was meant to shelter the copies of the sacred texts. The gift of the stūpa was proposed by the queen, was announced to the laymen through the medium of the saṅgha of bhikṣu and bhikṣuṇi from Ca-Cu (ཇ་ཚུ) (Tun-huang), and two thousand and seven hundred laymen answered to the saṅgha's appeal.

The manuscript does not only relate those facts, it is also an account which gives a receipt in full of the expenditure made for the copying. It is provided with five seals, three of which are still perfectly legible notwithstanding the friability of the material upon which they were stamped. Two of the seals repeat Hoñ-ben's (ཧོན་བེན་) name, the third is that of Dbañ-mchog (དབང་མཚོག་). The presence of the name, and above all of the seal, of Schavira

Hoñ-ben in this act is of very great consequence, because Hoñ-ben is unquestionably the same person as the monk Hong-pien mentioned in an imperial edict dated A.D. 851 which is engraved on a stone discovered at Tun-Huang, in the cave where the manuscripts were found.² The present deed, stamped with Hoñ-ben's seal, may then be ascribed to the middle of the ninth century, and looked on with certainty as one of the most ancient pieces among the finds of Tibetan manuscripts brought to Paris by M. Pelliot.³

The text offers some of the peculiarities often found in the Tun-huang language: liquid labial nasal sound before *i* or *e*: *myed* (མྱེད) for class. *med* (མེད); contraction of the final of the word and of the initial of the particle which follows it: *phyogsu* (ཕྱོགས་སུ) class. *phyogs-su* (ཕྱོགས་སུ); adjunction of the semi-vowel འ after some finals in *a* (it is found here three times out of four in the word *brgya* (བརྒྱེད) and after *e* for instance: *dpe'* (དཔེ་ད) for class.

2 Cf. P. Pelliot, *une bibliothèque médiévale retrouvée au kan-sou*, BEFEO., 1908, p. 503, and the translation of this inscription by E. Chavannes, in *Sinica*.

3 Other Tibetan manuscripts of Tun-huang refer to Hoñben as follows:

The *ban-de* Hoñ-ben is mentioned in a list of monks who settled a dispute over the ownership of slave women's children (temp. n° 268).

The *mkhan-po* Hoñ-ben, receives Dbyig-gi rgyan's (དབྱིག་གི་རྒྱལ་ན) request (temp. n° 05001).

The *mkhan-po* Hoñ-ben receives a missive referring to a donation by a prince (*lha sras*); this document, very much damaged, is possibly connected with the text studied here (temp. n° 02062).

The *mkhan-po* Hoñ-ben receives a message from Kim-kañ (temp. n° 02004).

Hoñ-ben as well as Mtha-yas (མཐ་ཡས་), Lha-'co (ལྷ་འུ་ཙོ་), and Lha-dpal (ལྷ་དཔལ་) send a request to the *nan-rje-po blon* (ནང་རྗེ་པོ་བློན་) Ldon-bzan (ལྷོང་བཟན་) (temp. n° 02060).

Document heavily damaged, but which is a request to the *mkhan-po* Hoñ-ben (temp. n° 02061).

dpe (དཔེ); use of an aspirate in the words which do not possess one in class. : *gthad* (གཏཱ) for *gtad* (གཏ), *ched* (རྟེན) for class. *chen* (རྟོན).

Some obscure points still remain, which future research in documents of the same origin will make it possible to explain, but the interest of the present deed, which is fortunately undamaged, stands undiminished by this.

TEXT

༄ || sun lha-sras khri-gcug-lde-brcan-gyi sku-yon-du || ཇཱ-cur
rgya bod-gyi dar-ma che-dpag-tu-myed pa bris-te || 'bañs phyogsu
chos-gyi-sbyin-ba ched-po khyab-par mjad-par sbyar-te || luñ huñ
si'i gcug-lag-khañ-gi dar-ma'i bjod-du brubs-pa-las || rgya'i che-
dpag-tu-myed-pa bam-po brgya'-sum-cu-rca-lña dañ bod-gyi bam-po
bži-brgya'-brgyad-cu ste | spyi-sdom-bam-po drug-brgya-rca-bco-
lña || byi-ba lo'i dpyid-sla tha-cuñs ches brgyad-la || jo-mo bcan-mo
phan-gyi yum sras-gyi pho-brañ 'od-sruñ-gi sku-yon-du || ཇཱ-cu'i
dge-'dun sde-gnis-gyis || ཇཱ-cu yul phyogs-gyi khyim-pa | sku-
yon-du bsños-te mchod-rten gcig scald-par || pho-brañ-gi mjad-
byañ dañ 'phrin-byañ || chos-gyi-gñi-'jin dañ bde-blon-gyi
'phrin-byañ-las 'byuñ-nas || khyim-pa ñi-stoñ-bdun-brgya' mchod-
rten- scal-pa'i du-su || chos-gyi-sbyin-ba chen-po bgyis-pa'i rgyar-
spyad-par || gnas-brtan ban-de hoñ-ben dañ dbañ-mchog-gis gthad-
de god-nas || dar-ma'i rub-ma-pa ban-de yun hye'i-he dañ | li dam-
'guñ dar-ma'i god dañ gtan-chigsu 'chañ-du scald-te || slad-gyis dar-
ma'i spyi-rcis nam mjad-pa'i che | god rgya 'di dañ | god-yig bla-dpe'
mchis-pa dañ gtugs-nas || mthun-na god scal-bar bgyis-te | gtan-chigs
sug-rgya-can 'chañ-du scald-pa ||

། ལྷན་ ལྷ་སྤུལ་ ཁྱི་ གཙུག་ ལེ་བཙན་གྱི་ ལྷ་ ཡོན་དུ་ ॥
 འ་ཅུར་གྱི་ བོད་གྱི་ དར་མ་ཆོ་ དཔག་དུ་ བྱིད་པ་ གྲིས་དེ ॥ འབངས་
 རྩོགས་ ཆོས་གྱི་ ལྷན་ བ་ཆེད་པོ་ རྩལ་པར་ མཛད་པར་ ལྷར་དེ ॥ ལུང་
 ཏུང་ སེའི་ གཙུག་ ལག་ ཁང་གི་ དར་མའི་ བཟོད་དུ་ རྩལས་ བ་ལས ॥
 རྒྱུའི་ ཆོ་ དཔག་དུ་ བྱིད་པ་ བས་པོ་ བརྒྱུ་སྤུལ་ ཅུ་ཅ་ལྷ་ དང་བོད་གྱི་
 བས་པོ་ བཞི་ བརྒྱུ་ བརྒྱུ་ ཅུ་ལྷེ། ལྷི་ ལྷོས་ བས་པོ་ ཏུག་ བརྒྱ་ ཅ་
 བཙོ་ལྷ ॥ ལྷི་ བ་ལའི་ དཔྱིད་སྤྱེ་ ཅུངས་ ཆོས་ བརྒྱུ་ ལ། རོ་མ་
 བཙན་མོ་ འཕན་གྱི་ ལྷས་སྤུལ་གྱི་ པོ་ བྱང་ འོད་ ལྷང་གི་ ལྷ་ ཡོན་དུ་ ॥
 འ་ ཅུའི་ དགོ་ འདུན་ ལྷེ་ གཉིས་ ལྷིས་ ॥ འ་ཅུ་ ལྷལ་ རྩོགས་གྱི་
 ཁྱིས་པ་། ལྷ་ ཡོན་དུ་ བཟོས་དེ་ མཛོད་ རྟེན་ གཙུག་ ལྷལ་དུ་པར་ ॥
 པོ་ བྱང་གི་ མཛོད་ བྱང་ དང་ འཕྲིན་ བྱང་ ॥ ཆོས་གྱི་ གཉི་ འཛོན་
 དང་ བདེ་ལྷོན་གྱི་ འཕྲིན་ བྱང་ ལས་ འབྱུང་ནས ॥ ཁྱིས་པ་ཉི་ ལྷང་
 རྩུན་ བརྒྱུ་ མཛོད་ རྟེན་ ལྷལ་པའི་ ཏུ་སྤྱུ་ ॥ ཆོས་གྱི་ ལྷན་ བ་ཆེད་པོ་
 བཞིས་པའི་ རྒྱར་ ལྷུད་པར་ ॥ གནས་ བདན་ བན་དེ་ཉོང་ བེན་ དང་
 དབང་ མཛོག་གིས་ གཤམ་དེ་ བོད་ནས ॥ དར་མའི་རྩལ་མ་པ་ བན་དེ་
 ལྷན་ རྒྱུའི་ ཉི་ དང་། ལི་དམ་ འགྲུང་ དར་མའི་ བོད་དང་ གཤམ་ ཆོགས་
 འཆང་ ཏུ་སྤྱལ་དེ ॥ ལྷུང་གིས་ དར་མའི་ ལྷི་རྩིས་ ཉི་ མཛོད་ པའི་ཆོ་
 བོད་གྱི་ འདི་དང་། བོད་ ཡིག་ ལྷ་ དཔེའ་ མཆིས་པ་དང་ གཤམ་
 ཉས ॥ མཐུན་ ཉི་ བོད་སྤྱལ་པར་བཞིས་དེ། གཤམ་ ཆོགས་སྤྱལ་གྱི་ཅན་
 འཆང་ཏུ་སྤྱལ་དུ་ ॥

TRANSLATION

As a gift from God's son (*lha-sras* ལྷ་སྣས་) Khri-gcug-lde-brcan⁵ (ཁྲི་གུག་ལྡེ་བརྟན་) the Chinese and Tibetan texts of the Amitāyus⁶ sūtra have been written down and prepared at Ća-cu (འཇ་ཙུ) in order to manifest a great gift of the Law, for the benefit of the subjects; when they were deposited in the library⁷ of the Luñ-huñ-si⁸ *viḥāra*, there were a hundred and thirty-six *bam-po* (བམ་པོ་) of the Amitāyus sūtra in Chinese and four hundred and eighty *bam-po* in Tibetan, upon the whole six hundred and fifteen *bam-po*.

4 Meaning king instead of "prince", which is the usual meaning. About the title devaputra, translated exactly by *lha-sras*, cf. the article by Sylvain Lèvi, *JA.*, Jan.-March, 1934, in particular pp. 3, 10 and 11, note 1. In the record edited by F. W. Thomas, *JRAS.*, 1928, pp. 98 and 99, Khri-gcug-lde-brcan is also called *lha-sras*; likewise in ms. n° 130 of the *Inventaire des manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang*, vol. I, which reads *lha-sris* (ལྷ་སྣས་). But here the first syllable of the document, *sun* (སུན་) is obscure.

5 The graphy *brcan* (བརྟན་) for *bcan* (བཅན་) of this syllable of the king's name should be compared to the graphy *nam* (ནམ་) for class. *nam* (ནམ་) *sprur* (སྤྲུར་) for class. *spur* (སྤྲུར་) already observed in manuscript temp. n° 202 (cf. *Document tibétain de Touen-houang sur l'expansion bouddhique, Le Dhyāna chinois*, *JA.* Av.-Juin 1939 (in the press). But the insertion of *r*, constant in the final syllable of the king's name (cf. Hackin, *Formulaire sanscrit-tibétain*) can never be found in *bcan-pa* (བཅན་པོ་) or *bcan-mo*.

6 Hundreds of copies in Tibetan of the Amitāyus Sūtra, quite in a new state, have been found in the Ts'ien-fo-tong and are kept in the National Library of Paris.

7 *bjed* (བཞེད་) for class. *mjod* (མཛོད་) "treasure".

8 Luñ-huñ-si (ལུང་ཁུང་སི་) most probably the Long-hing-ssu, cf. *BEFEO.*, 1908, p. 518.

On the eighth day of the last month in the spring of the year of the Rat, the queen, as a gift from the 'Od-sruñ' Palace of the 'Phan-yum-sras ordered the saṅgha of both sexes of the Ṣa-cu country to announce "Laymen of the country of Ṣa-cu! Having resolved to make a donation, a stūpa has been offered. Motion and message"⁹ from the Palace". After the publication of the *chos-gyi gzi-'jin's*¹¹ (ཆོས་གྱི་གཞི་འཛིན) and the *bde-blon's*¹² message, one thousand and seven hundred laymen shared in the offering of the stūpa.

The "expenditure license" for the execution of the great gift of the Law having been delivered by the Sthavira *ban-de* Hoñ-ben and by Dbañ-mchog,¹³ after the expenses¹⁴ were made, the *rub-ma-pa*¹⁵ of the Scriptures (*dar-ma*) the *ban-de* Yun Hyve'i-he

9 Cf. *Inventaire des manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang*, n° 131. 'Phan-yul (འཕགས་ལུལ) is a place often mentioned in the colophons of the Tanjur, cf. *Répertoire du Tanjur*, s.v., about 'Phan-gyi-yum-sras, cf. the name of the palace *Yum-bu-kla-rgan* the first element of which is parallel with *yum-sras*.

10 The use of *byañ* (བྱང) class. *byañ-bu* (བྱང་བུ) is very frequent in the Tun-huang texts, with the meaning of "tables" then of "message"; cf. F. W. Thomas, *JRAS.*, 1934, p. 109.

11 *chos-gzi* (ཆོས་གཞི) describes, according to Desgodins, the estates belonging to the communities; the *chos-gyi-gzi-jin* (ཆོས་གྱི་གཞི་འཛིན) (*dharmavastudhara*) would be the manager or *vihārasvāmin.*, cf. S. Lèvi, *Quelques titres énigmatiques du Bouddhisme indien*, *JA.* 1915, p. 201.

12 The duties of the *bde-blon* (བདེ་བློན) important ones, are not clearly defined.

13 Dbañ-mchog (དབང་མཆོག) might be the translation of an Indian name *Indrottama.

14 *god* (གོང) = class. *gon* (གོང) cf. F. W. Thomas, *JRAS.*, 1927, p. 837.

15 *rub-ma-pa* (རུབ་མ་པ) cf. *rub-pa* (རུབ་པ) which means "to gather, to collate, to close"; this official is perhaps the librarian, or "curator"?

(ཡུན་ རྒྱུ་ལྷོ་) and Li Dam-'gun (ལི་དམ་འགྲུང་) have been given the bills of expenditure for the scriptures; on the day where the total account for the scriptures is made, this extent of expenditure has been added up *gtugs* (གཏུགས་) and entered on the Great Book of the expenses; in agreement, the expenses have been paid back and the bill signed" *sug-rgya can* (སྤྱུག་རྒྱུ་ཅན་) has been put in possession.

[Five seals follow. One of them, repeated, bears Hon-ben's name; the design is not clear (perhaps a bird with spread wings). On another, Dpañ-mchog reads easily, the name being topped with an element which perhaps is *bde-blon*; the drawing represents a sort of salamander. The two other seals are illegible].

M. LALOU

16 In the official or private deeds of Tun-huang, some terms describing the signature, the stamp or the seal should be defined precisely *Sug-rgya* (སྤྱུག་རྒྱུ་) that we find here is the equivalent of *phyag-rgya* (ཕྱུག་རྒྱུ་) (*mudrā*) that I translate by "Seal" print in relief. *Dpañ-rgya* (དཔའ་རྒྱུ་) formed with *dpāñ/dpañ-po* (དཔའ་དཔའ་པོ་) "witness, warrant" would be the attestation. In these texts where a *dpāñ-rgya* (དཔའ་རྒྱུ་) is mentioned, it is always in the sense of the seal of a warrant and moreover it is always a print in relief instead of being just a stamp. There is no material difference then between *dpāñ-rgya* (དཔའ་རྒྱུ་) and *sug-rgya* (སྤྱུག་རྒྱུ་) but a difference in the character of the person who signs with the seal *Sug-yig* (སྤྱུག་ཡིག་) in the manual signature.

More about Dhyāna

Had Louis de la Vallée Poussin consented to become our guest, as we suggested, when in the last war, brutal and treacherous smothering of his country sent him an exile to Britain, what was mere acquaintance might have developed into interchange of thought, by which I should have greatly profited. As things befell, mere acquaintance got no further,¹ and what I have here to say is only an impersonal tribute to the memory of a veteran of Buddhist research. And if I quote him in one word only, it is to differ from him. Namely, he called the Pali *jhāna* '*les quatre extases*,'² and I emphatically do not.

In writing 'More about Dhyāna', I have to recall to short memories, that it is now nearly 12 years since, in this Journal (1927), I first put forward a *new theory* as to the nature and aim of *jhāna* in quite early Buddhism. I had anticipated this position in *Gotama the Man*, but that had to wait two years for a publisher. But in 1931, I devoted a chapter to establishing my theory by canonical evidence in my *Sakya, or Origins of Buddhism*. My theory was this, that, discarding such terms for *dhyāna* as ecstasy, rapture, trance, meditation, the historically correct definition of *jhāna* in the Pali Canon was a training to be in readiness, by attention by a mental *tabula rasa* or 'clean slate' (*parisuddhi*), and poise, for developing certain psychic gifts. The object of this development was chiefly that more in life (*bhīyyobhāva*) which comes to him or her, who can be aware of the sympathetic presence of the *deva* or *devatā*, worthy men of other worlds, and enter into converse with them, and profit by their wider knowledge of life.

1 I enjoyed his hospitality in 1923 at Brussels, for a few days' Congress but not in his house.

2 In his *Nirvāṇa*.



I am not here repeating the evidence I gave, but once given, it should become crucial. It should indeed be enough to note the use, rare elsewhere, of the prefix *dibba*, *divya*: 'belonging to devas', in *jhāna* contexts: *dibbacakkhu*, *-sota*, *-sayana*. But no! I have failed all these years to see any attention favourable or hostile paid to my evidence, either in India or Europe, at least in printed form. Save only in one publication by a few converts to Buddhism, and there, whereas no heed whatever is paid to my theory, my term for *jhāyati*, *jhāna*: 'musing', is turned down as feeble, negative and inadequate.

It is mainly to buttress this my term, that I here add a *More*. It seemed reasonable enough, though admittedly a make-shift term, for me to find it unnecessary to apologise for substituting it in *Sakya*, or in later books. Even in presenting Mr. F. L. Woodward's *Book of the Gradual Sayings*, I, (Pali Text Soc. 1932), I left it to stand on its own feet. But since I have come to know of the one scrubby little depreciation, I have come to see, that my 'musing' is better than a mere make-shift term, having the masterpieces of our Elizabethan literature at its back. Moreover, the partial transition in meaning in the early Sakyan tradition, of the word *sati* (*smṛti*) needed to be brought out. Lastly, it is not sufficiently realized by those who would see in all Buddhism, old and later, a cult largely given to meditation, contemplation with concentration, how much, by their rendering of certain words, they are importing meanings that were originally not there. Let me take these points in brief detail.

Since my one critical notice gives no reason for its dissatisfaction with my choice of 'musing', I can only assume, that for it, musing means a compound of mere reverie³ or mental meandering, and those nine pensive woman-symbols of Greek culture, the Muses;

³ Lord Chalmers persistently used 'reverie' for *Jhāna* as his after-thought in his *Sutta-Nipāta*. In such matters he was the man of letters, not the scholar.

absentmindedness, 'brown study'. It has been forgotten that in the Shakespeare plays the usual meaning is alert attention and surmise. Thus Edward IV to his brothers overhearing: "you muse what chat we two have had?" And Bertram to Helena: "to entreat you, that...you rather muse than ask, why I entreat you"... And Alonso, at Prospero's "strange shapes":

"I cannot too much muse:

Such shapes, such gesture and such sound"...

And the Dauphin in King John:

"I muse your majesty doth seem so cold?"

How different is the usage here from just desultory work of mind. So closely, for English literature, is musing allied to attentive surmise, that as our lexicographer Skeat reminds us, the word is derived from old French and Italian words for muzzle or snout: "to hould one's muzle or snout in the aire", as a dog⁴ with paw uplifted sniffs. And it is precisely this alert attention which, I hold, was originally aimed at in *jhāna*, as betrayed by the fourfold formula and the contexts I cited.

And to express this there was no better word than *jhāyati*, a derivative of *dhī*, to think. Whitney, in *Sanskrit Roots*, may translate just by 'think'; Geiger in *Pali*, may translate just by 'meditieren' (why this foreign term for the land of Kultur?). But neither is really concerned with the history of thought; their aim is word-inflections. Max-Müller and Dr. Hume in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* have the literary aim, it is true, and the one puts 'reflection', the other 'meditation'. But how much better in that aim is not Deussen's 'sinnen', and the preference given to 'sinnen' for *dhyāna* in Boethlingk and Roth. Readers will recollect the passage: "Earth as it were muses; atmosphere, heaven, water, mountain, as it were muses..." How, for the nature-lover, does not 'sinnen',

4 Florio, 16th cent. lexicographer.

‘musing’, here make appeal! How does it not call up, say, a hilly landscape, volcanic or stratified in outline, brooding as it were either over a long past or over things to come? Even if we see, in musing, association with the Greek *mousa*, we are still referred by the philologist, not to static absorption, but to a root (*maō*) signifying eager desire, yearning, excitement, effort. Let it then by candid critics be reconsidered, whether my choice of the word ‘musing’ be indeed so very inadequate.

It is very possible, though it must be now a guess, that the great prominence given, in earliest Buddhism, to the practice of *jhāna*, helped to induce a new force in the word *sati*. For ‘memory’, there was already the word *saraṇa*. Yet here, the Pali breakdown from *smṛ* to *sar* may have been complicated by that other breakdown from *śri* into *sar*, growing in proportion as the term *saraṇa*: ‘something gone to, a refuge’, became over more the orthodox outlook on ‘Buddhā, Dhamma, Sangha.’ For indeed *saraṇa* ‘as remembering’ is a very rare word in the Pali Canon. On the other hand *sati* is far oftener used to mean what my husband sagaciously termed ‘mindfulness’, the mental, alert heedfulness, rather as to things present and possible, than to things past, which is so marked a feature in the Sutta teaching. Thus, to be *sato* or *satimā* is not to be so much ‘remembering’ as to be either analyzing (as in the four *satipatṭhānas*) or on one’s guard. It is true that, in the *abhiññā* of *pubbe-nivās’ānussati*, memory of former ‘lives’, *sati* is certainly recollection, but the enforcement of a prefix seemed necessary, as it seemed in the six, and then ten *anussatis*, which again are not so much, exercises in memory about devas, death and the rest as a summing up mentally what each concept amounts to—and one cannot well recollect one own dying.

Any way the apex of *jhāna* preparation was held to be attaining to a purified *sati*, with poise. And when we consider that this meant, less a remembering, more a mindful alertness, we see

jhāna as the men of the *jhāna*-formula saw it: the being ready and attentive. Remember too there was no good word for 'attention'. Later on, *manasikāra* became specialized as this, but, in the Suttas, it is a very general term for work of mind.

Attention as to what? In the *Majjhima-Nikāya*, wherein great frequency to *jhāna*-reference is found, the fourfold formula is shown ten times as followed abruptly, (without explanation for the sequence but as a thing habitual, prescribed) by the formulas of the *abhiññās*, all but the later sixth and last of which describe psychic gifts. Two of these, sight and hearing, are referred to as deva-conditions (*dibba*-, *divya*), wrongly translated as celestial. And it requires no great intelligence to see, that the preparation described as of *jhāna* was to favour the development, the practice of one or other of those five gifts.

But in other ten Suttas of the *Majjhima*, the fourfold formula is followed no less abruptly by a fourfold formula known as *arūpa-jhāna* or *vimokkha*. These are very different, are great fetches in abstract thought. Further, they are so far from being prepared for by the fourfold formula, that this would be a positive deterrent, a disability, for their practice. Abstract thought cannot be indulged in or realized in word description if analytic and reflective thinking be first eliminated. But the *Jhāna*-formula begins with this elimination. Clearly therefore, in the abstract *arūpajhāna*, we have a later practice won to orthodox approval, and the formula for it substituted by editors, so as to effect the minimum change with maximum recognition. We may exclaim it is true, that the worthy editors would not do anything so self-contradictory! Well, our psychology is now more advanced in analysis, than was theirs, and for all we know, the abstractions may have been viewed as so many flashes of what we are pleased to call *intuition*, and only made absurd as not of thought; (eliminated), when so worded as to resemble fetches of *thinking*.

I would only, here, add this: Pali is singularly poor in words for what we call meditation, contemplation, once we disentangle such terms as *jhāna* and *bhāvanā*. These have been assumed by translators to mean great and pervasive work in meditation, a word that surely means toil of intellect. If *jhāna* mean alert attention, *bhāvanā* means 'making-become', or that spiritual growing, which is by no means solely or even mainly recondite intellection. Of this I have written elsewhere. The usual word, in the Suttas, for attitude and preoccupation in thought is *paṭi-sallāna* (for *-lāyana*), with or without *rahogato* 'gone into solitude.' Now this idiom is *never associated* with *jhāna*. Gotama is shown sitting in, lit., 'solitary cleaving'; he thereupon gets up and follows a course of action. Even when, as is rare, a disciple asks him, or another, for "a theme in brief, the which having heard he may abide self-contained, solitary, ardent, zealous," there is no syllable indicating he was going to sit brooding on it. May be he was, but the words *we* should put in are not there.

I am not maintaining, that the absence of the fit word implies he was not. Have I not repeatedly affirmed, that Buddhism was a gospel of will, with no such fit word for it? But this poverty in word should make us more guarded in fitting a life of much meditative brooding on to the shoulders of men like the first Buddhists. There is no safe guarantee that, in their teaching we see a tendency to spend hours immersed in pure, and especially in abstract work of mind. That preoccupation tends ever to lose the one chief thing, the Man and his growth, in 'ideas about' him and this and that. From its very first utterance, as recorded, the New Word was *the quest of the very man*, potentially divine, if not actually so.....as yet. And it is a striking fact that, in the commentary on *jhāna*, as dealt with in *Abhidhamma*, the question is raised: "But who is it who here is seeking access to a better world (*rūpaloka*, the *Brahmā-deva* world)? for with a going there must be a goer?"

What a contrast to the later-compiled essay,⁵ where, so engrossing has been the pondering over 'ideas about', that a concluding injunction enjoins: "Way is there but no goer"!

Jhāna was emphatically a concern of the Man, seeking, not some blank void, as 'all is space', 'all is mind', 'there is nothing', there is neither this nor that', but *the Man elsewhere, elsewhere*, the men namely, he had come to call *devas, devatās*, the worthy men of the next world, of the better world than that next. Developing deva-hearing, deva-sight, deva-thought, he could come to find, *as we too may find*, that with them he was in no need of dying first, to be in converse with nobler, lovelier conditions of living. Here and now he could be in a More than earth-life afforded, meeting with unfailing sympathy and will to help. Verily, Gotama is shown saying, this is, for me here and now, extreme happiness: the staying among, and conversing with devas, *when in fourth jhāna*.⁶ Little wonder is there that we find him alluded to as "Gotama muser seated in the wood".⁷

C. A. F. RIHS DAVIDS

5 *Visuddhi-magga*.

7 *Sutta-Nipāta*, ver. 165.

6 *Majjhima*, II, 37.

Date of the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* of Svātmārāma Muni

Dr. J. N. Farquhar has dealt with "Muslim Influence" on Hindu religion in his *Outlines of the Religious Literature of India*¹ and assigned it to a period between A.D. 1350 and 1800 (Chap. VII). This chapter on "Muslim Influence" includes a note on the *Gorakhnāthis*² and their literature. The *Haṭhayogapradīpikā*³ a standard manual dealing with the theory and practice of the Haṭhayoga forms part of this literature as the Gorakhnāthis are great adepts in the practice of Haṭhayoga. Evidently, therefore, the date of the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* (=HP) according to Farquhar must lie between 1350 and 1800 A.D. though he regards the HP as the earliest of the three modern Haṭhayoga texts viz. the HP,⁴ the *Gheraṇḍa Saṁhitā*⁵ and the *Śiva Saṁhitā*.⁶

Dr. Farquhar's view about the modern character of the HP, is further supported by the remarks of Dr. P. C. Bagchi⁷ on the list of the Mahāsiddhas⁸ mentioned in the HP. These remarks read as follows:—

1 Published by Oxford University Press, London, 1920. 2 *Ibid.*, pp. 348-349.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 348—Dr. Farquhar observes:—"On the *Haṭhayoga* and the *Gorakṣa-śataka* which are mentioned above as works attributed to Gorakhnāth, three more modern works depend, the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* by Svātmārāma Yogindra, the disciple of Śrināth, the *Gheraṇḍa Saṁhitā* and the *Śivasāṁhitā*. The first is the earliest of the three. The *Pradīpikā* and the *Gheraṇḍa Saṁhitā* deal with the same subjects but only part of the *Śivasāṁketa* is devoted to *Haṭhayoga*; the rest of it is more like a treatise on Śaktayoga."

4 Text and Eng. Tr. in the *Sacred Books of the Hindus* (=SBH.), Panini Office, Allahabad. Text and Eng. Tran. in TPH. series, Adyar.

5 Text and Eng. Tran. in SBH. German Tran. in *Fakir and Fakirtum* by Richard Schmidt, Berlin, 1908.—Text and Eng. Tran. in TPH. series, Adyar.

6 Text and Eng. Tran. in SBH. by S. C. Vasu.

7 *Kaulajñānanirnaya* (Calcutta Sanskrit series) 1934, Intro., p. 19.

8 I record for ready reference the list of Mahāsiddhas from the TPH. (Adyar) edition of the HP:—

आदिनाथ (p. 2, 8, 96, 202); आदिनाथेन शंभुना (p. 155); श्रीगुरुनार्थ (p. 4); मत्स्येन्द्रगोरक्षायाः (p. 7); मत्स्येन्द्र (p. 2); शाबर (p. 3); आनन्दभैरव (p. 4); चौरङ्गो

“Svātmārāma Yogindra in his *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* (I, 4 ff.) extols him, (i.e. Matsyendranātha) along with Gorakṣanātha as the first connoisseur of the science of Haṭha. In the same book is also given a list of the Mahāsiddhas who are believed to have controlled the influence of time by their spiritual attainments. The name of Matsyendra stands in that list, second only to Śrī Ādinātha i.e. Śiva. *This list does not seem to be very old as like all the late traditions it considers Minanātha as different from Matsyendra.* It contains the names of some Siddhas whom we know from the Buddhist tradition of the 84 Siddhas. Some of these names occur in this list in very corrupt forms: e.g. Nāradeva for Nāḍapaṇḍita, Ṭiṇṇi for Dheṇḍhaṇa, Virūpākṣa for Virūpā etc. This shows that the list of the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* belongs to a period when the memories of the great Siddhas had already become old.”

Though both Dr. Farquhar and Dr. Bagchi regard the *HP*, as comparatively a modern work, no attempt has been made by them:

(p. 5); मोनः (p. 6); गोरक्षः (p. 7); विरूपाक्ष (p. 8); बिलेशय (p. 9); मन्थान (p. 10); भैरव (p. 11); सिद्धिः (p. 12); बुद्धः (p. 13); कन्थलिः (p. 14); कोरगटकः (p. 15); सुरानन्दः (p. 16); सिद्धपादः (p. 17); चर्पटिः (p. 18); कानेरी (p. 19); पूज्यपादः (p. 20); नित्यनाथः (p. 21); निरञ्जन (p. 22); कपाली (p. 22); बिन्दुनाथः (p. 24); काकचण्डीश्वर (p. 28); अल्लमप्रभुदेवः (p. 29); घोडाचोली (p. 30); टिरिटण्डिः (p. 31); भानुकी (p. 32); नारदेवः (p. 33); खण्डः (p. 34); कापालिकः (p. 35); योग-शास्त्रविशारदः (p. 18); योगिपुंगवैः (p. 36, 58); वसिष्ठाद्यैः मुनिभिः (p. 19); मत्स्येन्द्राद्यैः योगिभिः (p. 19); मत्स्यनाथोदितं आसनं (p. 22); शिवेन कथितानिः (८४ आसनानि) (p. 26); आचार्यैः (p. 64); आचार्याणां केषांचित् (p. 67); केषां चिन्मतं (p. 103); महा-सिद्धैः (p. 99); कापालिके खण्डमते (p. 140); हठतन्त्राख्यम् (p. 130); मतांतरे (p. 184); पूर्वार्थैः महात्मभिः (p. 200); गोरक्षनाथेन (p. 201); केवलं हठकर्मिणः (p. 208); राजयोगमजानन्तः ।

9 *Kaulajñānanirnaya*, Intro., p. 19. According to Dr. Bagchi (p. 32) Matsyendranātha (referred to in the *HP*) probably flourished towards the *beginning of the 10th century A.D.* in *Candradvipa* which is tentatively identified by him with *Sandvip* island in the deltaic region of Bengal. Matsyendranātha may have passed a part of his career in Kāmarūpa which then had risen to be a great centre of mysticism.

to fix the chronological limits for the *HP*. I shall, therefore, try to indicate these limits on the strength of data available to me.

The *HP*, is represented by numerous Mss.¹⁰ in the different Mss. libraries in the world and has been printed with Bengali and Hindi translations together with Sanskrit commentaries from Calcutta and Ahmedabad¹¹ besides the English translations from Adyar and Allahabad already referred to in this paper. These facts are sufficient to establish the popularity enjoyed by the work. The *HP*, propounds a combination of the Haṭhayoga and the Rājayoga.¹² Its author calls himself as *Svātmārāma*¹³ and *Svātmārāma Yogindra* styled as “*Śrī-Sahajānanda-Santāna-Cintāmaṇi*.”¹⁴ No further information about the author or his *guru* is furnished by the *HP*.¹⁵ We must, therefore, search for references to Svātmārāma and his *HP*, elsewhere.

10 Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* records the following Mss.—*Part I*, 753—Jones 411. Cop. 9. IO 1725. L. p. 195. Oxf. 233b. Hall p. 15. L. 250. 766. 1513. K. 138. B. 4. 6. Ben. 66. Bik. 567. Haug. 44. Katm. 5. NW, 416, Oudh XIV, 88. XVII, 54. NP. V, 198. Burnell 112a. P. 12. Bha. 221. H. 224. Oppert 1067. II, 2806, 5091. 6524. Rice 192. Peters 3. 391. BP. 304. Quoted by Rāmānanda, Oxf. 72b, by Sundaradeva, Hall p. 17.—*Commentaries*:—(1) by Uṇāpati NW. 434 (2) Jyotsnā by Brahmānanda L. 1513. Khn. 86 Oudh XIV, 88. (3) by Mahādeva NW. 434 (4) by Rāmānandatīrtha NW. 436 (5) by Vrajabhūṣaṇa NW. 434.—*Part II*, 181—BL. 167. Fl. 85 (inc). GB. 119 Gov. Or. Libra. Madras 112. 10355. 1725. 3101. Oudh XXI, 126. Peters. 423. Stein 133.—*Part III*, 155—AK. 733. AS. p. 238. Bd. 615. CS. z. 164. Lz. 905, 906, 907 (Uḥpadeśa 4). Peters. 6, 316. Tb. 75. *Commentary* by Brahmānanda Bd. 615. Tb. 75.

Des. Cata. of Madras Mss., IX (1910), Nos. 4391, 4392, 4393, 4394, 4395, 4396; *Des. Cata. of Tanjore Mss.*, XI (1931), Nos. 6710, 6711, 6712, 6713, 6714; *List of Ujjain Mss.*, 1936, p. 69, No. 1572 dated Śaka 1745 (=A.D. 1823), No. 1573 (commentary by Brahmānanda).

11 Vide p. 4914 (Remarks) of *Des. Cata. of Tanjore Mss.*, XI (1931).

12 *IIP*. (TPH., ed.), p. 208. 13 *Ibid.*, p. 7. 14 *Ibid.*, p. 45.

15 In my article on the ‘Uddhivāna Bandha of Haṭhayoga’ (*Journal of the Orissa Academy*, vol. II, 1938, No. 1, p. 56) I have reproduced the following entry from the unpublished work of the late Vora Jata Shankar Harajivan called the कविकव्य-कालकल्पना (p. 648):—

“स्वात्माराम योगि—रान्यासी, सहजानंदशिष्य, गृहस्थाश्रममा नाम मीननाथ,

In a work called the *Haṭharatnāvalī*¹⁶ the author appears to refer to Svātmārāma, the author of the *HP*, in the following verse :—

हठविद्यां हि मत्स्येन्द्रगोरक्षाद्या विजानते ।

आत्मारामोऽपि जानाते श्रीनिवासस्तथा स्वयम् ॥३॥

Ātmārāma mentioned in this verse appears to be identical with Svātmārāma, the author of the *HP*. As the date of the *Haṭharatnāvalī* of Śrīnivāsa¹⁷ has not been fixed, so far as I am aware, the above reference to Svātmārāma does not help us to fix any limit to the date of the *HP*.

A work called the *Śivatattvaratnākara* composed in A.D. 1709 (= Śaka 1631) appears to have made use of the *Hathayogapradī-*

उभाशंकरपुत्रः (१) हठप्रदीपिका (हठयोगप्रदीपिका), श्लोक ५००, अध्याय ४, वि० सं० १६८७ मां करोद्धे, (२) वर्णदीपिका ॥” .

I have no means of knowing the evidence on which the above entry is based. It appears, however, that according to the above unverified statement the *HP* was composed in *Vikrama Samvat* 1687 = A.D. 1631. We shall have to see if this unverified date of the *HP*, is contradicted by any known references to the *HP* in works of prior dates.

16 Aufrecht *Cata. Catalo.* I, 753 — “हठरत्नावली— NP V, 118. Quoted by Sundaradeva, Hall, p. 17.— By Śrīnivāsa, Bunnell 112b. SB., 349. The remarks on Ms. No. 6715 of हठरत्नावली (*Tanjore Cata.*, XI, 1931, p. 4923) in the Tanjore Mss. Library read as follows:—“In the Introduction to the work he (the author) mentions himself as one of the four great advocates of Yoga along with Matsyendra, Gorakṣa, and Ātmārāma, as well-versed in all branches of knowledge, as an author of commentaries on *Śaśadharīya*, *Mamkāntīya*, and one Vedānta *Paṭibhāṣā* (other than the work of Dharmarajādharin) and as the son of a great logician Timma-jyauṭīṣika and Somāmbā. He styles himself as the conqueror of great logicians like Mahādeva Mīśra. It may be inferred that he was an Āndhra Brahmin.”

17 Śrīnivāsa describes himself as follows in verse 2 at the beginning of his *Haṭharatnāvalī*:—

वेदे वेदान्तशास्त्रे फलिपतिरचिते शब्दशास्त्रे स्वशास्त्रे

तन्त्रे प्रामाण्ये शशधररचिते न्यायरत्नारणवेन्दुः ।

साम्ये सारस्वतीये कणभुगमिहिते तत्त्वचिन्तामणिज्ञे

श्रीमज्ज्योतिर्विदग्नेसरनरतनुजो राजते श्रीनिवासः ॥२॥

The logician Śaśadhara flourished about 1125 A.D. according to S. Vidyābhūṣaṇa (*History of Indian Logic*, Calcutta, 1921, p. 396).

pikā.¹⁸ We may, therefore, fix A.D. 1709¹⁹ as one terminus to the date of the *HP*. Let us now see if we can push back this limit of A.D. 1709 on the strength of reliable documentary evidence, especially the evidence of the dated Mss. of the *HP*. The Bhandarkar Institute, Poona (Govt. Mss. Library) contains about 10 Mss. of the *HP*. One of these Mss. viz. No. 399 of 1895-1902 is dated *Samvat 1751* = A.D. 1695. This date, therefore, may enable us to push back the date of the *HP* say before A.D. 1650 or so. This chronological limit does not so far conflict with the unverified statement of Vora Jarashankar that the *HP* was composed in A.D. 1631.

The other terminus for the date of the *HP* according to Farquhar would be about A.D. 1350²⁰ as he includes the *HP* in the literature produced during the period of Muslim influence on Hindu religion (1350 and 1800 A.D.). If Farquhar's view is correct the date of the *HP* must be between A.D. 1350 and A.D. 1650, a period of 300 years. The *Yogacintāmaṇi* of Sīvānanda

18 *Des. Cata. of Madras Mss.*, vol X, p. 3908. "शिवयोगं शिवालोकं हठयोग-प्रदीपिकाम्." The *Sivatattvaratnākara*, an encyclopedic Sanskrit poem was composed by the Keladi chief of Basava Rāja, whose ancestors were subordinates of the emperors of Vijayanagara. The work was completed in A.D. 1709. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Madras, 1919.

19 The India Office Ms. No. 1836 of the *HP*, was copied at Ahmedabad in Samvat 1759 (= A.D. 1703)—Vide *I.O. Cata.*, Part IV, 1894, p. 600.

20 This terminus of A.D. 1350 for the date of the *HP* is not quite improbable. The *HP* mentions महस्येन्द्र, चौरङ्गी, मीन and गोरक्ष who appear to be identical with Nāthapanthi Yogis of the same name. According to Mr. T. C. Das Gupta (*Aspects of Bengali Society*, Cal. Uni. 1935, p. 155) Nāthism was borrowed from Mahāyāna Buddhists and was current in Bengal about the 11th century A.D. In the songs of Raja Govindacandra composed in the 1st half of the 11th century (say between A.D. 1000 and 1050) Mayanāmāti the mother of Raja Govindacandra is stated to have been "initiated into mahājñāna by Gorakṣanātha" and that she visited the *pāṭhaśālā* of Gorakṣanātha containing 1600 disciples (*Ibid.*, p. 188). If these references have any historical value they appear to make Gorakṣanātha a contemporary of Raja Govindacandra about 1050 A.D. and hence the date of the *HP* must be sought for after A.D. 1100 or so.

Sarasvati contains numerous quotations from the *HP*.²¹ According to my data Śivānanda's work stands midway between about 1500 and 1850 A.D.²² The *HP* is also quoted by Sundaradeva in his *Haṭha-Saṅketa-Candrikā*²³ but the date of this work being unsettled this reference has no immediate chronological value for our present inquiry. The dates of the commentators of the *HP* viz. Umāpati, Mahādeva, Ramānandatīrtha being also unsettled we are unable to make use of their commentaries for fixing the limits for the date of the *HP*. Brahmānanda, author of the commentary *Jyotsnā* on the *HP*, is a late commentator as he was the disciple of one Meruśāstrin who was alive in A.D. 1859.²⁴

There is a treatise on Haṭhayoga in Hindi called *Jogapradīpyakā*²⁵ by one Jaiyatarāma or Jayatarāma. It appears to have been

21 Vide the *Yoga Cintāmaṇi*, Ed. by Haridās Vidyāvāgiśa, Calcutta Oriental Series. The quotations from the *HP*, are introduced by the name "हठप्रदीपिकायाम्" on the following pp. of the *Yoga Cintāmaṇi*:—10, 14, 16, 31, 34, 37, 39, 40, 44, 47, 87, 88, 98, 106, 129, 131, 134, 136, 140, 142, 143, 147, 155, 157, 158, 211, 272. (Vide my article on this work in *Yoga*, vol. IV, No. 26-28, p. 11).

22 *Yoga*, vol. IV (Nos. 26-28). p. 14.

23 Hall: *Bibliography*, Calcutta, 1859, p. 17-18 Sundaradeva was the son of Viśvanātha Deva. They were of Kāsyapa gotra and were Maṛhaṭṭas of Benares. Sundaradeva's spiritual guide was Pūrṇānanda. The *Haṭha-Saṅketa-Candrikā* quotes from the following works:—हठप्रदीपिका or हठनीपिका, योगचंद्रिका, योगचिंतामणि, सनातनसिद्धान्त, योगसारसमुच्चय, संकेतशिखा, योगसंग्रह, योगरहस्य, विरक्ता-सर्वस्व, नाडीशुद्धि, शक्तिबोध, शक्तिजागर, हठयोग by गोरक्षनाथ, पवनयोगसंग्रह, तन्त्रराज, सूतसंहिता, हठरत्नावली, शिवसंहिता, लिपुरासमुच्चय, कुंभकपद्धति, Sureśvarācārya's मानसोक्तास, स्वरोदयं, जीवनमुक्तिविवेक, सिद्धांतशेखर, योगतत्त्वप्रकाश or ० प्रकाशक, योगतत्त्ववली, योगशिक्षोपनिषद्, ईश्वरगीता, नंदिपुराण, आत्मपुराण, ब्रह्मविद्योपनिषद्, योगदीपिका, वायुसंहिता, योगयाज्ञवल्क्य, कालिकापुराण, जैगोषव्ययोगशास्त्र, अमृतविंदु-पनिषद्, योगसार, योगबोज, हेमाद्रि, केरलतंत्र, नकुलीशयोगपारायण, ईश्वरीतंत्र, योगभास्कर, स्पर्शयोगशास्त्र, सिद्धसोपान, रसप्रदीप, अमनस्क, सदाशिवगीता, ईश्वरमीननाथसंवाद, योगहृदय, तंत्रचूडामणि, and विद्यारण्य.

24 Aufrecht, *Cata. Catalo.* I, 388b. Vide also my article in *Yoga*, vol. III (17-20), pp. 4-5 where I have recorded a list of works and authors quoted by Brahmānanda.

25 See Ms. No. 117 of A 1883-84 in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B.O.R.

composed in Samvat 1784 (= A.D. 1729). To what extent Jaiyatarāma's *Jogapradīpyakā* is indebted to Svātmārāma's *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* I am unable to say at present as I have not studied this Hindi treatise. Even if it is modelled on the *HP*, its date of composition viz. A.D. 1727 does not conflict with the date of the *HP*, as recorded by Vora Jatashankar viz. A.D. 1631.²⁶

In the list of teachers recorded in the *HP*, one Nityanātha is mentioned as *Mahāsiddha*. If he is identical with Nityanātha Siddha the author of *tāntrika* and *vaidyaka* works²⁷ and in particular of the work *Rasaratnasamuccaya* which "agrees with the work attributed to Vāgbhata"²⁸ we can support the earlier terminus of A.D. 1350 for the *HP* presumed by Dr. Farquhar in his *Outlines* etc. The *Rasaratnasamuccaya*, be it of Vāgbhata or Nityanātha Siddha, belongs to about A.D. 1300 according to Dr. P. C. Ray²⁹ and it

Institute, Poona—folios 101. This Ms. ends as follows:—"संवत् सतगसैश्रमी अधिक चतुरदसज्ञान । आस्वन मित दशमी विजैपूर्ण प्रथप्रमान ॥७८०॥ इति श्रीजोग-प्रदीप्यकायां जैयतरामेण विरचितायां समाधिर्वर्णन नाम अष्टमोऽखण्डसंपूर्ण ॥ सुभमस्तु ॥" Samvat 1784, *asvina Sita Dāśamī* is equal to Wednesday, 13th September, 1727 (*Indian Ephemeris*, vol. VI, p. 257).

26 The dates of the Mss. of works relating to Matsyendranātha and his school as noted by Dr. Bagchi (pp. 60 ff. of his Intro. to *Kaṇḍapīṭhanirṇaya*) do not conflict with our limits for the date of the *HP* viz. A.D. 1350 and 1650. The works relating to Matsyendranātha and his school are:—

(1) श्रीकामाख्यगुह्यसिद्धि (2) अकुलागमतन्त्र Nepal Ms. dated A.D. 1671, (3) गोरक्षशतकम् a Nepal Ms. belonging to a late age, (4) गोरक्षभूजंगम् Nepal Ms. dated 1730 A.D., (5) गोरक्षमहिता Nepal Ms.—Bengali writing of the 16th and 17th centuries, (6) नित्याद्विकनिलकम् Ms. dated A.D. 1395—(Vide H. P. Shastri's *Nepal Catalogue*, I, pp. 111-112 and II, pp. 70, 82). This Ms. contains a list of teachers of the Kaula school as also their birth places. मत्स्येन्द्रनाथ is mentioned in this list as Dr. Bagchi points out. The 14th teacher in this list is from महाराष्ट्रदेशः. His original caste was क्षत्रिय.

27 *Cata. Catalogorum*, i, 295.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 496—रसुरत्नसमुच्चय.

29 *History of Hindu Chemistry*, vol. I, (1902), Intro. p. lvi.—According to Dr. P. C. Ray the author of the *Rasaratna-Samuccaya* was contemporary of Roger Bacon who died in A.D. 1294.

mentions the names of कपालि, सुरानंद, खण्ड, कापालिक, भैरव, मन्थानभैरव, (or मन्थान and भैरव) काकचरडीश्वर, which are also found in the *HP*. All these teachers were probably experts in the रमविद्या or alchemy and हठयोग. According to Dr. Mukherji³⁰ Nityanātha Siddha is posterior to Dallanācārya who is assigned by scholars to the 12th century.³¹ If this Nityanātha Siddha the writer on alchemy to whom is attributed the authorship of the work *Rasaratnasamuccaya* is identical with his name-sake mentioned as a teacher of हठयोग in the *HP*, the date of the *HP*, must be assigned to a period after the 13th century i.e. after A.D. 1300 or so and hence in the present state of our data we may fix A.D. 1350 as the tentative earlier terminus to the date of the *HP*, the later terminus³² being about A.D. 1650 as stated above on the strength of the dated Mss. of the *HP*.

P. K. GODE

30 *Journal of Āyurveda*, (Calcutta) July 1935, p. 17.

31 Vide 16 of Hoernle's *Osteology*, Oxford, 1907.

32 Vijnānabhikṣu (c. 1650) in his *Yogasārasaṅgraha* (Adyar Edn. 1933) refers to works on the Hathayoga on p. 39 as follows:—“आसननाडीशुद्धयादयस्तु हठयोगादि ग्रन्थेष्वशेषतो द्रष्टव्याः” I wonder if this reference has anything to do with the *HP*.

Nārāyaṇatīrtha the commentator of the *Upaniṣads* (between 1500 and 1700 A.D.) quotes from the *HP*. at least four times (Vide p. 3 of my article in the *Bombay University Journal*, vol. VII, part 2, Sept., 1938).

In the *Bodleian Library Catal.* by Winternitz & Keith, vol. II (1905) p. 1306 there is a Ms. (No. 1306) of the *HP*, the date of which is stated as “about the middle of the 18th century”. We are here informed of the following translations and editions of the *HP*.:—(1) Text with *Jyotsnā* Comm. Burdwan, 1890 (2) German trans. by H. Walter, Munich, 1893. (3) English trans. by Srinivāsa Aiyangar, Bombay 1893. *Rudrayāmalatantra* (Oxford Mss., 1869, p. 89) refers to हठयोग as follows:—हठयोगं प्रकथितमिदानीं शृणु तत्कमम्. The anthology *Sārīgadhara-paddhati* (A.D. 1363) contains 2 chapters on हठयोग (Nos. 157 and 158)—See Peterson's Edn. I, 1888, p. 662. A work called “राज्ञां प्रतिबोधकं प्रकरणम्” (Ms. No. 67 of 1871-72—B.O.R. Institute) quotes from the *HP*.:—folio 20—“गोप्रश्नमाह हठप्रदीपिकायां etc.” This work mentions तभारबोश्र्वर्ण on folio 14 and is therefore later than A.D. 1600. *HP*. is again mentioned on fol. 26.

The Story in Stone of the Great Renunciation of Neminātha

We are familiar with scenes from the life of Buddha, particularly the Great Renunciation represented in numerous sculptures of the Græco-Buddhist school from Gandhāra, Sāñcī, Amarāvati and elsewhere in India. But little is known of similar scenes in the lives of Jaina teachers because hardly any Jaina sculpture of the king has reached the museums in India, Europe or America. The majority of them are still preserved in the temples on Mount Ābu, at Kumbharia (at the foot of Mount Ābu), in Pātan and at some recently discovered sites in Central India. The story of the Great Renunciation of Neminātha, the 22nd Jaina Tirthāṅkara, which is carved in a ceiling panel in the Tejaḥpāla temple on Mount Ābu is perhaps more poignant in the swiftness and contrasts of its scenes than the gradual world-weariness of Buddha.

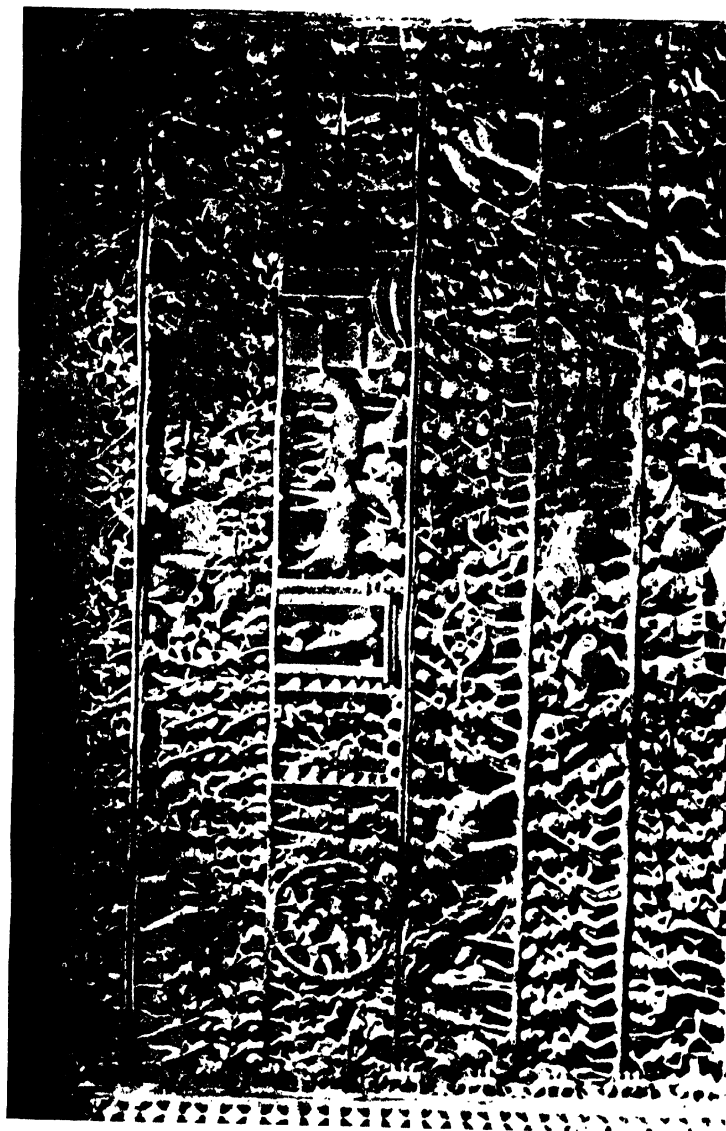
The story had become a classic as early as the 4th century B.C. for it is related in the *Uttarādhyaṇasūtra*,¹ a canonical work of the Jains. Since then it was so popular and sacred that as late as the 12th century A.D., Hemacandra, the great poet-philosopher of Gujarāt, included it in his work, on the lives of 63 great men.²

Neminātha, or Ariṣṭanemi as he was called before he became a Jina, was a prince who, some 5000 years ago, is supposed to have lived in the town of Sauryapura (perhaps modern Mathurā). Keśava (Kṛṣṇa of Hindu mythology) was his friend and relative, and he by his influence arranged the engagement of Ariṣṭanemi with Rājimati, a daughter of king Ugrasena of Mathurā (and later of Dwarka). For the marriage-rite the bridegroom, according to the

¹ Jacobi, *Sacred Books of the East* and Charpentier, *Archives D'Etudes Orientales*, vol. 18, *adhyāyana* 22, p. 164 ff.

² *Triṣaṣṭhi-śalākā-purṇa-caritra*, Parva 5, *Sargas* 5, 9, 10, 11, 12.

As *al-ḥaḍḡ* is the table set at the marriage procession, his arrival at the bride's palace, built by the minister *ḥaḡḡāla* in A.D. 1232, depicting in 7 sections *Neuātup* – prior to the renunciation. (*N.B.* Section I is not reproduced here).



Hindu custom, was invited to go to the bride's house. Decked in rich clothes and ornaments, riding on the best of elephants under a raised umbrella, fanned by attendants, and surrounded by his clansmen, and preceded by musicians and an army drawn up in rank and file, he started from his palace.

On his way he saw animals, kept in enclosures. Overcome by fear and looking miserable, beholding them thus Ariṣṭanemi spoke to his charioteer, "Why are all these animals, which desire to be happy, kept in an enclosure?"

The charioteer answered, "Lucky are these animals because at thy wedding they will furnish food for many people."

Having heard these words, which meant the slaughter of so many innocent animals, he, full of compassion and kindness to living beings, decided to renounce the world and then he presented the charioteer with his ornaments and clothes.

Everyone including the gods coming to know of Ariṣṭanemi's resolution gathered together to celebrate and witness the Great Renunciation. Thus surrounded, sitting in a palanquin Ariṣṭanemi left Dwarka for Mount Raivataka, (modern Girnār in Kāthiāwār), and there in the presence of the whole assembly he plucked out his hair in five handfuls, called technically *Pañca-muṣṭi-loca*. Ariṣṭanemi renounced the world. An erstwhile prince, about to be married to a beautiful princess, was now a homeless, naked ascetic in search of truth and happiness for the suffering humanity.

With but one exception, the story in the canonical work is faithfully represented on a ceiling carved in the marble temple called "Lūṇavasahī," built by Tejahpāla, a minister of king Viradhavala of Gujarāt in 1232 A.D., at Delwara on Mount Ābu.

The ceiling is divided into 7 horizontal sections. Each section depicts a part of the story. Beginning from the bottom:

SECTION I. :—shows the dancers and musicians which led the marriage procession of Ariṣṭanemi.

SECTION II. :—the battle between Kṛṣṇa and king Jarāsandha with Ariṣṭanemi in a chariot.³

SECTION III. :—the musicians, army and clansmen.

SECTION IV. :—(from right, : first, the arrival of Ariṣṭanemi in a chariot; second, animals tied for slaughter in an enclosure; third, the marriage pandal, called 'Cori', a square tent-like bower constructed with seven brass or earthen pots, supported by stems of plantain trees, and decorated with festoons of garlands; fourth and fifth, the elephants guarding the entrance of the palace and horse-stable; sixth, gateway to the palace of Rājimatī; seventh, two-storied palace, with chamberlain announcing to Rājimatī and her friends the arrival of Ariṣṭanemi.

SECTIONS V, VI, VII, face upwards. Chronologically first comes Section VI, then VII and lastly V.

SECTION VI. :—(from right) Ariṣṭanemi seated on a throne in the midst of the assembly of gods and men, giving money and food in charity for a year before he became a Jina.

SECTION VII. :—(from left to right) first, a scene which cannot be exactly identified; it shows Ariṣṭanemi seated on a throne attended by fly-whisk bearers and others; second, Neminātha seated in meditation-pose and plucking out the hair in five handfuls.

SECTION V. :—(from right to left) first, procession of gods and men carrying Ariṣṭanemi to Mount Raivataka; second, Ariṣṭanemi, now Neminātha, standing erect and motionless practising penance (*kāyotsarga*).

We may marvel at the strange happenings of the story, but not less admirable is the art of the sculptor who has told it in stone. His chisel has carved minute details with fullness, vividness and a rare clarity. Every scene stands out in bold relief, endowed with life

3 An episode not mentioned in the canonical work but which is referred to in later works. This battle took place because Jarāsandha perhaps resented Ariṣṭanemi's marriage with Rājimatī.

and individuality. Behold the meek animals in the enclosure, and the spirited elephant guarding the entrance to the palace of Rājimati. Contrast similarly the movements of the crowd with the stillness of Neminātha.⁴

H. D. SANKALIA

4 Besides the art it would be worthwhile not only to compare this story but similar stories in Jaina literature with those related in Hindu (or Brahmanic) literature. For one thing the story in the *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra* enables us to push back the traditional historicity of Kṛṣṇa and others mentioned in the Purāṇas.

The Vaiṣṇava Philosopher Priyādāsa and his Works

In my article "Some Vāghela Rulers and the Sanskrit Poets patronised by them," published in the *Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 48-54, I have mentioned on p. 53: "Another imitation of the *Gita-govinda* was done in the *Saṅgita-Raghunandana* (H. P. Śāstri's *Cat.* VII, No. 5259). This work is composed by one Priyādāsa, under the patronage of Viśvanāthasimha. Although the last colophon would make Viśvanāthasimha himself the author of the work.....yet the 5th verse from the beginning.....indicates that the real author was perhaps one Priyādāsa."*

H. P. Śāstri's *Catalogue* gives us two colophons of the work, one of the 16th and another of the 1st chapter. They are—

इति श्रीमन्महाराजकुमार-श्रीविश्वनाथसिंहदेवविरचिते संगीतरघुनन्दने ग्रन्थमाहारम्यवर्णन-
पूर्वक-प्रणामविधानं नाम षोडशः सर्गः समाप्तः ॥

इति श्रीमन्महाराजकुमार-श्रीबाबूसाहेबविश्वनाथसिंहदेवकृते संगीतरघुनन्दने मङ्गलवर्णनं
नाम प्रथमः सर्गः ॥

From both these colophons it is clear that the work was composed when Viśvanāthasimha was a prince and had not ascended the throne. This is further strengthened by the term बाबूसाहेब which was perhaps his pet name. After becoming king, he could not

* My curiosity about Priyādāsa was roused when I came to know from Pandit Brajendra Nath, the Finance Minister of the Rewa State, that the State Library contained the Mss. of several works of Priyādāsa. He was kind enough to send me a list of these Mss. From this list I selected some names and requested the Finance Minister to lend me the Mss. I am grateful to him for the kind help which he rendered to me and through me to the scholarly world by getting the permission of loan from His Highness the Mahārājā Saheb of Rewa and then by sending over the Mss. to Delhi. The example set by His Highness is well worthy of emulation by the other Ruling Princes of India. This will help the scholarly world to explore the vast field of learning which is lying hidden in Ms. form in the palace libraries of different Rājās and Mahārājās in our country.

have been called बाबूसाहेब . Again, in the last colophon of रामचन्द्राह्निकटीका (H. P. Śāstri's *Cat.* VII. Nos. 5255-5256), the title of Viśvanāthasimha is श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमहाराजाबाहादुर, which clearly indicates that at this time he was a full-fledged king. Comparing the titles of both these works, it appears that Viśvanāthasimha was a devotee of Rāmacandra, and from a few verses of रामचन्द्राह्निक and संगीतरघुनन्दन, quoted in H. P. Śāstri's *Catalogue*, it appears that he was a poet and a scholar of no mean order. Hence, on the basis of

जयति सच्चिदानन्दघनवरदवरसर्वगुणशालिशृङ्गारमूर्तिः ।
सर्वजनवत्सलः प्रविगलितमत्सरः प्रेमपाथोधिपुरुषार्थयुतिः ॥
सर्वगतसर्वमतसर्वबन्धितचरणसर्वशरणागतोद्धृतिविहारी ।
गुरुपरधुवरः श्रीप्रियादास इह विश्वनाथान्तरगीतकारी ॥

the fifth verse of संगीतरघुनन्दन, it is not necessary or logical to ascribe the authorship of this work to Priyādāsa (as stated in H. P. Śāstri's *Cat.* VII., p. 219 and re-affirmed by me in my article referred to above) and deny it to Viśvanāthasimha.

Up to this time nothing is known about Priyādāsa or his works, except one, viz., सुसिद्धान्तोत्तम which is printed. On p. 515 of that work we read the following verse—

एतस्मादुत्तमाच्छास्त्राज्ञातं ग्रन्थचतुष्टयम् ।
तत्त्वनिश्चयवेदान्तसारभक्तिप्रभादिकम् ॥

In this verse, the author names only three works—तत्त्वनिश्चय, वेदान्तसार and भक्तिप्रभा. The fourth work is not mentioned but is indicated by the word आदि . The editor of the सुसिद्धान्तोत्तम here gives the following footnote—

स्वरचितवेदान्तसारटीकायामयमेव प्रियादासाचार्यः “समाकारि ममाप्राप्ते समासेन सतां प्रियम् । इदं वेदान्तसारं वै स्वऋषीभेन्दुवासरे ॥१७३४॥” स्वकृतश्रुतितात्पर्या-मृतटीकायां च “हरिदेवस्य देवस्य समीपे मङ्गलप्रदे । व्योमाश्वेभेन्दु १८७० संह्याब्दे वत्सरे मासि कार्तिके ॥ मुकुण्डकादशीयुक्ते संमतं संसतां मुदे । आचार्यः श्रीप्रियादासो निर्ममे ग्रन्थमुत्तमम् ॥” इति लिखति । रेवाराजश्रीविश्वनाथमिहदेवानां सभासदासीदिति च श्रूयते ॥

From this it appears that the editor knew the Mss. of वेदान्तसार and श्रुतितात्पर्यामृत only. Again, he seems to think that श्रुतितात्पर्यामृत

is the fourth work alluded to by the word आदि. In the Ms. of श्रुतिस्मृततात्पर्यामृत (identical with श्रुतितात्पर्यामृत) which I have consulted, there are two chapters (प्रकरण s), and the verses quoted by the editor of सुसिद्धान्तोत्तम in the footnote referred to above, are not found in the Ms. That the Ms. is complete and the work extends up to the 2nd chapter only, is proved by the following verses found on fol. 33a of the Ms.

श्रुतिस्मृत्यामृतं यद्वै प्रियादासप्रदर्शितम् ।
 वितनोतु सतांशं तच्छाश्वतं सात्वतां सदा ॥
 ये प्रयोगाः कृता ह्यस्मिच्छास्त्रे चासाधवो मया ।
 कर्तव्याः साधवस्ते तु सज्जनैः शुद्धया धिया ॥

Perhaps the editor had another Ms. of this work. As regards the existence of भक्तिप्रभा, the editor seems to be ignorant. I have not been able to find any Ms. of वेदान्तसार. I have consulted a Ms. of the वेदान्ततत्त्व which is a short tract of 19 verses and is most probably different from तत्त्वनिश्चय. But प्रियादास has written several other works out of which I was able to examine the following in Ms.: दीक्षासारनिर्णय, सुमार्ग, वेदान्ततत्त्व, सुसिद्धान्तोत्तम, भक्तिप्रभा, वैष्णवसिद्धान्त and श्रुतिस्मृततात्पर्यामृत ।

Not only from the verse in praise of प्रियादास given by विश्वनाथसिंहदेव in his work संगीतरघुनन्दन (quoted above), but also from his works, it is clear that प्रियादास was a very learned man and lived the life of a saint. No other information about प्रियादास is known to us, except that his preceptors were चन्द्रलाल (praised in every work) and हरिवंश whom he calls महाचार्य mentioned only in the first stanza of दीक्षासारनिर्णय). Unfortunately we possess neither any work of these preceptors nor any details about them. Out of modesty Priyāḍāsa calls himself as शब्दज्ञानविहीन and attributes his works to the blessings of his गुरु—

चन्द्रलालं गुरुं वन्दे मनसो दैवतं परम् ।
 शब्दज्ञानविहीनैर्यः कारयेद् ग्रन्थमुत्तमम् ॥

(the 1st verse of सुसिद्धान्तोत्तम and वैष्णवसिद्धान्त).

शब्दज्ञानविहीनेन मयापि सुखदा कृता ।

टीका सुलोचना सङ्ग्रिः शोधनीया तु सात्वतैः ॥

(Comm. on भक्तिप्रभा)

In श्रुतिसूत्रामृत we read

ये प्रयोगाः कृता ह्यस्मिच्छास्त्रे चासाधवो मया ।

कर्तव्याः साधवस्ते तु सज्जनैः शुद्धया धिया ॥

As all his works show, he was a Vaiṣṇava and a follower of Vallabhācārya. He must have exercised a great influence on विश्वनाथसिंहदेव even while he was a prince. We know that भक्तिप्रभा and वेदान्तसार were composed in V.S. 1864 (= 1809 A.D.) and श्रुतिसूत्रात्म्यमृतटीका in V.S. 1870 (= 1815 A.D.). The Ms. of दीक्षासार bears V.S. 1879 (= 1824 A.D.) as the date of copying. In other Mss., no date is given. Hence, we can conclude that the literary activity of प्रियादास belongs to the first quarter of the 19th century A.D.

Among the available works of Priyādāsa, (i) सुसिद्धान्तोत्तम (already printed), (ii) भक्तिप्रभा and (iii) श्रुतिसूत्रात्म्यमृत are major, and (iv) दीक्षासारनिर्णय, (v) सुमार्ग, (vi) वेदान्ततत्त्व and (vii) वैष्णवसिद्धान्त are minor.

Major Works

(i) सुसिद्धान्तोत्तम

This work along with its commentary by the author himself is the *magnum opus* of Priyādāsa. It is divided into 5 विभाग or chapters. The first chapter विश्वकारणनिर्णय discusses the various theories about the first cause of the universe. His conclusion is stated in the verse—

यः सेश्वरस्यास्य च कारणं सतो ब्रह्मादिशब्दैरनुशब्दितः परः ।

स भक्त्यधीनो गतमत्सरादिभिः कृष्णोऽनुरत्या परिसेव्य आत्मदः ॥ I. 4.

In the second chapter द्विविधभक्तिवर्णनम्, the doctrine of the two-fold भक्ति (सगुणा and निर्गुणा) is expounded. In the third chapter जीवदासतत्त्ववर्णनम्, it is expounded that the supreme goal of mankind should be the service of God—

अतो वै स्वात्मनात्मानं तदासं क्लेशवर्जितम् ।

मत्वान्यत् हरिं सर्वं ज्ञात्वा तं विभजेद् बन्धः ॥ III. 19.

In the fourth chapter सुमतनिर्णय he discusses the various theories of Advaita and comes to the conclusion—

अतो जीवेश्वरी कर्म स्वभावः काल एव च ।
माया चानाद्यनन्तास्ते षट् पदार्थाः सनातनाः ॥
ज्ञात्वैवं दासभावेन भगवान् स्त्रीनरादिभिः ।
सेव्यस्तद्भक्तसङ्गेन भक्त्यासंगैर्मुमुक्षुभिः ॥ IV. 26-27.
यतोऽस्य ब्रह्मणः शक्तिपरिणाम इदं जगत् ।
अतोऽचिद्विग्रहं तस्य ज्ञात्वा ध्यायेत तं बुधः ॥ IV. 35

The fifth chapter deals with परमानन्दप्राप्तिकारण and ends thus :

यतः साधनश्रेष्ठानां फलानां च प्रियोत्तमम् ।
फलं श्रीभगवद्भक्तिर्नान्यदुक्तं महर्षिभिः ॥
अतो दारसुतापुलाद्यासक्तिं सर्वदुःखदाम् ।
त्यक्त्वा श्रीवल्लभे भक्तिः कर्तव्या स्त्रीनरादिभिः ॥
नानारूपैर्यतो वेदा भजन्त्यव्ययमीश्वरम् ।
श्रीकृष्णं सर्वहेतुत्वात्सोऽतः सेव्यः सुरासुरैः ॥
एतत्सर्वं त्रिभिर्मर्निर्ज्ञातव्यं सुसुमुक्षुभिः ।
प्रत्यक्षादिसुशब्दान्तैः प्रमाणैर्मेहात्मभिः ॥ V. 25-28.

The commentary of the author is very learned, but at the same time simple in style and replete with quotations from the Vedas, Upaniṣads, Smṛtis, Purāṇas, etc. As pointed out above, this work forms the basis of four other works, of which भक्तिप्रभा is one.

(ii) भक्तिप्रभा

No. 136/20. Size 13 inches by 6½ inches. Extent: 119 leaves; 12 lines to a page; 40 letters to a line. Devanāgarī characters; hand-writing very good, but the text is corrupt. Two lines in black ink on either border; text given in the centre of the page with commentary above and below it. Old and mostly country paper. Fol. 23 repeated. In this work the author takes the different verses of श्रीमद्भागवत and interprets them according to the tenets of वल्लभाचार्य. It is divided into 4 chapters called मयूष s dealing with भक्तिपरत्वनित्यत्व, पराऽपराभक्ति, भागवतधर्म and परमानन्दवर्णन. The topics and the subject-matter are very much similar to those of सुसिद्धान्तोत्तम. It

bears the date Samvat 1700 although the author gives the date of its composition as अञ्च(ञ्च)रीमेन्दुवत्सरे (१८६४). There are no marks of punctuation. It begins—

Fol. 1a (Commentary).

श्रीगणेशाय नमः । श्रीराधावल्लभो जयति त्वरात् ।
 किशोरी राधिकाकृष्णौ प्रधानपुरुषेश्वरौ ।
 वंदे परस्परआत्मानौ सच्चेतोभूषजीवने (?) ॥१॥
 शतादिर्ब्रह्मणा येन कमनीयकरे धृतः ।
 तस्य सत्कारणस्याग्निं हृदि कुर्वे परात्मनः ॥२॥
 ब्रह्मादीनां मतं ज्ञात्वा गुरुं नत्वा सनातनम् ।
 दिव्यां भक्तिप्रभाटीकामहं कुर्वे सुलोचनाम् ॥३॥
 प्राकृतानां विबोधाय ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् सरलाः कृताः ।
 प्रयोगाः सर्वशब्दानां शं नृणामिच्छता मया ॥४॥
 नानावादगदांथा ये संसारभयमाश्रिताः ।
 तेषामभयदेयं तैस्सेवनीया सुलोचना ॥५॥
 भक्त्यङ्गं गुरुगुणसाधनधर्मनाम्नां तच्छास्त्रसूत्रनिगमागमसात्त्विकानाम् ।
 ज्ञानं विशुद्धममलामृतमिच्छतापि सेव्यानुरागकर्मलेन सुलोचनेयम् ॥६॥

यः खलु सर्वेश्वरः सर्वनियंता सर्वान्तर्याम्यनन्तब्रह्माण्डाधिपतिर्जगज्जनको जगत्पालको जगद्गुरुर्भगवान् ब्रह्मणो स्वपुत्राय परमभक्ताय सकलनिगमागमसारं महापुराणं श्रीमद्भागवताख्यं कृपया व्याचक्षते, स एव विलोकसुन्दरः सच्चिदानन्दविग्रहः महाकारुणिको विश्वमङ्गलमङ्गल-समुद्रः समस्तकल्याणगुणगणार्णवो मधुसूदनः सर्वेन्द्रियप्रेरको महाविभूतिपतिः श्रीराधिका-वल्लभो मां निमित्तं विधाय भक्तिप्रभां प्रदर्श्य च तस्या व्याख्यामपि चकार । अतो ग्रन्थकारं स्वयं भगवन्तं रमानाथं ज्ञात्वा भगवद्भक्तिमद्भिः करुणामयैः सद्भिरालोचनीयोऽयं ग्रन्थः । etc.

Fol. 3b. (Text).

कारिका । येन मे नोदिता कृष्णगीतमाधुर्यमूर्तिना ।
 भारती वदनाज्जाता तं हिताख्यमहं भजे ॥१॥

Fol. 4a. कारिका । प्रणम्यात्माहमाधीशं चन्द्रलालं गुरुत्तमम् ।
 वक्ष्ये भक्तप्रमोदाय शास्त्रसिद्धान्तमुत्तमम् ॥२॥

It ends:— Fol. 117b. (Text).

कारिका । इदं भागवतार्कस्य महः सर्वार्थसाधकम् ।
 प्रपठेद्भारयेत्प्रीत्या स सतां पदवीमियात् ॥१४॥
 वेदशब्दादि शास्त्राणां पुराणां (खानां) तथैव च ।
 सारं भागवतं तस्य चैदमष्टादशात्मकम् ॥१५॥

Fol. 118a.

कल्पवृक्षो हरेदि (दि)व्यो प्रथोऽयं सर्वकामदः ।

अकामैः सर्वकामैर्वा सेव्यः सर्वत्र सर्वदा ॥१६॥

सेयं भागवतार्कस्य भक्तिभा वितनोतु शम् ।

जीवानां कृष्णभक्ताना (नां) प्रियादासेन दर्शिता ॥१७॥

इति श्रीसिद्धान्तोत्तमे भक्तिप्रिया (corrected to ०प्रभा) यां परमानन्दवर्णनो नाम
चतुर्था मयूष(ख)समूहः ॥४॥

(Commentary).

Fol. 118a.

भक्तिप्रभां पठति यः शृणुयाच्च नित्यं मुक्तो भवत्यलमतो विषमादसारात् ।

संसारतः समधिगम्य पदं मनुष्यः संमोदते भगवतो भवनाशकस्य ॥३॥

आचार्याः (र्यः) श्रीप्रियादासश्चकार भक्तिभां शुभाम् ।

आनन्दाय सतां पुंसामब्ध्व(ब्ध) रीमेन्दुवत्सरे ॥४॥

इति श्रीसिद्धान्तोत्तमे श्रीभक्तिप्रभायां टीकायां सुलोचनायां प्रियादासाचार्यविरचितायां
परमानन्दफलवर्णनो नाम चतुर्थो मयूष(ख)समूहः ४ ॥ समाप्तम् ॥

In a different hand Samvat 1800.

(iii) श्रुतिसूत्रनात्पर्याप्तम्*

No. 15/86. Size 13 inches by 6¼ inches. Extent: 33 leaves; 10 to 15 lines to a page; 54 letters to a line. Country paper; Devanāgarī characters; hand-writing legible. Text is in the centre of the page with commentary above and below it. No marks of punctuation but numbers of sūtras or the Vedic texts are tinged with red pigment. Paper old and slightly worn out. Fol. 9b blank. The work is divided into two chapters भक्तिप्रकरण and सफलज्ञानप्रकरण in which the authors takes the Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa primarily and the Sūtras of Śaṇḍilya, Patañjali along with the Upaniṣadic texts secondarily and interprets them, according to the tenets of Vallabhācārya as having पराभक्ति for their तात्पर्य. The author comments on the Brahmasūtras in the order given below:—

संपद्याविर्भावः स्वेनशब्दात् । IV. 4.1. ब्राह्मेण जैमिनिरुपन्यासादिभ्यः । IV. 4.5.
चितितन्मात्रेण तदात्मकत्वादित्यौडलोमिः । IV. 4.6. एवमप्युपन्यासात्पूर्वभावादविरोधं

* Its commentary is called महत्प्रिया.

बादरायणः । IV. 4.7. अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा । I. 1.1. जन्माद्यस्य यतः । I. 1.2. शास्त्रयोनित्वात् । I. 1.3. तत्तु समन्वयात् । I. 1.4. ईक्षतेर्नाशब्दम् । I. 1.5. गीणश्चेन्नात्मशब्दात् । I. 1.6. रचनानुपपत्तेश्चानुमानम् । II. 2.1. अन्यत्वाभावाच्च न तृणादिभ्यः । II. 2.5. दृश्यते तु । II. 1.6. देवादिवदपि लोके । II. 1.25. आत्मकृतेः परिणामात् । I. 4.26. नेतराऽनुपपत्तेः । I. 1.16. अंशो नानाव्यपदेशात् । II. 3.43. उत्कान्तिगत्यागतीनाम् । II. 3.19. नाणुरतच्छ्रुतिरिति चेन्नेतराधिकारात् । II. 3.21. स्वशब्दोन्मानाभ्यां च । II. 3.22. तदभावो नाडीषु तच्छ्रुतेरात्मनि च । III. 2.7. गुणाद्वा लोकवत् । II. 3.25. व्यतिरेको गन्धवत् । II. 3.26. पृथगुप-
देशात् । II. 3.28. अविरोधश्चन्दनवत् । II. 3.23. तद्गुणसारत्वाच्च तद्व्यपदेशः
प्राप्तवत् । II. 3.29. सुक्रोपसृज्यव्यपदेशात् । I. 3.2. नात्माऽश्रुतेर्नित्यत्वाच्च ताभ्यः ।
II. 3.17. शास्त्रदृष्ट्या तूपदेशो वामदेववत् । I. 1.30. फलमत उपपत्तेः । III. 2.38.
वैषम्यनैर्घृण्ये न सापेक्षत्वात्तथा हि दर्शयति । II. 1.34. न कर्मविभागादिति चेन्नाना-
दित्वात् । II. 1.35. उपपद्यते चाप्युपलभ्यते च । II. 1.36. अन्तस्तद्धर्मोपदेशात् ।
I. 1.20. अपीतौ तद्वत्प्रसंगादसमञ्जसम् । II. 1.8. न तु दृष्टान्ताभावात् । II. 1.9.
अदृश्यत्वादिगुणको धर्मोक्तेः । I. 2.21. आनन्दमयोऽभ्यासात् । I. 1.12. हेयत्वावच-
नाच्च । I. 1.8. अरूपवदेव हि तत्प्रधानत्वात् । III. 2.14. आह च तन्मात्रम् ।
III. 2.16. तदव्यक्तमाह हि । III. 2. 23. उभयव्यपदेशात्स्वहिकुण्डलवत् ।
III. 2.27. भेदव्यपदेशात् । I. 3.5. जगद्व्यापारवर्जं प्रकरणादसंनिहितत्वाच्च ।
IV. 4.17. भोगमात्रसाम्यलिगाच्च । IV. 4.21.

It begins—Fol. 1b.

श्रीराधावल्लभो जयतितराम् ।

भक्तिं भागवतांश्चैव नत्वा श्रीराधिकापतिम् ।

वक्ष्येऽहं श्रुतिसूत्राणां तात्पर्यामृतमुत्तमम् ॥१॥

श्रीराधावल्लभो जयतितराम् । कमनीयतमं शांतं प्रणम्याच्युतमद्भुतम् । श्रुतिसूत्रा-
मृतस्येमां वक्ष्ये टीकां महत्प्रियाम् ॥१॥

सद्भिः श्रीभगवत्पार्यै कर्तव्या भक्तिरुत्तमा ।

यतः साधनवृन्दानि तदर्थं कथितानि वै ॥२॥

तदेवाह सद्भिरिति । सद्भिः सर्वावस्थायां भगवत्युत्तमा निर्गुणा परा भक्तिरेव कर्तव्येद-
मेव (तात्पर्यामृतं on the margin) तदाहुर्वेदेवान्तज्ञाः । यतो ज्ञानादीनि साधन-
वृन्दानि तदर्थं भक्त्यर्थमेव निगमागमैः कथितानि ॥२॥

ब्रह्मकांडं तु भक्ती तदनुज्ञानाय सामान्यात् ॥३॥

तदेवाह शांडिल्यो मुनिवरः शांडिल्यविद्यायां ब्रह्मकांडमिति (द्वाभ्याम् on the margin) । तत् तस्य भगवतो (नु on the margin) ज्ञानाय यदुपवर्णितं ब्रह्मकांडं वेदैस्तदुपनिषद्गुणं ज्ञानकांडं भक्तौ भक्त्यर्थमेव । अतुर्थ्यं मत्तमी (अर्थवशाद्वि-भक्तिविपरिणाम्यते) । यतस्तज्ज्ञानेन तस्मिन् भक्तिर्भवति । तत्कुतः । (ननु भगवतोऽ-नुज्ञानाय यद्ब्रह्मकांडं तद्भगवत्प्राप्त्यर्थं भवतु कुतः भक्त्यर्थम् on the margin) सामान्यात् । यथा मणिज्ञानेन मणौ प्रीतिर्भवति तस्मात्तज्ज्ञानस्य तत्प्रीतेरंगत्वं तथा ॥३॥

दृष्टत्वाच्च ॥४॥

लोकेऽपि सौंदर्यादिज्ञानस्य तरुण्यादौ प्रीतिहेतुत्वं दृष्टं तस्मादपि ज्ञानस्य भक्त्यंगत्व-मेवावसीयते ॥४॥

It ends:—Fol. 33a.

मर्त्यानां चाप्यमर्त्यानां दिव्यं साध्वमृतं परम् ।

सेवनीयमतः सर्वैर्बद्धमुक्तमुमुक्षुभिः ॥२११॥

इति श्रीश्रुतिसूत्रतात्पर्यामृते प्रियादासाचार्यप्रदर्शिते द्वितीयं सफलज्ञानप्रकरणं संपूर्णम् ।

इति श्रीश्रुतिसूत्रतात्पर्यामृतटीकायां महत्प्रियायां प्रियादासाचार्यविरचितायाम् सफल-ज्ञानप्रकरणं द्विदितीयां संपूर्णम् । श्रीराधावल्लभो जयति ।

Minor Works

(iv) दीक्षासारनिर्णय

No. 128/86. Size 9 inches by 4¼ inches. Extent:—13 leaves. 7 lines to a page, 20 letters to a line. Country paper; Devanāgarī characters; hand-writing legible. Two lines on each border. Marks of punctuation in red ink. The work is finished on fol. 13a of the codex and is followed by a few verses dealing with एकादशीनिर्णय and अष्टमीनिर्णय. At the end we find the date of copying the Ms. as संवद् १८७६ (= 1823 A.D.). Here we learn of the other preceptor of our author whose name is हरिवंश महाचार्य and who is not named by Priyādāsa anywhere else.

It begins:—Fol. 1a.

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

हरिवंशं महाचार्यं चन्द्रलालं च सद्गुरुम् ।

प्रणम्य सन्मतं ज्ञात्वा वक्ष्ये दीक्षामनुत्तमाम् ॥१॥

गुरुशिष्यसुवादेन विशुद्धशास्त्रचक्षुषा ।

नामहेण च द्वेणैव स्तुत्यैरगणया(?)न वा ॥२॥

शिष्य उवाच ॥

का दीक्षा शुभदा लोके सेवनीया मुमुक्षुभिः ।

भजनीयोऽपि को देवो ब्रूह (हि) शास्त्रविदां वर ॥३॥

श्रीगुरुवाच ॥

वैष्णवी परमा दीक्षा पंचसंस्कारलक्षणा ।

धारणीया सदा सद्भिः प्रीत्या मवाधनुत्तमे (?) ॥४॥

It ends:—Fol. 13a.

दिव्येयं वैष्णवी दीक्षा प्रियादामप्रमोददा ।

वितनोतु वैष्णवानां मंगलान्यव्ययानि च ॥

इति श्रीदीक्षासारनिर्णयस्समाप्तः । After a few verses संबद १८७६, चैतवदि
= सुके लिषी माधौरामलेषकनै ।

The work deals with the rules of initiation of the Vaiṣṇavas. It is written in the form of a dialogue between the teacher and his student. In answer to his student's question, the teacher replies that the Vaiṣṇava initiation consisting of five संस्कार s viz., ताप, पुंड्र, नाम, माला and मन्त्र, is the best of initiations. The other दीक्षा s are impure. Cf.—एवं मुद्रादयः पंच संस्काराः । तल्लक्षणा वैष्णवी दीक्षा सर्वश्रेष्ठा सर्वपापहरा शुद्धा । अन्यास्त्वशुद्धा एव । तासु शाक्ता तु नरकप्रदेव, दुराचारात् कुमत्तस्वीकाराच्च । कुमत्तं तु—मातृयोनिं परित्यज्य सर्वयोनिषु क्रीडयेत् । अभावे कन्यकायोनौ ॥ तथैव चेति—सुराभक्षणाभ्यामेव साक्षा-न्नायणो भवेदित्यादिकम् । अतस्सा दीक्षा तु नरकप्रदा । तदुक्तं श्रीशिखेन तद्रूपाकारेण—ये ये मतमवष्टभ्य चरन्ति पृथिवीतले । सर्वैर्धर्मैश्च रहिता यास्यन्ति निरयं सदेति ॥ शैवी दीक्षा तु श्रेष्ठा श्रुतिस्मृतिप्रतिपाद्यापि श्रुत्यापाम्र एव सुखदा । तत्पश्चात् शापदग्धा जाता । अतो वर्जनीया । शापस्तु श्राभागवते—भवव्रतधरा ये च ये च तान्समनुव्रताः । पाखण्डिनस्ते भवन्तु सच्छास्त्रपरिपन्थिनः ॥ नश्रं चा मूढधियो जटाभस्मास्थिधारिणः । विशन्तु शिवदीक्षायां यत्त दैवं सुरासवम् ॥ इत्यादि । तस्माद्वैष्णवी दीक्षा धारणीया । ननु तस्या अपि तत्तमुद्रातुलसीमालांगायया वैष्णवीदीक्षाया निन्दा श्रूयत इति चेत्सत्यम्, सा तु राजसतामसागमपुराणेष्वसुरमोहनाय तेषां तस्यामरुचये मुनिभिः कृता । etc.

(v) सुमार्गे (vi) वेदान्ततत्त्व

सुमार्ग consists of 23 verses. We find a Ms. codex containing it along with another small treatise वेदान्ततत्त्व containing 19 verses. Following is a short description:—

No. 14/57. Size 9½ inches by 5½ inches. Extent:

3 leaves; 11 lines to a page; 35 letters to a line. Country paper; Devanāgarī characters; hand-writing good; four lines in black ink on each border. पदs are separated by means of vertical marks on the top. Verse-numbers are given. सुमार्ग contains the rules of conduct which a Vaiṣṇava ought to follow while वेदान्ततत्त्व, in the words of the author himself, is an outcome of the author's doubts in regard to Vedānta.

सुमार्ग begins :—

श्रीराधावल्लभो जयति ।

श्रीराधावल्लभं देवं नत्वा सर्वाधिपाधिपम् ।

सुमार्गः कथ्यते मित्त्र मोदायाच्युतभक्तये ॥१॥

भक्तिः श्रीमाधवे शश्वन्निर्गुणा वा गुणात्मिका ।

स्वाधिकारानुरूपेण कर्तव्या स्त्रीनरादिभिः ॥२॥

तामसी तु सदा त्याज्या निंदाहिंसात्मिका सता ।

क्लेशदा ते मुदा कार्या सात्त्विकी राजसी तु वा ॥३॥

खधर्माचरणं चैव तस्याः प्रौढत्वसिद्धये ।

पंचैवाधर्मशाखायाः कर्तव्यं तन्निवर्तनम् ॥४॥

It ends—

सर्वेषामिच्छतां भव्यं मार्गोऽयं सर्वसिद्धिदः ।

माननीयो ह्यतः पुंभिः स्त्रीभिश्च पापनुत्तये ॥२२॥

जीवानां मङ्गलं दिव्यं सुमार्गो वितनोतु तत् ।

प्रोत्साह्यं शृण्वतां चापि प्रियादासप्रदर्शितः ॥२३॥

इति सुमार्गोऽयं संपूर्णः ॥

वेदान्ततत्त्व begins :—

श्रीराधावल्लभो जयति ताराम् ॥

कृष्णं नत्वा तत्त्वं वक्ष्ये वेदान्तस्य ध्यात्वा राधाम् ।

नित्यं नितांजलाचार्यं (?) भक्तोऽहं तद्भ्राजालोकः ॥१॥

श्रुतिमूलानि सांख्यादीन्यपि शास्त्राणि सात्वतैः ।

पूर्वपक्षाय सर्वाणि वर्णितानि महर्षिभिः ॥२॥

वेदबाह्यं त्वमूलत्वात्कार्कं श्रुत्यसंमतम् (?) ।

इति ज्ञात्वा चला धीर्मे जाता वेदान्तसंज्ञके ॥३॥

तस्मात्तत्तदहं वक्ष्ये वेदवेदान्तचक्षुषा ।

राधाकृष्णकृपाशक्त्या प्रीतये सात्त्वतां सता ॥४॥

यतो जन्माद्यस्य त्वमरमुनिनाथाखिलपतिः
सतोऽग्रे ह्यासीद्यः जभववय आद्यानतपदः (?) ।
स कृष्णो ज्ञातव्यो हृदि तदनुरागाय परमो
न चान्योऽन्यान्यद्वा इति वदति वेदो हितविदा ॥५॥

It ends—

इदं वेदान्ततत्त्वं वै मंगलं परमं सताम् ।
वितनोतु सादासानां प्रियादासप्रदर्शितम् ॥१६॥ etc.

In the Rewa library there is another Ms. of सुमार्ग which contains a Hindi commentary written in the Rewa dialect. See No. 131/185.

(vii) वैष्णवसिद्धान्त

No. 138/38. Size 6¼ inches by 4¼ inches. Extent: 6 leaves; 9 lines to a page; 18 letters to a line. Country paper; Devanāgarī characters; hand-writing good, but incorrect. It is a small treatise dealing with पुष्टिमार्ग containing 54 leaves. It is in the form of a dialogue between a शिष्य and गुरु. The trend of the work can be easily guessed from a few questions of the disciple given below—

अद्वैतं वा सदाद्वैतं किं वा युग्मविलक्षणम् ।
द्वैताद्वैतं परं ब्रह्म पृच्छेऽहं त्वां मुनेऽव्ययम् ॥४॥
नन्वद्वैते कथं तस्मिन्मानान्वं दृश्यते पृथक् ॥६॥
नन्वभेदेऽद्वितीयेऽद्धा द्वैताभावात्कुतो जगत् ।
तत्कल्पको जनोऽज्ञानं येभ्यस्ते सुमतं भवेत् ॥८॥
किं बाभासं स्वयं स्वस्मिन् प्रतिबिम्बं च पश्यति ।
विश्वं वा तद्भवे जाल्या भवे दुःखादिसंयुतः ॥९॥

But most of the verses given in it are identical with the text of सुसिद्धान्तोत्तम

It begins—

श्रीदक्षिणामूर्तिभ्यो नमः ।
चन्द्रलालं गुरुं वन्दे मनसो दैवतं परम् ।
शब्दज्ञानविहीनैर्यः कारयेद् ग्रन्थमुत्तमम् ॥१॥
प्रणम्य राधिकाकान्तं वेदवेदान्तचक्षुषा ।
प्रश्नोत्तरेण सिद्धान्तं वक्ष्ये वैष्णवप्रीतये ॥२॥ etc.

It ends—

सोऽयं वैष्णवसिद्धान्तः प्रियादासमतानुगाः (गः) ।

शुभानीश्वरभक्तानां वितनोतु सदा सताम् ॥५४॥

इति श्रीवैष्णवसिद्धान्तः (:) समाप्तः (:) ॥

It is unfortunate that a scholar of such worth should have remained unknown to us so long. His contribution to the Vallabhite Vedānta is not mean and his works deserve publication and a close study, at least at the hands of the followers of Vallabhācārya.

HAR DUTT SHARMA



Advaita, Causality and Human Freedom

It will be the aim of this paper to treat in some detail the notion of causality as set out in and criticised by the *advaita vedānta*, consider its affinities if any with the conception of cause in modern science and discuss the bearing of these views on the problem of human freedom. In the course of the discussion I shall specifically refer to two books—Prof. Stebbing's *Philosophy and the Physicists*¹ and Dr. Brahma's *Causality and Modern Science*.² I have neither the time nor the ability to discuss the former in full; I shall content myself with a consideration of the tenth chapter on 'Human Freedom and Responsibility'. The second book presents more a point of view than a detailed exposition; and with this, though in agreement to a large extent, I have to express dissatisfaction in some measure.

1

The advaitin's ontological position has been often stated and requires little repetition. Reality is non-dual; it is consciousness or experience, self-luminous by nature; it is eternal and free. On this are super-imposed as appearances duality, inertness, cognisability in dependence on another, dependence, impermanence, and so on. The super-imposition is the work of nescience. This is not real as then there could not even be the realisation of it as nescience, leading to its sublation; it is not unreal, since duality and dependence are facts of immediate experience in no wise comparable to the impossible barren woman's son or even to the barely possible, but not actual, hare's horn; it is therefore considered indeterminable, not characterisable as real or as unreal,

1 Methuen, 1937.

2 Allen and Unwin, 1939.

anirvācya. All limitations, and all relations among the limited fall within the realm of this nescience, which is neither co-eval with reality nor falls outside of it. Finitude and plurality being phenomenal, the relations among the diverse, such as time, space and cause are also phenomenal. They cannot claim to hold good absolutely, whether for all or everywhere.

Though such a position is not attractive or convincing on the face of it, a little consideration would seem to make it acceptable in the case of space and time. Analysis of these reveals two sets of difficulties. We seem unable to set limits to space and time though, obviously, spatial and temporal characteristics belong only to the finite. What is bounded in space, and what has a beginning or end, these are certainly finite. Space itself, however, cannot be bounded; what lies outside space? If it is more space, it means we have not so far come to the limits of space; if it is non-space, we have to admit that the spatial finitude of our experience derives from something determined, if at all, in the last resort by something which is not space; and this, in effect, will not differ from conceding the phenomenality of space. One may contend that space is infinite though spaces are finite. This again will be the admission of *advaita* in another way—the admission of the possibility of finitude being an appearance of the infinite, limitation an appearance of the limitless, the many an appearance of the one. It may still be argued that while the *advaitin* considers the many and the finite to be appearances, the opponent treats them as real just as much as the one and the infinite. To maintain in the same breath the reality of opposed qualities like infinitude and finitude is to fly in the face of the law of contradiction and refuse to think. Justification based on the category of identity-in-difference will prove but a broken reed, as will be seen presently. It may be said that an infinite cause may have finite effects; with this contention we shall have to deal in the consideration of causality. This pos-

sibility excepted, there seems no way of avoiding the phenomenality of space. So also of time.

The other set of considerations mentioned relates to experiences like dreams. The contents of these experiences are actual enough and enjoy spatial and temporal properties very much at variance with the setting of the dreamer in what we call actual, i.e. waking, life. While the dreamer's body lies in Madras, the dream relates to Benares or to the battle-front. While the dream occupies what corresponds to a few minutes of our waking time, the dreamer often grows up, gets married, achieves success and even dies within that period. There would thus seem to be different and conflicting spatial and temporal systems within our experience. Even within waking experience, consider the phenomenon of reverie. In the course of a few minutes we run through a course of events which occupied a considerably longer interval of time. Is the latter contained in the former? If so, how can this be unless the interval which seems so variable is also negligible as ultimate reality, unless time is phenomenal?

Similar considerations may be raised in regard to causality too. It has been argued that causal efficiency is no proof of reality; the dream food satisfies dream hunger though not waking hunger. But these arguments are not quite conclusive in regard to causality being phenomenal. The causal efficiency of the dream content has indeed been used in the reverse way by realists like the Mādhvas to establish the reality of that content. Further, though he who dreams of Māhiṣmati does not wake up there, he who dreams of a snake wakes up often with actual trembling; the victim of a nightmare actually cries out; and the physiological consequences of an erotic dream belong to the waking order of experience. It was also noticed that an appeal may be made to causality in order to exhibit the reconcilability of one and many, finite and infinite. The notion of cause, therefore, seems to stand on a slightly better footing than

space and time, from the point of view of the anti-phenomenalist; and it deserves a fuller consideration.

The advaitin, like the follower of the sāṅkhya holds to *sat-kārya-vāda*, the doctrine that the effect is not a creation *de novo*, but is prefigured in the cause. The sāṅkhya arguments for the position are well known. Either there is or there is not a time interval between cause and effect. If there is, does the cause wholly cease to exist, before the effect comes into being? In that case, the immediate antecedent of the product would be a non-existence; and though we may in speech distinguish non-existence of X from non-existence of Y, there is in reality no way of distinguishing one non-existence from another. Thus, so far as the immediate antecedent goes, we have no explanation why X is the effect, not Y; theoretically any effect may follow from any cause; sand may produce oil, and water curds; for between the alleged cause and sought effect, there is interposed a non-existence, whose character can be but homogeneous. Yet in practice we do not get curds out of water; we treat the effect as derivable only from a potent cause. What can this potency be except the pre-existence of the effect in the cause, in a latent form? If, however, no time-interval be admitted between cause and effect, we have to take them as either identical or as wholly different; in neither case is the cause-effect relation possible; cow is not the cause of itself; nor is it the cause of a horse; co-existent differents are no more cause and effect than the two horns of a bull.

With this line of sāṅkhya criticism of the vaiśeṣika creationist position, the advaitin has great sympathy. He will not, however, subscribe to the ultimacy of the causal concept; for if the sāṅkhya criticism is pressed to its limits, the concept has to be abandoned. The critic of the creationist view can admit the pre-existence of the effect only in a latent form; the causal operation serves to make it patent or manifest. The questions raised about the effect may be

raised about its manifestation too. Is that pre-existent or not? If pre-existent, it could be only as manifest, since it is absurd to say there is manifestation, but as non-manifest; and if manifestation is pre-existent, it amounts to the admission of the effect as fully pre-existent, not merely as a potentiality; and such an effect needs no explanation in terms of causal operation. On the other alternative of manifestation being produced *de novo* by the operation, what is the special virtue of this effect, that it alone is susceptible of creation, not the effects which become manifest? It seems legitimate to conclude that the sāṅkhya while envisaging a difficulty has, instead of solving it, only pushed it back one stage. And the difficulty seems insoluble so long as we stick to the distinctness of cause and effect. We seem nearer a solution, if we deny the distinctness treating cause and effect as appearances of the same reality. This is in effect what the advaitin does. The non-distinctness is asserted not as between finite causes and effects in the world, but as between the world and its cause, Brahman. The causal relationship is to be understood as between the substrate and the super-imposed, the rope and the snake; but for the rope there would be no snake-delusion there; it is present only so long as the rope is there and disappears into the rope, when the latter is truly known as such. The effect, the delusion, is nothing other than the cause, though it appears to be different. The causal relation is based on this delusive difference. It is, so to speak, subjective; and this subjectivity will, one may expect, infect all derivative finite causal relations too. The advaitin, however, maintains the relative objectivity of finite causal relationships. Causality is no doubt a product of nescience; but so long as we live in a world of nescience, without rising above it to that which is neither cause nor effect, we have no right to impugn causality; it is as objective as the world is; even for the transcendence of nescience we depend on this concept, since we have to depend on means like instruction, reflection, contemplation, etc.

If these were not well-settled causes, they could not be depended on by us in our laudable endeavour to realise ourselves; and yet when we do realise, the very means which furthered our endeavours appear delusive. The needs of science and metaphysics seem to be equally satisfied by the invocation of two worlds. Whether causal rigidity in the empirical world is consistent with denial of causality in the transcendental world is a problem which we shall have to pose in the course of this paper. The orthodox advaita position would seem to admit of some improvement.

We have to note in the meantime that the cause would seem to find no logical resting place short of Brahman; and in Brahman it seems to annul itself along with the effect. This is how. The concept in question is an attempt to understand change. It attempts to explain what is fleeting and limited in time, what was not, but is and may cease to be, what in other words is occasional and impermanent. The presumption in any such explanation is that the permanent and the unchanging is self-explanatory; by being related thereto the transient may be made intelligible. A mere relation of one thing to another does not satisfy *per se*. It will no doubt be said that explanation consists in relating the unknown to the known, not the fleeting to the permanent; even in this way of conceiving explanation it must be remembered that the known implies a relatively unified and relatively permanent system; and the permanence of the knowing self at least is in most cases assumed. Without the relation to something more permanent or fundamental, no phenomenon finds explanation. The goal of explanation would seem to be therefore the exhibition of the relation of the changing to that which is above change. Hence it is that *pradhāna* and primal atoms alike are conceived as unborn and eternal. Where the world is declared to arise out of a First Cause, such cause is itself not a product and is conceived as above space and time. This indeed is the merit of the causal concept, that, how-

ever inconsistently, it rises above the very limitations and diversities which lead to its invocation and seeks to reach infinitude and unity. The relating of one phenomenon to another may give some temporary or practical satisfaction; but we cannot logically stop short of the noumenon above the phenomena.

And when we do get to the noumenon, whether by reasoning or testimony or both, we still seem to be no better off logically. The noumenon, Brahman, the supreme and sole reality, is the cause. The effect cannot be spoken of as such unless there is some difference from the cause. Hence the world though differing from Brahman in respect of finitude, inertness etc., may well be because of this very difference be the effect of Brahman. The world is not eternal and constant; else it would not be an effect; nor would it require explanation, as the eternal is self-explanatory. It is not real in the way that Brahman is real. Nor is it unreal, as in that case it would have nothing at all in common with Brahman and could not be its product. The effect shares with the cause the negation of unreality; it differs from the cause in falling short of reality by which we understand what is always and for ever. The phenomenon in other words is indeterminable as real or as unreal; hence its relation to the noumenon can have no better status; that too, must be but indeterminable or phenomenal. The advaitin does assert the non-otherness of effect from cause; he does not however assert their identity in such wise as to deduce for the effect the reality of the cause; the negation of otherness amounts only to this—that the effect has no reality other than that of the cause.³ Hence, it is that the promissory statements of *śruti* can be justified as to the knowledge of all (effects) through knowledge of the one (cause).

3 Cf.: "na khalv ananyatvam ity abhedam brūmah, kiṃ tu bhedam vyasedhāmah"—*Bhāmati*, II, i, 14.

It is worth while sparing some attention here to the notion of identity-in-difference as connected with the causal concept. Identity and difference may appear *prima facie* irreconcilable contraries; but their co-existence, one may contend, is both possible and actual, as will be seen if we look at the many transformations of a single cause. Hail and snow are different; so are bracelet and ear-ring; yet these differences co-exist with the fundamental identity of each pair, in the causal aspect, i.e., as water and as gold. As cause there is identity; as effect there is difference. One has to ask what the relationship is between the cause and the effects. Is it identity or difference? If identity, then, what holds good in the causal aspect should equally hold good in the effect-aspect too, so that there is no propriety in restricting the identity of hail and snow only to their causal aspect; they must be identical even as products, a conclusion commendable neither to common-sense nor to the opponent. Suppose, however, there is difference between cause and effects; then between hail which is different from water and snow also different from water, how can there be identity in the causal, i.e., water-aspect? We shall have to resort here again to identity-in-difference, a procedure tainted with the charge of self-dependence or infinite regress. Further, when because of identity-in-difference there is intermixture between the causal and effect-aspects, how can there be the restriction of identity to one of these aspects? We are again faced with the violation of common-sense.

The real is the cause; the effect may not be identical therewith nor different therefrom; nor is difference *cum* non-difference intelligible; the effect is neither real nor unreal; one term of the causal relation being thus indeterminable, the relation itself is indeterminable.

This conclusion may be due to our illegitimate attempt to extend the causal concept beyond the phenomenal realm, where alone it can be legitimately invoked. Phenomenal causality knows

nothing of these transcendental difficulties. The relation between one phenomenon and another can be so refined as to be invariable and unconditional; and with this all reasonable ambitions of causal explanation will have been satisfied. In answer to such an objection let us undertake a still closer investigation of the causal concept.

The *advaitin's* examination of cause as conceived by the realists of the time is very instructive and can perhaps be hardly improved upon. The cause is usually conceived as an antecedent in time. Of course, not any antecedent will do, e.g. a donkey standing by the potter's shed is not a cause in respect of the production of a pot. We refine the notion by the qualification of invariability; we know that the donkey is not an invariable antecedent. But our difficulties seem to be just beginning. Those who enumerate causes admit causal efficacy not merely for distinct events in time, but also for certain common conditions like time, space, *Īśvara*, etc. *Īśvara* is above time, hence not an antecedent in time. Time itself is not in time and hence cannot be treated as such an antecedent. An ingenious attempt will claim that though there are no temporal distinctions for time, they may be understood through adjuncts, just as the *advaitin* claims that, because of adjuncts, distinctions are introduced in the distinctionless. Priority and posteriority for time would be due to the priority and posteriority of the adjuncts. But how are the adjuncts distinguished as prior or posterior? Because of time; and because of the adjuncts so determined time itself is to be characterised as prior or posterior; a clear case of self-dependence. If time were not the determinant of sequence among adjuncts, all of them would be simultaneous, making all empirical usage impossible. This very impossibility would be a ground for treating time and cause as phenomenal, not for admitting sequence among adjuncts and claiming at the same time that it is not temporally determined. This is only to recognise under another name, time as a distinct adjunct determinative of

sequence; and one of the two postulates, either this adjunct or time, is clearly superfluous. Even were differentiation by adjuncts possible, it could not be said that time qualified by one of these exists in another time differently qualified, since in any case time cannot exist *in* itself. We do not indeed say that Devadatta who wears glasses exists *in* Devadatta who wears a suit.

This kind of difficulty may not appeal to those who refuse to recognise general causes. Even these will realise that invariable antecedence in time is over-pervasive of symptoms and co-effects, which are not causes. Day is not the cause of night. A persistent low temperature symptomatic of tuberculosis is not the cause of the patient's subsequent decline. We have to introduce further refinements in our understanding of invariable antecedence; and we seem nowhere near success in doing this. We may thus seek to dismiss symptoms and co-effects on the ground of their being *anyathāsiddha*, like the donkey or like the all-pervasive ether. The donkey's presence where the pot is made is due to other causes. Neither its presence nor the cognition of its presence is linked up *as a cause* with the cognition of the pot. Given its own causes the presence of the donkey would be fully accounted for, without any reference to the production of pot. So too in the case of ether, its presence is inevitable because of its pervasiveness, not because it accounts for the pot-production. Similarly the day is the effect of the rotation of the earth round the sun; it may be invariably associated in our minds with night, but its presence and cognition are adequately accounted for by its own cause without reference to night; so also the low persistent fever is accounted for by the tubercle bacillus without a necessary reference to the subsequent decline. Thus co-effects and symptoms may be ruled out.

But, we ask, do you mean to rule out all conditions that are accounted for by their own causes or are inevitable? In that case you would be ruling out most if not all accepted causes. The pervasive

ether is admitted to be the cause of sound, and the pervasive self of happiness, etc. It may be you are not prepared to admit their pervasiveness and *anyathāsiddhātva*. The difficulty, however, persists in the case of admitted causes. The clay and the wheel and the staff are undoubted causes of the pot. Are not these causal conditions sufficiently accounted for in their turn by their own antecedents? Perhaps, you think, they are not fully accounted for without reference to their purpose, the production of the pot, their final cause. There are at least two difficulties in such a view. You as a conscious being may consider the lack of final purpose to be a defect and may be inclined to read it in whatever you cognise; but that of itself will be no justification for reading this purpose into inert objects and determining their causality or non-causality thereby. Further this purpose is not an antecedent in time, but what is to be fulfilled in time, while what we seek to do here is to clear up the notion of an invariable antecedent. Again, what is it that we try to understand? Is it not the causality of clay, wheel etc., in relation to pot? The notion of pot as the final cause of the wheel, etc., how does that help us in this? In any case, it is difficult to maintain that clay is not understandable except with reference to a pot to be produced. It may be where it is by accident or design; and the design may relate to pots or dolls or a nature-cure plaster. The antecedents of its presence can be definite, not the purposes which it may serve; and because of the definiteness of the former, it does not cease to be a cause of pot etc. Of course, clay present in a potter's house is different from clay in Mahatma Gandhi's. In the former case, its causality of pot or basin is exceedingly likely; but it is only likely; the probability approximates to certainty when you see it in the potter's hands; even then there is an element of uncertainty; he may change his mind and throw it away or fashion something else; the certainty is greater when a rough shape has been given and you watch it on the wheel; it is

greatest when the pot has been finished; you can then say the clay of the pot is the cause of the pot, a proposition perilously near tautology. Again, in the case of earth, water, light, and seed, each of which is accounted for by its own causes and is known without a necessary reference to the growth of crops, can the causality in respect of crops be denied? The notion of *ananyathāsiddhatva* turns out to be a frail reed incapable of sustaining the causal concept.

You may now demand of the alleged cause that it should be helpful in producing the effect. But wherein lies helpfulness? And what degree of it is required? In any particular case of pot the donkey may be helpful; from contemplating its utility the potter may have derived extra cheerfulness and succeeded in finishing off a better pot than usual. This extra psychical stimulus may be provided by different causes for different pots; the potter may dream of his wife or his gains; though because of variability no one of these can be the cause of pot in general, causality in respect of each particular pot seems difficult, if not impossible, to deny.

Assuming for a moment all such objections to be fanciful, let us see whether there is any definite way of understanding the helpfulness of the cause. It is not that the effect is invariably present where the cause is; for the presence of seed is not invariably attended by the shoot. Of course, it will be said, seed alone is not the cause, but seed together with accessories. But it is in determining these accessories that we have all the trouble just noted; the donkey and the potter's wife are clamant in their demand for inclusion though with a show of logic we insist on excluding them. The only legitimate ground for their exclusion is that though present they are not present as causal. Our difficulty however is just what constitutes causal presence and it is no help to refer to accessories with a need for excluding what are not causal.

In any case, it is clear that the semi-popular usage of 'cause' has to be abandoned; for this can produce the effect only in depen-

dence on auxiliaries; and those auxiliaries do, properly speaking, enter into the very cause of the effect in question. We cannot legitimately separate the alleged cause from the auxiliaries; and any attempt to include them seems to end only when we come right down to the effect itself.

It may be said that nothing can be simpler than to determine the true auxiliaries, on the ground of co-presence and co-absence, *anvaya* and *vyatireka*. Whatever has this generic quality is a cause, not any other. There are some merely technical objections to such a view; e.g. a genus, since it cannot possess another genus, can never be a cause. Since clay which is co-present and co-absent with pot has the genus substance-ness and this is shared by donkey etc., these too would be causes. If this genus be considered too wide and remote and a narrower more proximate genus insisted on, e.g. clayiness or earthiness, then such non-distinctive causes as ether, time, space etc., would be wholly excluded from the causal category, whereas time and space are always conceded to be causes. This is also the reason for our failure to understand *anvaya* and *vyatireka*. Is the co-presence in time, or space, or both? In the first case, time cannot be a cause since it is not present in time; in the second case, space cannot be a cause; and the since neither is present in *both* space and time, neither can be a cause in the third case. Nor is the difficulty merely fanciful or terminological. For no cause is such in the abstract, but only as occurring in certain spatial and temporal conditions; and these cannot be ignored in reckoning causal efficiency; rains at harvest-time cannot be the cause of plenty.

We have still to face the ancient bugbear known as plurality of causes. Fire may be caused by a match-stick, or a burning glass or by a steel and tinder. No one of these is the invariable antecedent of fire, yet each is said to cause fire. Our logicians in their wisdom say such usage is due to ignorance and lack of analysis.

Where the alleged cause and effect are sufficiently refined by analysis it will be found the same cause has only the same effect and the same effect has the same cause. Where the fire in the oven has been lit by one of these alternative modes, what, one wonders, will the analysis of the effect lead us to? Our perception does not acquaint us with any difference in the fires. It may be said that if we look at the fires armed with the knowledge of their causes, we are enabled to distinguish the products too. In a class of young boys not old enough to be invested with the sacred thread and all looking more or less alike we distinguish a brahmin boy by his parentage from the rest; so too in the case of the fires and other similar effects alleged to result from a plurality of causes. The illustration is not suitable. For reasons, sound and unsound, we admit the brahmin parentage of the particular boy and then deduce or admit his brahminhood. Here, however, which is the cause is the very point at issue; and the matter we say is unsettled, because of the inconstancy of the antecedents of fire at different times. To the reply that the fires too are different we oppose their practical indistinguishability. It is no answer to this to offer their distinguishability in the light of their distinct causes. Granted their causality the effects would be distinguishable; granted the distinguishability the alleged causes would be really such: thus we have flagrant reciprocal dependence.

Nor is this due to the apparent puerility of the instance chosen. Though death, in popular speech, may be due to many causes, any particular instance of death will on analysis prove traceable only to one of such causes. Interference with the respiratory system is not the same as interference with the circulatory system. Drowning interferes with respiration; certain varieties of snake poison clot the blood and arrest circulation. Both are vital functions. The arrest of one leads to the suspension of the other also, resulting in what we call death. In respect of the final cessation of all functions, is there

any difference? None we can discover. In the preliminaries there-to there are differences: one may get black in the face, or have the wind-pipe or spinal column broken, or the respiratory passage filled with water, or one's blood-vessels choked up with clotted blood; but this is just what we too affirm; in the face of such divergent antecedents how can we deny plurality of causes or affirm a distinction in the effects, except at the risk of such tautologies, as "Drowning is the cause of death by drowning"? Analysis is a good servant, but a bad master. The man in the street does not analyse and has perhaps little faith in the infallibility of causal relations; the logically trained person analyses, but that does not justify his pathetic faith in the perfect causal relation; if the process of analysis is pressed forward rigorously instead of being allowed to stop short to contemplate its triumphs, it will find itself under the necessity to transcend the causal concept.

Again, since, where we do not arrive at a non-difference of cause from effect, we have to distinguish between the cause and its auxiliaries, may we not, even on the assumption of effects being distinguishable, attribute the distinctness to the auxiliary rather than to the cause? Drowning and shooting are both causes of death, we may say; there is no doubt of this difference in the effects, that there is water in the respiratory passages in one case and a hole through the heart in the other; but this is due to the mode in which the different causes function to their accessories; it cannot detract from the possibility of different causes to produce the same effect. Not a very sound argument, perhaps, but a plausible one.

Our difficulties, it may be thought, are due to the persistence of the popular notion that the cause is a single condition, whereas it is in truth a complex of conditions. We should not confuse ourselves with the notion of a cause and its auxiliaries, but should always envisage a causal complex, any member of which may figuratively, and for strictly limited purposes, be called a cause. A cause

is that which is a member of a causal complex. This does not, however, take us very far, since, as we have already seen, our difficulty is to determine how much to include in this complex and what to exclude. The only answer we get is that we should include all causes and only causes; but this is to go round in a circle. Further, being a member of the complex, is it the very nature (*svarūpa*) of each of the components? Then each should produce the effect. Even if aggregation be not the *svarūpa* it may be eternal; in such a case the effect should be constant, instead of appearing and disappearing. If, however, the aggregation is adventitious and occasional, how does *that* come about? If it is due to another cause, that will involve another complex and we shall have an infinite regress; or our notion of the first complex would itself turn out to be defective because of the non-inclusion of this factor which accounts for its own being. And when this cause of the complex can itself explain the effect, why postulate an intermediate complex? The complex should be accounted for by its own constituents. Is each then distributively the cause? Then, since some one element of it, e.g. space, will be constant, the complex should be constant, and also the effect. If to avoid this we say that the factors collectively account for the aggregation, we are in the old round of explaining collectiveness by itself. To postulate another complex or aggregate of course leads to infinite regress.

Why all this difficulty about aggregation? All conditions that are proximate constitute the complex; what is remote does not enter into it. The matter is not so simple, as we have difficulties parallel to those in understanding co-presence and co-absence. If the proximity be in time alone or space alone, time would be excluded in the former case and space in the latter; proximity in both would exclude both from causal conditions. If you mean not such contiguity, but either conjunction or inherence of one condition or set of conditions in the other or others, then conjunction and inherence would

not be causes, since for them there is not another conjunction or inherence. That there is a single complex may be determined from the production of a single effect; but this is to beg the question as to what it is that produces the effect.

Our troubles have been due to conceiving cause statically. The factors not merely exist but also function in producing the effect. This functioning (*vyāpāra*) we call aggregation or complication; and the effect results therefrom. We are still in the woods; for is this functioning extrinsic or intrinsic to the factors? If intrinsic, we have to determine whether it belongs to each factor distributively or to all collectively. In the former case we have the old difficulty that some factors being constant, the operation and the effect would also be constant. To conceive function as intrinsic to the aggregate does not help, since our present efforts are directed only to the understanding of aggregation. If the functioning be extrinsic to the factors, another functioning would have to be interposed between that and the factors, and there would be infinite regress. If, however, the function of complication can be arrived at without an intermediate function, why may not the factors produce the effect itself without the interposition even of complication?

When the conception of functioning fares thus, it is no help to define cause as that which has function. Other difficulties apart, this would exclude the final function from the cause, since that function has not another function. And since function cannot be defined except in terms of generating i.e. causing,⁴ we are again involved in a vicious circle. Further, the possession of function cannot be interpreted as inherence or as generation. The latter involves self-dependence while the former is contrary to what is known. Sacrifice is said to be instrumental to heavenly enjoyment through the function of an unseen potency (*apūrva*); but this

4 The function is what is generated by the cause and generates the effect produced by the cause.

apūrva is not inherent in the sacrifice; for the sacrifice perishes while the *apūrva* survives and results in the enjoyment hereafter.

Enough of this juggling, you may say; it may be that I cannot define cause; but you cannot disprove it. For, living as we do in a world of finite particulars that come and go, the recognition of cause is inevitable; else there would be but constancy, neither appearance nor disappearance; what is uncaused is eternal, like ether or the self. The average realist who urges this is not quite aware of his own pre-suppositions. The Indian logician, for instance, holds that the non-existence of an effect prior to its production is uncaused; but it is not eternal, terminable as it is by the coming into being of the effect. Again, a barren woman's son is not caused; nor is he eternal. Even if you protest against this reference to non-entities, what are the positive instances on which you base your pervasion? Neither the existence nor the eternality of ether and the self is universally admitted. The rejection alike of eternality and of the absence of causation cannot avail as the ground of pervasion; for the materialist who admits all things to be transient yet denies the validity of inference or causation. One who delights in the bare bones of logic may attempt the following inference: What is in dispute is caused, since it has prior non-existence; what is uncaused has no prior non-existence, like the self; since the uncaused self is admitted by the vedāntins, and the present argument is addressed to them alone, the example is unquestionable. But there is a more fundamental defect; the *probandum* must be something known; it must not be a wholly unknown predicate or one whose nature is in doubt; it must not be *aprasiddha-viśeṣaṇa*. Since the causal concept is just that which is in dispute, it serves no purpose to set up an inference like the above to prove that something is caused.

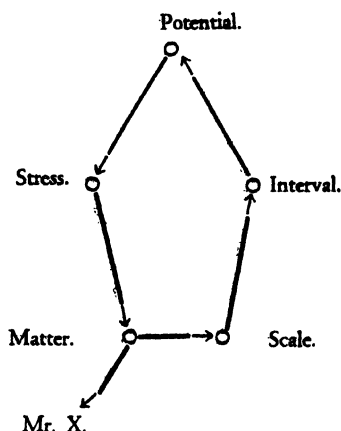
Does the advaitin then deny causality altogether? No; he does deny its intelligibility and ultimate reality. Viewing ourselves and our environment as finite and changing, there is only one way

of rising above our limitations; that is to grasp the identity in the differences, the permanent in the changing. The causal concept is an eminently successful attempt at such apprehension. In the nature of things, however, it cannot claim to be more real than what it seeks to comprehend. The phenomenal world is illusory; the causal concept applicable thereto is also illusory. The causal relation is not ultimately real, because nothing we call cause is ultimately real. What causal explanation seeks is such identity of character between cause and effect as will secure rigid and predictable sequence; the reality of either is for it an irrelevant question. And logically there is no reason for us to insist that any cause or all causes alike should be real. In the first place, all causal factors are not alike; the potter's staff is little like the clay and less like the potter; why should such divergent conditions agree in a claim to reality? True, we call them all causes, just as we apply the notion of similarity to a variety of cases; but the similarity of cow to ox is not the same as that of a cow to she-buffalo; much less has it in common with the similarity of brother and sister. Why insist on reality being common to such widely divergent factors? Further, by him who says the cause is real, reality is presumably conceived as qualifying the cause. If the cause in every case is that which *has* reality for its qualification, then the substrate (*viśeṣya*), the cause, itself is not real; if, on the contrary, the cause does not have reality for its qualification, then too it is not real. Nor can this dialectical skill be turned against the advaitin. It may not be said for instance that if Brahman be qualified by reality, the substrate of the world would be unreal, and that the same consequence follows, only more so, if Brahman be not qualified by reality. For the advaitin holds Brahman to be reality itself, above all distinctions of substrate and attribute. Brahman is co-eval with *sattva*, not *antarbhāvitāsattva*; and such a claim may intelligibly be made only for what is one, infinite, above space and time, not for the multiple and the limited.

It would follow from this that explanations of the finite as finite would achieve but limited success where they do not wholly fail. For the finite is grounded in the infinite and the latter alone can explain itself or another. Scientific explanations could take us beyond the particular phenomena sought to be known, but not very far; since our particular interests are limited they may and do offer help to satisfy those interests; but if we pressed forward, either because of irrepressible theoretical or satiated and novelty-seeking practical quests, we would find our explanations melting into thin air or doubling back to the starting point. Such an expectation on the part of the advaitin is justified in a measure by what some modern scientists have to say. The name of Eddington is notorious in this connection. And in spite of the disagreement even of some professors of philosophy, it is worth while taking note of his conclusions.

"The determination of the physical laws," says Eddington, "reflects the determinism of the method of inference."⁵ And the mode of inference he exhibits as strictly cyclic, maintaining its rigidity by cutting away what inconveniently refuses to fit into the scheme. Thus Einstein in his statement of the law of gravitation makes use of the concept of *potentials* which are said to "obey certain lengthy differential equations." *Potentials* are quantities derivable from fundamental quantities called *intervals*. *Intervals* are relations between events measurable by a *scale* or *clock*. A *scale* is a graduated strip of *matter*. Keeping to the world of mechanics, matter may be defined in terms of *mass*, *momentum* and *stress*. To the question what these three are, Einstein's theory is claimed to have given an exact answer. "They are formidable looking expressions containing the *potentials* and their first and second derivatives

with respect to the coordinates."⁶ And thus we have gone round full circle, or as Eddington diagrammatically represents it, round the pentagon.



The only way to avoid this going round is to stop short somewhere with what you know or what you seem to know. Most people would imagine they know what matter is and would not question further. For them, scientific explanation would appear very sound, simplifying and inter-connecting concepts, making the whole world more intelligible. But the knower, who is he? What is Mr. X? Surely till that is answered the explanation is not complete. It is because of ignoring this question that systems are maintained and certainty achieved. But neither the metaphysician nor even the scientist has the right to ignore this question.

The cyclic nature of physical inference is illustrated by the children's rhyme of the house that Jack built; only at a certain stage we retrace our steps instead of going on, so that we repeat ourselves indefinitely.⁷ And the fact of empirical validity of what we infer

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 254.

⁷ Or, as another interprets it "We are doing what the dictionary compiler did when he defined a violin as a small violoncello and a violoncello as a large violin" (*Limitations of Science*, p. 193, Pelican).

cannot guarantee the objective reality of the starting point of the inference. "When from an observation of pink rats we infer the presence of alcohol, the validity of the inference lies in the fact that what we infer originates a process which ends in the mental construction of pink rats.....But it is not presupposed that the pink rats are objectively real."⁸

Eddington holds that with the advent of quantum physics, the decline of determinism has also set in. The strict reign of *causality* (the belief in rigid reversible causal relations, as distinguished from the belief in *causation* that any consequent is due to its antecedent or complex of antecedents) is no longer found valid in the domain of physics where it had been supposed to hold undisputed sway. Not all modern physicists are willing to sacrifice determinism. But causality is a positive idea, the burden of proof of which lies on those who advance it; and physicists like Einstein and Max Planck, though they would like to re-establish determinism, see no present means of doing it. Their present failure does not involve failure for all time. Strict causality has not been disproved. But this can give no satisfaction to the physicist whose task it is to prove it, if he can. And despite Planck's emphatic assertion that "natural phenomena invariably occur according to the rigid sequence of cause and effect. This is the indispensable postulate of all scientific research,"⁹ we have Eddington's assurance that "Present day physics is simply indifferent to it. We might believe in it today and disbelieve in it to-morrow; not a symbol in the modern text-books of physics would be altered."¹⁰

If the reaction to determinism among modern physicists is not uniform, the welcome among philosophers has not been all that one might expect. Prof. Stebbing re-acting violently against the idealism as well as the loose language of Eddington will concede only

8 *New Pathways in Science*, p. 294.

9 *Where is Science Going?* p. 107.

10 *New Pathways*, p. 302.

that "the discovery of uncertainty relations does involve a considerable change in our attitude to determinism. But I doubt whether it is quite the change that either Jeans or Eddington supposes."¹¹ "The dominance of universal causation is felt to be a nightmare. Heisenberg's principle has some part to play in revealing to us what it is we thought we were accepting."¹² A very limited concession! Radiakrishnan holds that "Even freedom of man is not helped in any way by the freaks within the atom. To suggest that electrons possess free will is to degrade freedom itself."¹³ "If in order to be satisfied of the truth of freedom" says Dr. Brahma, "we want it to be proved at the level of mechanism, if instead of rising up to the level of freedom we desire that it may exist at the lower level of mechanism, we are demanding what is nothing short of the impossible. Freedom is not determinism and it can never hold good of determinism."¹⁴ The meaning of this last statement is far from clear, especially in view of what he says later. "The freedom that cannot find any place for necessity and causation but always opposes itself to the latter cannot be the ultimate category."¹⁵ Should we not conclude from this that "real" freedom does not oppose itself to determinism and, to that extent, does hold good of determinism? Dr. Brahma is quite content with the indeterminism or non-determination of Brahman; at the level of the phenomenal or empirical, causation may have full sway. But this is just what we as humble logicians in quest of the truth fail to understand. Quite irrespective of what may be true of a transcendent or noumenal background, we found it difficult to grasp the notion of cause or effect in any intelligible or consistent fashion even at the empirical level. We found that try as we might we were landed in self-dependence or infinite regress, defects which strangely enough seemed to find a parallel in

11 *Philosophy and the Physicists*, p. 184.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 240.

14 *Causality and Science*, p. 20.

13 *An Idealist View of Life*, p. 246.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

physical laws as expounded by Eddington. The cyclic nature of physical law exhibits the self-dependence we have detected in the causal notion. And the scientist today recognises, instead of rejecting, the plurality of causes. "We may think" says Eddington "we have an intuition that the same cause cannot have two alternative effects; but we do not claim any intuition that the same effect may not spring from two alternative causes."¹⁶ And the following quotation from Prof. Davidson will serve as a commentary on this: "The scientific world is full of examples of the same effect proceeding from different causes. An instance from chemistry may be taken. It is well known that formic acid can be obtained from nettles, ants, and other living organisms. It can also be obtained from its elements by simple methods; for instance, potassium formate can be produced from carbon monoxide and caustic potash, and formic acid can be produced from the compound by distilling with dilute sulphuric acid."¹⁷ This measure of agreement makes us suspect that there may be more to the matter than is conceded by Prof. Stebbing or other philosophers, realist or idealist.

Let us consider for a moment the measure of indeterminism now claimed to the credit of the sciences. Each atom is supposed to comprise a nucleus of positive electricity with one or more electrons revolving round it. The nucleus may consist of a single proton or a number of protons and electrons closely packed together, with a preponderance of protons over electrons so that there is a balance of positive electricity. The electron revolving in its orbit should naturally tend to draw ever closer to the nucleus and the process would be normally presumed to be continuous. It has been found, however, that what occurs is a change by jumps, not a continuous change. We have to assume a succession of orbits; from each of these the electron may jump to a higher or a lower, either absorbing

16 *Nature of the Physical World*, p. 286.

17 M. Davidson, *Free-Will or Determinism*, p. 44.

energy or radiating it; it may jump to the next lower or to the next but two; when the electron will jump and how much it will jump we do not know and have no means of knowing; all that we do know for certain is that between the energy levels of the various orbits the relation is constant, being expressible in terms of h (Max Planck's constant, equivalent to 6.55×10^{-27} erg. seconds) or some integral multiple of h , such as $2 h$, $3 h$, etc. There is thus an uncertainty within the atom, what Radhakrishnan calls a freak, as to when and how its mobile components, the electrons will change; the time, the quantity and direction of change are all uncertain.

This much can afford little basis for the scientific determinist or indeterminist philosopher. The measurements required may appear present impossibilities but may be future achievements, even like the bombing and disintegration of atoms. To this extent one may sympathise with Dr. Brahma when he says "If future experiments reveal to us that the indeterminism supposed to exist in the movements of the electron is really non-existent, Philosophy would find itself helpless to prove its position if it now accepts the argument of Professor Eddington."¹⁸ But the arguments of Eddington and Schrödinger go a little further than this. They maintain not merely that the movement of the electron is uncertain in the present state of our knowledge, but *can never be certain*, so that scientific prediction, such as we used to believe in, is impossible. In order to foretell the motion of the electron you must know both its position and its velocity; but in the nature of things, you can never approach accuracy in regard to the one without receding from accuracy in regard to the other. In order to know the position of the electron you have to look at it or illuminate it with light rays of a smaller wave-length; not even the shortest of ordinary light rays, the violet rays, is short enough for the purpose. We have to use what are called gamma-rays from radio-active substances. When such rays

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

are used, at least one quantum of energy will be involved and this is sufficient to disturb the electron, in an unpredictable manner. We would have very nearly fixed the position but would have disturbed the velocity. If we used lights of long wave-length but little energy, the velocity would be undisturbed, but the position would be uncertain. Accurate prediction requires knowledge of both position and velocity. "But these two factors are so connected that the more accurately we know the one the less accurately we know the other."¹⁹ To put it in terms of Schrödinger's wave-theory, an electron may be taken to be associated with a wave-packet so as to correspond to it in some way. Wave-packets may comprise waves of great or small length. In the former case their velocity will be less than in the latter. The velocity of the electron in the larger wave will be not quite determinate, as it may be either in the forward moving or back-ward moving part of the wave; but since the velocity of the wave itself is low, the indeterminacy will be low compared with the indeterminacy of position due to the length of the wave; the latter indeterminacy is reduced in the case of waves of shorter wave-length; but because of their greater frequency the difference in velocity between the forward and backward parts will be much greater; hence the indeterminacy of velocity is much higher in this case. "We pay for precision in position by uncertainty in velocity and *vice versa*."²⁰ The difficulty, to repeat, is not one of present inability, but the impossibility of prediction, given present conceptions.

It may be urged that these conceptions may give place to others, in the light of which prediction may appear possible. The wave theory gave way to the particle theory; now there is a tendency to combine the two and speak of a wavicle; we may in time arrive at some more intelligible synthesis which will do justice to the phenomena and preserve determinism. As against this we have to re-

19 *Limitations of Science*, p. 92.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 93.

member that Eddington and those of his persuasion do not claim to have established indeterminism scientifically. They do claim to have dis-established scientific determinism. Strict causality as understood in the past is neither possible nor necessary for science. We have so far only probability based on statistical laws. These statistical laws are not and need not be grounded on a rigid reversible causal relation.

We may assume for the moment that the principle of indeterminacy (strictly speaking it is uncertainty, and is expressive of the inability of the observer, not of the nature of things) has been established. Even thus, it holds of microscopic bodies, not of macroscopic entities like ourselves or our bodies. Granted the electron is free, what follows for us, endowed with organisms composed of large masses of electrons? The governing law may be statistical in its nature, not a relation of rigid necessity. This, however, means little in practice. By extensive observation we may compute the average longevity of the members of a country, community, profession or the like. It will not be possible on the basis of this average to judge the longevity of any particular member of that group; any particular member's length of life may hover about the mean or be far in excess or defect. Despite such uncertainties and aberrations, the average will continue to hold good for the whole as such. Similarly whatever may be the indeterminacy of the individual electron, the general law of causality will continue to hold good of us who are wholes of electrons. Microscopic uncertainties cannot detract from macroscopic certainty. The supposed freakishness within the atom is no guarantee of my freedom.

The argument thus advanced seems irrefutable. And the *advaitin*, who is interested not in the empirical, but in the transcendental, ideality of the concept, may well be disposed to accept the argument at its face value. He cannot, however, afford to forget that his own dialectic has convicted the causal concept of self-

dependence, reciprocal dependence and so on. The cloven hoof (ideality) would seem to be manifest, however dimly, even at the empirical stage. The philosophic advocate of non-difference cannot afford to recognise water-tight planes or compartments, such that causality is wholly real in one plane and wholly unreal in another. It is in truth neither real nor unreal; this indeterminability (*anirvācya*) is manifest in varying degrees in various planes. The advaitin cannot, therefore, countenance scientific determinism as either actual or possible.

It seems likely that the insurance company analogy is responsible for a confusion. The promoter of such a company, if he accepts reliable statistical figures about longevity, gets the advice of a good actuary, and permits no swindling by himself or by others, is exceedingly likely to prosper in his business despite the uncertainty of any individual's death or survival. In such a case, however, the group or class has no individuality of its own. It is loosely knit; if some die early, others die late and there is a balancing which preserves the average age intact. Suppose we consider instead something like the behaviour of a crowd and the behaviour of a company of soldiers. In the latter case, we can predict for the whole, not in spite of uncertainty about the parts, but because there is no uncertainty about them. In the former case, we may be certain about the parts but uncertain about the whole; while each member of a crowd may be inoffensive, whether because of timidity or a genuine law-abiding nature, the crowd as a whole will often over-ride both tendencies and behave in a thoroughly disgraceful manner. The difference between the insurance statistician and the collective psychologist is that the former studies happenings, while the latter studies behaviour. "Collective security" is possible in the former case in a manner and to an extent impossible in the latter. This is because in *behaviour* as contrasted with *event*, we have to deal not merely with particulars, but with

units or individuals; and each unit or individual seems to exhibit distressing symptoms of uncertainty.²¹ This is of course most so in the case of the units called individual selves, as is evident from our deliberation as to what we shall do, our regrets for what we did or failed to do and so on. This, however, is to anticipate the question of human freedom.

To return to scientific determinism, it may be argued that with the possible exception of psychology, science is interested in happenings as such, not behaviour, and that if statistical laws can make predictions in those fields, the needs of determinism will be satisfied therewith. This sounds reasonable enough. But let us examine the nature of statistical law. It is based on a number of observations presumably accurate and formulated in such a way as to hold good of the whole constituted of the individuals observed. The proposition "Early marriages produce weaklings" based on observation of A, B, C.....Z, who are all progeny of early marriage, is an instance of such a law; again, the proposition "South Indians generally die at 50," based on numerous observations as to the incidence of mortality in a large number of South Indians in all walks of life, is a statistical law. In neither case has a necessary connection been established between cause and effect or antecedent and consequent. But the observations so far as they went, were accurate. There was no doubt of A-Z having been children of parents married early or their being weaklings; the individual South Indians observed did die at the various ages noted by the observer. There is some basis of accuracy to go upon. If similar accuracy were attainable in the case of at least some of these microscopic electrons, we might formulate a statistical law holding good of the

21 After I had completed the paper I came across the following lines in Eddington's latest book: "A study of mob-psychology would be a very unsatisfactory foundation for a theory of the human mind. The molar law, or mob-law, of physics is an equally unsatisfactory introduction to the theory of individual or atomic behaviour." *The Philosophy of Physical Science*, p. 30.

macroscopic body though not of any individual microscopic component. This possibility, however, is just what is denied by the Principle of Indeterminacy which says that position and velocity cannot both be accurately determined. And though from a large number of non-accurate observations one may make a guess to a future event, the prediction can never on this basis achieve any better status than that of a guess, more or less lucky.

We may be faced now with the proposition that what is statistically aimed at is a law that applies to microscopic bodies, not to macroscopic ones; with regard to these, there is neither doubt nor failure of the application of the causal law as ordinarily understood. Even on this position there are certain difficulties. What we know as statistical law is such not because its basis is inaccurate, but because though accurate as far as it goes it does not make room for analysis and the establishment of a rigid connection; with the microscopic bodies, however, we find, if Heisenberg is not mistaken, that our observations are and necessarily must remain inaccurate. Statistics deal with inadequate data while here we are faced with inaccurate data. The difference, we grant, is one of degree; this, however, is as little ground for ignoring it, as the tiny size of the baby for ignoring its illegitimacy (in Marryat's story). Secondly, we have to ask whether these microscopic entities occupy a region of their own or are constitutive of the macroscopic bodies supposed to be governed by rigid causality. If they are constitutive, what is the guarantee that the uncertainty of microscopic behaviour will not affect the macroscopic too?²² It would be ridiculous of course to argue that the larger the whole the greater is the indeterminacy; for the uncertainties may cancel out one another. But is the cancelling out more than a probability? Strictly speaking, should we not say that we cannot be certain as to whether the microscopic uncertainties

²² Cp. "If, however, the components acted quite capriciously why should there be aggregate constancy?" Laird, *Recent Philosophy*, p. 165.

accumulate or are annulled? And whatever we may judge of *events* as such, should not this uncertainty be our most legitimate conclusion with regard to *behaviour*?

All this seems much at variance with common sense. In looking back on what we know of occurrences or behaviour, we fail to see how any event could have occurred or failed to occur otherwise than as it did. In retrospect at least there seems to be no uncertainty. But this is no problem for the advocate of indeterminacy. In stating the principle, this is how Eddington envisages and answers the difficulty: "There is no limit to the accuracy with which we may know the position, provided that we do not want to know the velocity also. Very well; let us make a highly accurate determination of position now, and after waiting a moment make another highly accurate determination of position. Comparing the two accurate positions we compute the accurate velocity—and snap our fingers against at the principle of indeterminacy. This velocity however, is of no use for prediction, because in making the second accurate determination of position we have roughhandled the particle so much that it no longer has the velocity we calculated. *It is a purely retrospective velocity.*"²³ "Nature thus provides that knowledge of one half of the world will ensure ignorance of the other half, ignorance, which, as we have seen, may be remedied later when the same part of the world is contemplated retrospectively."²⁴ "It is easy to prophesy after the event."²⁵

Between the Eddington picture of the indeterminacy in the atom and our average picture of human indeterminacy there is a close

²³ *Nature of the Physical World*, p. 295.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 296. It will be interesting to consider here what we know of astrology. It is a matter of common experience among those who consult astrologers that any astrologer worth the name shows uncanny ability in predicting the past while his success as to the future is much more restricted. He may succeed in forecasting certain outstanding events; but the minuteness and accuracy characteristic of the prediction of the past are generally lacking in the prediction

parallel. Most of us feel that, after we have acted, the speculation if we could have done otherwise is idle; but before acting we do feel that there is a choice to be made and that much hangs on this choice. Retrospectively we do admit determinism, but not prospectively. And if a serious-minded scientist finds a parallel for this in intra-atomic behaviour, there is little need for us to look with scorn at "freaks within the atom." Any such parallel is bound to be interesting and illuminating, though, of course, never conclusive. And it is not the claim of the Eddington group to have proved human freedom; rather do they maintain that the supposed obstacle of the exact sciences is no longer there.

It may be thought that the claim to exactitude of certain sciences was never a bar to human freedom. The determinism of external events cannot affect the fact of human responsibility. Prof. Stebbing makes a distinction between responsibility *for* and responsibility *to*. I am responsible *for* my acts *to* some authority, God or the king or my neighbours. When a question of accountability or responsibility *to* some one arises, it may be legitimate to plead determinism as an excuse. But so long as I do not ignore the fact that whatever is done it is *I* that do it, my responsibility *for* the act persists and cannot be got rid of. The notion of responsibility *to*

of the future. This may be due in many cases to the astrologer's lack of competence; in some cases it is due to inaccuracy of data, the required precision being almost unattainable in the nature of things; to some extent again the lack of accuracy is due to the possible modification of the future by the individual himself; he may offer propitiations and avert malign influences; the planets seem to be responsible only for some tendencies, the effectuation or frustration of such tendencies being, to some extent at least, in the hands of the victim. It is indeed urged that the function of astrology is not to satisfy idle curiosity about the future, but to help the individual to forward good tendencies and avert evil ones, by suitable measures. It is also common belief that astrological predictions of the future fail in the case of yogins, because of their intensive self-culture. However this may be, we find that astrology combines precision as regards the past with a haziness more or less negligible as regards the future; and this combination instead of disentitling it to be a science, seems to bring it into line with other exact science, in its modern developments.

is irrelevant; what matters is responsibility *for* and this does not stand in need of scientific indeterminism. What matters is that *I* act; and our interest should lie in making precise the *I*, not in making the act indeterminate.

One may sympathise with this clever line of reasoning without, however, being convinced by it. The question of responsibility to God may be irrelevant, but that of responsibility to society and the state is very important. If a person's acts are the result not of choice, but of prior states and those of still prior states and so on, are we justified in intervening at some stage awarding praise or blame, reward or punishment? On such an extremely determinist view even our approbation and reprobation would appear determined; so the question of justification may not arise. But even in regard to responsibility *for*, surely there is a difference between a primary and a secondary sense thereof. I am responsible for my fall, physical or moral, in a way in which the stone is not responsible for falling. If my responsibility consists in this, that it is *I* who act, the stone should be responsible in precisely a similar manner in that it is the *stone* which falls. This however is not what we mean. With regard to this very falling of the stone, both *I* and the stone may be responsible, *I* by the fact of displacing it and the stone by the act of falling, but in very different senses. The stone acts as it is acted on. *I* act because of the forces which act on me and as *I* choose among these forces. An abstract external calculation of forces, such as is possible or as is assumed to be possible in the case of the stone, is not possible in my case. That is why *I* am responsible in a sense in which the stone is not. To square this fact of responsibility with scientific determinism we have either to deny that fact or abrogate determinism. The former is what earlier scientists and the materialists did; the latter is what the Eddington group of scientists do.

A third course is perhaps not impossible. One such way would admit determinism in a limited sphere. Determinism is all right in

the world of matter, but will not apply to spirit. We are concerned, however, not with the freedom of spirit in the abstract, but with the freedom of human beings, apparently bound in and reacting to a material environment, and embodied in psycho-physical frames. If those frames and the environment are strictly determined, there is no sense in claiming freedom for me; my responsibility is no better than that of the falling stone. Am I different from the frame and the mechanism? If not, the determinism of the latter applies to me also. If I am different, in what relation am I to the mechanism, and how is it determined? If there is a relation and that is undetermined we leave the door wide open for the influx of the demons of primitive faith; calculation and determinism, even within a limited sphere, become impossible since this sphere is liable to be disrupted at any time from without. If the relation is determined, it cannot obviously be so unless the other relatum, the *I* is also determined, and no determinate relation is conceivable where one relatum is undetermined and undeterminable. The only relation, if it can be called that is one of super-position of the mechanical on the non-mechanical, of matter on spirit. This is the advaita notion which we shall examine presently. But short of this there seems no way of avoiding the extremes of denying human responsibility or scientific determinism. To claim a mysterious sphere for the *I* is only to do violence to science without any corresponding advantage in metaphysics.

Why not then adopt the advaita doctrine of super-position? The mechanical, the material, the determined is a superimposition on the conscious, the spiritual, the ever-free. So long as we are in the sphere of the super-imposed we gladly concede determinism. We recognise however that it is only a phenomenal plane, the plane of the analytical intellect. When, by a deeper intuition, we rise to the higher plane of spirit, there is no determinism. The Real, the Absolute is neither free nor not-free; the appearance is never free.

The fetterless spirit appears as fettered in its own laws; the non-relational appears as the harmoniously related; the uncaused and uncausing appears as a system of rigidly interlinked causes and effects. "The Absolute" says Dr. Brahma "expresses itself differently at different stages and this infinite variety of expressions also in a way proves the infinitude of the Absolute. It is our limitation which is responsible for the belief that what is causally connected cannot be freely conceived. But if we attempt to reach the deepest levels of our experience and to be directly cognisant of the inexhaustible, autonomous spring that underlies and supports the ever-changing playful states of consciousness, we can realise that what is freely conceived is expressed through harmony, law and system, and that there is no opposition between perfect freedom and spontaneity on the one hand and law and system, causality and determinism on the other."²⁶

This passage, I confess, has puzzled me greatly. In some ways its contention seems as patent as it is acceptable. How can the infinite appear finite, the self-luminous as other-illuminated, the undetermined as determined? To this our answer must frankly be that as finite consciousnesses we do not know, and to deny the reconciliation is really to presume an omniscience we do not possess. The reconciliation *may be* for aught we know; it *must be* if we are to conserve the intelligibility of the finite in some measure; therefore it *is*. The adoption of this Bradleian reasoning, however, presupposes a *must be*: a stage which we cannot postulate if the finite causal system were a closed system, if determinism, causality, law, system were intelligible instead of being riddled with contradictions as shown in the Bradleian and advaita dialectic. We may admit that the ever-free can and does express itself as if bound; but if the freedom is real, the bondage can be nowhere near perfect.

Another idea under-lying Dr. Brahma's words may perhaps be expressed thus. Brahman is undetermined; it is not a term in a cause-effect series; all the same it is not characterless; the undetermined nature of Brahman does not lead to the possibility of anything being anything else; the absolute freedom of Brahman is consistent with its being determinate, its being character (though not endowed with characteristics), so that what is abstracted therefrom or superposed thereon is such and such, not something else; and between the various super-positions certain definite laws hold good. This is as it should be. A thoughtful advaitin would repudiate the characterisation of Brahman, refuse to predicate characteristics thereof, but not say that it is characterless. It is that which is at the mercy of all outside influences that has no character; not, however, that which has no inside or outside and is homogeneous. If, therefore, it is this reconciliation that is meant by Dr. Brahma between law and its transcendence, there is no need to disagree.

But here again it must be remembered that the finite is not a plane or sphere apart from the infinite; it is the infinite itself which expresses itself in finitude; hence even on the empirical view the boundaries of the finite cannot afford to be hard and fast; they must have a certain haziness, though the haziness may be negligible when dealing with large numbers. What I wish to stress is this: what you call finite has or has not a hard crust; if *ex hypothesi* you endow it with such a crust you will never make it jump out of its skin into the infinite either now or ever; if on the contrary it has no such crust, but we treat it as if it had, then law, system, determinism are not absolute even in the empirical sphere. Surely this is the only legitimate conclusion, if the deeper intuition is not a *deus ex machina* but the fruition and fulfilment of the disciplined intellect itself. From such a point of view the postulation of indeterminism in science is a conclusion very much to be welcomed. Absolute certainty for the true advaitin, belongs to Brahman alone for

that alone is both determinate and undetermined. Anywhere short of that, what is claimed to be absolutely certain is only an exercise in tautology more or less successfully camouflaged.

Again, what can be meant by the statement that the "Absolute expresses itself differently at different stages"? Is it that distinctions of space and time have real significance for the Absolute? Does the Absolute really have to pass through various stages? Or is it that in the Absolute, which is one, *we* distinguish stages? Surely this last is the position acceptable to the advaitin. And on such a view, the non-reality of the stages and distinctions has to be admitted, despite their presentation and empirical reality. The admission of this much of reality may be a necessary stage even in the realisation of illusoriness. As the ancient advaitin asks:

“गौणमिथ्यात्मनोऽसत्त्वे पुनर्देहादिबाधनात्
सद्ब्रह्मात्मा-हमिति एवं बोधि कार्यं कथं भवेत् ?”

But what we insist on is only the non-reality, not the unreality (*asattva*) of the empirically real. Even at a level far short of absolute realisation, we find that error has been the gateway to truth; this does not prevent the recognition of the error nor shift the realisation of the more inclusive truth to a higher plane or to a different sphere. The passage from error to truth may follow the laws of wave mechanics or of quantum mechanics. We may insensibly move towards the truth or jump to it in well-marked stages; and our jumps may not all be in a forward direction; however this may be, it can never be maintained that in one sphere or plane the error was true, but not in another. We thought it true at one stage, but now we do not think so; the germ of our present realisation was in it from the outset; it may be a fresh discovery, not a fresh importation; and consistently with this we have to declare not its reality, but its non-reality even in the empirical sphere. The deficiencies of empirical reality are to be made known not elsewhere or at another time in a

different order of experience; our finite practical life itself exhibits its self-diremptive character. What is required is not an ecstatic flight to mystic heights but some patient and persistent analysis. The Vedānta says "That thou art" not "That thou wilt become"; oneness with the Absolute is a present experience, not a mere hope of the future; and the imperfections of the phenomenal must be evident to us now, since we are the noumenon even now and do not have to become it hereafter. We cannot admit indeterminism in one plane and system, causality and law in another plane. Indeterminism is not indeterminateness; hence the *possibility of law* to a limited extent; system is relational, and relation being an unintelligible concept in the last resort, can never be complete; hence the possibility of law *only to a limited extent*. Freedom can hold good of determinism, despite Dr. Brahma's assurance to the contrary; it is because determinism can never be complete; in its attempt at fullness and precision it reaches out indefinitely or turns round in a tautologous circle. The self is free energising, as it is self-luminous consciousness. This freedom, however, being another name for the fullness of character independent of external conditions, and not equivalent to the indeterminable subjection to influences other than one-self, it is determinate. This determinateness is appreciable by us in our efforts at prediction, which are so successful in regard to the past and achieve a limited measure of success in regard to the future, though our certainty about the future is not and can never be anything more than a high measure of probability. For the ever-free in its appearance can never appear as the merely determined or the merely indeterminable; it must combine both features while rising above both; hence the predictability in retrospect and the probability in prospect. This is one approach to an understanding of reality and for help in this approach, we may be duly thankful to modern scientists, though beyond this we may not go in reliance on their conclusions.

The dismissal of causality does not involve the abolition of all certainty. It is dreary philosophy which can hold out no certainty at least of release. This certainty cannot be taken away by advaita or by modern science. There is no philosophy possible without the certainty of the philosophising self. This is self-luminous, self-evident, self-guaranteed. And release, according to the advaitin, is the self's own nature. It is that it is; it can never be gained nor lost, though it may appear to be lost and appear to be regained. For us who appear to be searching, the regaining of our own nature is a certainty; it is indeed the only certainty, and the only measure among the probabilities which are all we have left to us in prospect.

S. S. SURYA NARAYANA SASTRI

The Life and Works of Madhva

I. Predecessors of Madhva

Nothing definite or authentic about the forerunners of Madhva's theism is known to us beyond what has been recorded by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya, in his *Maṇimañjarī*, a short poem furnishing the necessary mytho-historical back-ground to his more elaborate "Life of Madhva" (*Madhva vijaya*). From this and from the evidence of Madhva's own works, it is clear that the system of the Ācārya claims its descent mainly from the ancient monotheism of the Ekānti-Vaiṣṇavas or the Bhāgavatas.¹ But for all practical purposes, Madhva is himself the first historical founder and exponent of the system of philosophy associated with his name. Pre-Madhva hagiology is a blank save for the bare names of a few "forerunners" preserved to us in the *Maṇimañjarī*. An account in the *Padma Purāṇa*² derives Madhva's 'Viṣṇu-Glaubens' from Brahmā (Brahmasampradāya). The following is the traditional 'Guruparamparā' of the sect up to Madhva:—

Sri Haṁsa (Nārāyaṇa)
|
Brahmā
|
The four Saṅgas
|
Durvāsas
|
Jñānanidhi Tirtha
|
Garuḍavāhana Tirtha
|
Kaivalya Tirtha

Kaivalya Tirtha
|
Jñāniśa Tirtha
|
Para Tirtha
|
Satyaprajña Tirtha
|
Prājña Tirtha
* * * * *
[Gap of 300 years]
Acyutaprekṣa
|

Ānanda Tirtha *alias* Madhvācārya

It will be seen from the above that tradition has preserved the names of at least half a dozen of the historical predecessors of Madhva. There is a gap of about 300 years between Prājña Tirtha

¹ केवलवंश as it is called in *Maṇimañjarī*, VIII, 33 cd.

² सम्प्रदाये ब्रह्मनानि सन्वाचार्यः प्रतिष्ठितः (Pādma.) vide *Catussūtribhāṣya*, introd. XXIV.

and Acyutaprekṣa. And nothing is known of the persons who flourished during this period. It is alleged that the saints of the creed were suffering severe persecution at the hands of the Advaitins in ascendancy, during this period.³ A vivid and somewhat inflammatory account of this is given in chapter 7 of the *Maṇimañjarī*. Stripped of all exaggeration, the facts of the case were:

Driven to desperation by the ascendancy of Advaita, the Dvaita teachers had outwardly accepted monism. All that they could do was to ensure the bare continuation of their preceptorial line and leave the rest to the future.⁴ In the course of two or three generations, when the stormy past had been forgotten, the once quasi-monists became full-fledged monists and remained in that blissful state of ignorance of their original antecedents, till the days of Acyutaprekṣa. No genuinely historical work on Dvaita could therefore have been written or preserved at such times. That is why we do not find Madhva referring to any historical work of his predecessors. The last in this line was Puruṣottama Tirtha (*M. Vij.* vi, 33)⁵ alias Acyutaprekṣa who was the Sannyāsa-Guru of Madhva. It is clear from the *M. Vij.* that he was a warm Advaitin (v, 25; iv, 8; ix, 33-37)⁶ though different impression is sought to be created by a passage in the *Maṇimañjarī*.⁷ The very first Vedāntic classic in which his teacher instructed Madhva, was the *Iṣṭasiddhi* of Vimukṭātman. (*M. Vij.* iv, 44). It is obvious therefore, that Madhva was himself the actual historical founder and exponent of his system.

3 Such persecutions have parallels in Indian and classical history. Witness for instance the persecution of the Christians in Rome, in the early centuries of the Christian era, and of Rāmānuja in the 10th century.

4 Such existence *incognito* is held to account for the non-preservation of the names of the teachers subsequent to Prājña Tirtha (a contemporary of Śaṅkara).

5 It is by this name that he is referred to in the Śrīkūrmam Inscription of Narahari Tirtha (1281 A.D.).

6 It is said that there were frequent disagreements between Madhva and his Guru, and it was with great difficulty that the Ācārya ultimately converted him. (ix, 33-37) to his way of thinking.

7 VIII, 33 and 36.

No doubt, as we have seen in Part I, the theistic philosophy preached by the Ācārya has a long history behind it and goes back to the original basic literature of Hinduism viz., the Veda-Śāstra. But there is no evidence of immediate literary activity of any kind which would connect the works of Madhva himself with these original sources of his system, as is available for instance in the case of the works of Śaṅkara or Rāmānuja. We have seen the peculiar circumstances which are said to have rendered such links impossible in the case of the early forerunners of the Dvaita school.⁸ Such absence however need in no way belittle the importance, reliability or innate metaphysical satisfyingness of the system itself as obviously in the last resort such links in the chain must stop somewhere and the only appeal thereafter would be to the basic scriptures themselves on which a given system may claim to be based. That is why Madhva himself has passed by all his historical predecessors including Acyutaprekṣa himself in complete silence; and persistently claims to have received his message directly from the lips of Bādarāyaṇa-Vyāsa.⁹ Throughout his works Madhva acknowledges no other teacher save Vyāsa and has not even once mentioned the name of Acyutaprekṣa anywhere in his works.¹⁰ Of course, no offence was meant to nor any taken by Acyutaprekṣa himself. The history of Dvaita literature proper, thus begins with Madhva.

II. *Date of Madhva*

There has been a controversy within the limits of a century or

8 Even the four names of the (historical) predecessors of Para Tīrtha are purely traditional. They are not recorded either in the *Maṇimañjarī* or in the *M. Vij.* the earliest extant biographical sketches of *Madhva*. They are however to be found in the genealogical tables of the Bhaṇḍārkeri Mutt (the original mutt of Acyutaprekṣa, still in existence).

9 Cf. तस्मैव शिष्यो जगदेकमतुः (*Mbh.* -t.-n. xxxii, 170) and many other similar references in the other works of Madhva.

10 Even his very first work, the *Gitābhāṣya*, a copy of which he is said to have left with his Guru before starting on his first trip to Bādari (*M. Vij.* vi, 32), opens with a salutation to Vyāsa and Acyutaprekṣa is entirely ignored.

so over the date of Madhva. Both the 'traditional' date of birth 1199 A.D., claimed for him on the authority of a passage (xxxii, 131) in his *Mahābhārata-tātparyanirṇaya*, and the date Śaka 1040-1120 proposed in some of the geneo-chronological tables of the Uttarādi and other Mutts, have now been set at rest by the discovery and publication of the inscriptions especially the one dated Śaka 1203 of Narahari Tirtha—a direct disciple and second 'successor' of Madhva on the Pīṭha. The evidence of these inscriptions shows that Narahari was in Kalinga between 1264 and 1293 A.D. It appears also that he was the regent of the state 1281-93. If the statement of the *Mbh. -t.-n.* then, is to be accepted in its literal sense, Madhva would have lived up to 1278 A.D. According to the uniform testimony of the Mutt lists, he was succeeded by Padmanābha Tirtha who remained on the Pīṭha for seven years and after him Narahari occupied the Pīṭha for nine years. On this view, Narahari would have come to the Pīṭha in 1285. But the evidence of inscriptions shows that he was still in Kalinga in the years 1289, 1291 and 1293. The obvious inference is that he could not have come to the Pīṭha till after 1293.¹¹ The Mutt lists agree in placing Narahari's demise in the cyclic year of Śrīmukha. These two facts should go to show that the event cannot be placed earlier than 1333 A.D. Calculating backwards from the year of Narahari's demise, we arrive at 1317 (Piṅgaḷa) as that of Madhva. Assuming that tradition is correct in assigning to him a life of seventy-nine years, and in placing his birth in a Viḷambi, we get 1238 A.D. as the year of his birth. This agrees very well indeed with the inscriptions of Narahari Tirtha—the terms of one of which (Śrīkūrmam, 1281 A.D.) imply that Madhva was in flesh and blood at or about the time.

1238-1317 A.D. thus appears to be the most satisfactory date

¹¹ It cannot be that Narahari was allowed to be the regent at the court of Kalinga and occupy the pīṭha of Madhva at the same time between 1285-93.

for Madhva.¹² The relevant material bearing upon this question has been brought together and discussed by me in two papers on the subject contributed to the *Annamalai University Journal* (iii, 2, and v, 1.), and to them further attention is invited. The various other theories on the date of Madhva have also been examined and refuted there.¹³

III. *Life of Madhva*

The *Madhva-vijaya* of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya is the earliest biography of Madhva that has come down to us. If we eliminate the many miracles and supernatural incidents which the piety and zeal of the biographer have attributed to him, we may get a fairly complete picture of the Ācārya's life and mission. There are also well-written accounts in English of the life and teaching of Madhva.¹⁴

i

Madhva was born of Tuḷu¹⁵ Brahmin parents of humble status at the village of Pājakakṣetra,¹⁶ some eight miles to the south-east of the town of Uḍupi in the South Kanara district of the Madras Presidency. His father's family-name was Naḍḍantillāya of which

12 This date has recently been upheld by Dr. Saletore in his *Ancient Kārnāṭaka (History of Tuluva)*, Poona, 1936. In the light of this date, the statement in the *Mbb. -t.-n.* would have to be explained as a rough estimate in terms of centuries, the actual difference between the two being thirty-nine years.

13a. Prof. P. P. S. Sastri has recently championed the date of the Mutt lists, in his paper on 'Mādhva chronology' in the *Kuppuswami Sastri Com. Vol.* (Madras). With more zeal than regard for facts he has adopted 1181 A.D. as the year of the Śrīkūrmam Inscr. But he forgets that there are *five more* inscriptions of Narahari, all dated between 1264 and 1293, wherein the chronograms given admit of no emendation whatever. For a refutation of the Professor's plea see my rejoinder in the *Annals of B.O.R.I.*, vol. xix, 3.

13 By such authors as C. M. Padmanābhācār, C. N. K. Iyer, S. Subba Rau, and C. R. Krishna Rau.

14 Madhva was thus a Tuḷu (Sivallī) Brahmin and not a Kanarese as supposed by some.

15 Not Kalyāṇpūr as wrongly stated by Carpenter (p. 406) and Barth (p. 195). The old family-house of Madhva still stands at the village of Belle in Kakra-Maṭha (Tuḷu for Pājakakṣetra).

the well-known "Madhyagehabhaṭṭa or "Madhyamandira"¹⁶ is the Sanskrit equivalent. Madhva's original name was Vāsudeva. At the age of seven or so, he had his 'Upa-nayana' and went through a course of Vedic and Sāstric studies under a teacher who belonged to the family of the 'Totantillāyas' ('Pūgavana' *M. Vij.* iii, 49).

ii

The next event in the life of Vāsudeva was his renunciation. It is difficult to fix his age at the time, but it was probably soon after his sixteenth year (iii, 54-56). His studies of the Sāstras had, in the meanwhile, created in him a profound repulsion towards the prevailing philosophy of his day and he was filled with a desire to resuscitate the old realistic theism of the Vedaśāstra, in its pristine purity. The call of the spirit took him to Acyutaprekṣa from whom he sought and obtained initiation as a monk under the name of Pūrṇa-prājña.

Some time after initiation was spent in the study of Vedāntic classics beginning with the *Iṣṭasiddhi*. Frequent disagreements between master and disciple terminated the studies before long. Pūrṇa-prājña was made the head of the Mutt of Acyutaprekṣa. It was on this occasion that Acyutaprekṣa conferred upon him the name of Ānandatīrtha. The name "Madhva" by which he is more widely known, was not given to the Ācārya by anyone. It was assumed by him (for a reason that will be clear later on) as being synonymous with the other.

Madhva spent some time in and about Uḍipi, teaching the disciples of Acyutaprekṣa and entering into disputations with a

16 Not "Madhyamandāra" as given out by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar (*Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism* etc. Strassburg, 1913, p. 58.) The equivalent "Madhyamandira" is applied to Madhva too by Mādharma in the *Sarvadarśana Saṁgraha*. It was the family name (cf. *M. Vij.* ii, 9.) "The name Naḍḍantillāya" cannot "be traced to the fact that it (the village of Naḍḍantāḍi or Madhyatāla) was the midday halting place of Madhva" (Saletore, *Ancient Karnāṭaka*, vol. i, p. 416, f.n. 11, Poona 1936) for the very simple reason that according to the evidence of *M. Vij.* ii, 9, Madhva's father also went by that name (Naḍḍantillāya).

number of Pandits, Monistic, Jain and Buddhist. The *M. Vij.* (v, 8-16), mentions his encounters with Vāsudeva Paṇḍita, Vādisiṃha and Buddhisāgara. This teaching and constant disputations considerably sharpened his powers and made him an adept in reasoning and polemics. Encouraged by the initial successes, the Ācārya made up his mind to go on a South Indian tour and find a wider field for the propagation of his new faith. Trivandrum, Cape Camorin and Rāmeśvaram were among the places visited. At Cape Camorin, he fell into a violent conflict with an Advaitic monk *wrongly identified*¹⁷ with Vidyāśaṅkara Tīrtha—the then (?) Svāmi of the Śṛṅgeri Mutt. After the conclusion of “Cāturmāsya” at Rāmeśvaram, he moved on to Śrīraṅgam where the Ācārya must have come into personal contact with the followers of Rāmānuja there. From Śrīraṅgam he seems to have returned to Uḍipi through a northern route.

Altogether the southern tour must have taken two or three years to be finished. It must have shown Madhva that breaches had already been effected in the citadel of Māyāvāda and this knowledge must have strengthened his original resolve. No wonder then, that soon after his return to Uḍipi, Madhva began his career as an author with a commentary on the *Gītā*, which was not however published till after his return from the first north Indian tour, which came off shortly.

This time, the Ācārya had a larger retinue than on the earlier occasion. We have no information as to the route taken, the places visited or the incidents on the journey. It is stated that while at the hermitages of the Himalayas, Madhva left by himself for Badari the abode of Vyāsa. He returned after a few days and composed his Bhāṣya on the *B.S.* which was transcribed by Saryatīrtha. Resuming their homeward march, the party journeying probably through

17 By C. N. K. Iyer and C. M. Padmanābhācār. For a refutation of this most untenable identification see my paper: “The Madhva-Vidyāśaṅkara Meeting,—A Fiction,” *Journal of the Annamalai University*, vol. iii, no. 1.

Behar and Bengal, came ultimately to Rajamundry. Here there was a protracted debate at the conclusion of which the famous Śobhāna Bhaṭṭa (the future Padmanābha Tirtha) was worsted and converted. The conversion of Narahari Tirtha also must have taken place at the same time.¹⁸

The north Indian tour had made a considerable impression on the people. Till now Madhva's criticism of the Advaita had been mostly destructive. But after the publication of his own commentaries on the *Gītā* and on the *Sūtras*, no one could say that he had no alternative to give in place of the system which he so severely criticised. The first achievement after the return to Uḍipi was the conversion to his own views of Acyutaprekṣa who fell *not without* a fierce struggle (*M. Vij.* ix, 33-37).

The merits of the new system, the living earnestness of its founder, his irresistible personality and incisive logic soon brought many converts and adherents.¹⁹ To bring and hold them all together, the Ācārya had the beautiful image of Śrī Kṛṣṇa installed in a newly erected temple at his Maṭha at Uḍipi and made it the rallying centre of his followers (ix, 43). He also inaugurated a few reforms and introduced some changes in the ceremonial code of his adherents. These were the substitution of flour-made ewes for live ones in sacrifices and the rigorous observance of fasts on Ekādaśī days.

18 Dr. Saletore (*History of Tuluva*, p. 439) is definitely wrong in dating Narahari Tirtha's meeting with Madhva as late as 1270. The ascetic title of "Śrīpāda" is found applied to the former (as pointed out by me in *A. U. Journal*, iii, 2, p. 247) even in the very first inscription of 1264 which would mean that Narahari Tirtha's conversion must have taken place in or about 1264 but certainly before 1270.

19 Dr. Saletore (*op. cit.*, 444-49) is wrong again in connecting the legends touching the conversion of certain members of the Kōtiśvara and allied groups by a *Mādhva ascetic* narrated in the *Puttige* version of the *Grāma Paddhati* with Madhva. It is enough to show that the passages cited speak uniformly of a *Mādhva Muni*,—an ascetic of the *Mādhva* order कलौ युगे मध्वमतप्रचरडम् । which would be inapplicable to Madhva himself. The incident as will be shown later on, has reference in reality to Vādirāja Tirtha.

The *M. Vij.* (ix, 44-50) seems to refer to one such Piṣṭapaśu-yajña actually performed at the instance of Madhva at which the Ācārya's younger brother officiated as Hotṛ-priest. We are told that a member of the Maraḍitāya family (Jarā-ghaṭita-gotra) organised a protest and created a good deal of opposition to this new type of sacrifice. But Madhva stood firm and carried the day.

After this he again started on a (second) north Indian tour to Badari and returned after visiting Delhi, Kurukṣetra, Benares and Gayā (x, 52). The subsequent tours were confined mostly to the South Kanara district. Viṣṇumaṅgala, (near Kāsargod) Kaḍatala etc. were his favourite resorts. The years that followed brought further acquisitions to his fold. The prestige of the new faith had been very well established. Many works had in the meantime been written by Madhva such as the Bhāṣyas on the ten Upaniṣads, the ten Prakaraṇas and running expositions of the *Bhāgavata* and *Mahābhārata*. Naturally, the increasing popularity of the new faith caused no small anxiety and heart-burning to the custodians of the established faith (Advaita). Desperate remedies were tried to combat the danger. We are told of an actual raid on the library²⁰ of Madhva (xiv, 2) which contained a very valuable collection of books. The books were afterwards recovered and restored to the Ācārya at the intervention of Jayasinha the ruler of Kumbha.²¹ The incident naturally brought Madhva into touch with the ruler at whose request he visited his capital. Close on the heels of this visit came the momentous conversion of the great Trivikrama Paṇḍita (probably a court-Pandit of Jayasinha) who was the foremost scholar and autho-

20 Dr. Saletore (*Ancient Tuluva*, p. 424) is mistaken in giving "*Madhva-siddhānta*" as the name of one of the works stolen on the occasion. There does not appear to have been any such work in existence and none is mentioned either in the *M. Vij.* or other sources known to us. The raid itself is said to have been carried out at the instigation of the Advaitic monk Padma Tirtha who is reported to have hailed from the Coḷa country (xii, 2) and his ally Puṇḍarika Puri.

21 C. M. Padmanābhācār has wrongly identified him with the then ruler of Travancore, which is unsupportable.

city on the Advaita Vedānta, in those parts. This Trivikrama was the father of Madhva's biographer Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya. After his conversion Trivikrama was commissioned to write a commentary on Madhva's *Sūtrabhāṣya* which he did under the name of *Tattva-pradīpa*.²² The Ācārya himself had by this time composed his master-piece the *Anuvyākhyāna* on the Sūtras.

Trivikrama's conversion was another turning point in the history of the faith. Many more joined the fold and Madhva's fame spread far. His parents died about this time (xv, 91) and the next year his younger brother and seven others were ordained monks (xv, 128-30). These became the founders of what later on came to be known as the eight Mutts of Uḍipi.

The last years of the Ācārya seem to have been spent in teaching and worship. His three works, the *Nyāyavivaraṇa*, the *Karmanirṇaya* and the *Kṛṣṇāmṛtamahārṇava*, were all probably composed about this time.

His mission was now nearly completed. His message to the world had been delivered and he had the satisfaction of seeing it well-received. His works had been placed on an enduring basis. He had gathered round him a band of devoted disciples who could be relied upon to carry the light of Theism to the nook and corner of the land. It was time for him to retire from the scene of his labours and leave *them* in charge of future work. Charging his disciples with his last message in the closing words of his favourite Upaniṣad—the *Aitareya*, not to sit still, but to go forth and preach,²³ Śrī Madhva disappeared from view, on the ninth day of the bright half of the month of Māgha, of Piṅgala 1318 A.D.

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI ŚARMA

22. A fragment of which was published by me in 1934 (Madras, Law Journal Press).

23 नाप्रवक्तु इत्याचार्य आचार्यः (A. Ā.)

Bhaṭṭavṛtti

Bhaṭṭavṛtti is usually a piece of land given to a learned Brahman to provide for his living, with a view to ensuring the pursuit of his calling, namely, the propagation of learning. A Bhaṭṭa more often coupled with the term Ācārya to show respect, making it Bhaṭṭācārya, is of recognised use for a man of learning. The term figures frequently in proper names in Bengal now-a-days in the original sense. The name however occurs as the name of a class, generally of Vaiṣṇava Brāhmaṇas, in South India. The class thus represented is that of priests employed in temple for conducting worship, which necessarily implies a knowledge of the forms of worship, involving some acquaintance with various specialised branches of learning. The class is now generally perhaps more ignorant than learned except for the formal technicalities of worship they go through, more or less mechanically, although it must be said that one does come across a learned man among them here and there. The most recondite matter of their learning now-a-days is the knowledge of the Āgamas which are the regular manuals of worship. A Bhaṭṭavṛtti however has reference, not to this class of temple-priests, but to a man of more than ordinary learning who engages himself in propagating that learning by teaching, which, among the Brahmans at any rate, was free, and sometimes even involved the feeding and maintenance of the students. Bhaṭṭavṛtti therefore is a peculiar tenure of land as the more general class of Brahmadēya and Dēvadāya. These are usually lands under the ordinary arrangement of tenancy by cultivators paying revenues to the bodies constituting the government of rural areas. The normal tenure of land would involve the payment of various dues in various classes, some of them ear-marked for particular purposes. A number of these payments would take on the character, not of payments but of return for services rendered,

either by the village community as a whole, or by the government as a whole, or it may be even by an individual landlord. Payments therefore which could be regarded as return for services will be excluded from the payments, usually due to the village authorities, in the case of lands given to Brahmans, or to temples. The revenue incidences will be there, but what constitutes return for services, etc., among the items of revenue, would be separated. That kind of a tenure where lands are given over to men of learning who engage themselves in teaching, is what is called Bhāṭṭavṛtti generally. It would be interesting to know definitely what the Bhāṭṭas were expected to be, and what they were expected to do in return for the receipt of this *vṛtti*, which would simply be provision for their maintenance.

An interesting document, datable precisely and referable to the year A.D. 999, has recently been brought to light from a village in the Chingleput District, where the record is found in a dilapidated temple, more or less completely destroyed, but has perhaps recently been restored in a poor way. The record is now found on stones rebuilt, and on stones not in their original position, so that the record has to be pieced together and cannot be read as one continuous document where it is. I am indebted to the Superintendent for Epigraphy through whose courtesy I was able to read and make out a copy for my use. The temple apparently went by the name Vēdanārāyaṇa, rather an unusual name for a deity installed in a temple. It is dated in the 14th year of a Rājākēsarivarman, distinguished by a preceding epithet imperfectly preserved, but an epithet peculiar to the great Rājarāja, the first of the name, A.D. 985-1016. The document declares itself to be promulgated by the *Sabbā* of Ānūr, which was a rural unit by itself in the subdivision of Kaḷattūr. It refers to the gift of 12 *pattis* of land. This piece of land was originally gifted to the Subhramaṇya temple at Tiruttanjī, and the village assembly was making an annual payment of 12 *kaḷanju* of

gold. The document under reference states that the assembly took it upon themselves to pay this amount to the Tiruttani temple themselves, and then transformed these 12 *pattis* of land into a Bhaṭṭavṛtti. It was otherwise released from all kinds of payment incidental to the holding of land, and these the Bhaṭṭa was allowed to utilise for his maintenance.

The qualifications demanded of the Bhaṭṭa are laid down in the following section and are of particular interest. (1) It is laid down that he should be a man born of a Sāmavedin. He should nevertheless be learned in another Veda than his own. (2) He should not be a native of the village, and must come and settle down from another village. (3) He ought to be able to teach naturally the two Vedas, the knowledge of which is expected of him as a preliminary necessity. (4) He ought further to be able to teach *Vyākaraṇa Aṣṭādhyāyī* (Pāṇini's grammar). This is perhaps meant for an elementary grammar, or grammar taught in general. (5) He ought to be able to teach the Pāṇiniya Vyākaraṇa, that is, the science of grammar on the system of Pāṇini. (6) He must next be able to teach *Alaṅkāra Śāstra*. He must be able to teach these with regular commentary. (7) He should further be able to comment properly upon *Viṃśad Adhyāyam Mīmāṃsā Śāstra*, that is, to expound elaborately the Mīmāṃsā Śāstra in all its 20 chapters. (8) It is further laid down that he ought to take in four students to whom he should give one meal daily, probably the midday meal, so that they could stay all the day with him for the purpose of his teaching. He ought to teach the subjects above described to these, and turn them out fully qualified in due course. This is the document so far as its substance goes.

It will be noticed that the qualifications laid down in the document are comparatively high. This is No. 1. (2) That the teaching of the Veda or the two Vedas involved here is teaching the Veda with commentary or *Vyākhyāna*. It is not merely the

teaching of the Vedic recital. That Vedas were taught with commentary had already been laid down as a condition for the franchise almost a century earlier than this date, and seems to have been more or less the general practice. (3) The teacher was not merely a teacher of the Veda which, as it is understood in modern times, would mean nothing more than the teaching of the Veda for purposes of recital and no more. But the teaching laid down here is very much more than that. It should also be noted that in addition to teaching the Veda with commentary, the teacher is expected to teach grammar, the grammar needed for general requirements. (4) He should further be able to teach the subject on the Pāṇinīyan system as a science. (5) Similarly *Alaṅkāra Śāstra*, poetics and rhetoric. (6) Lastly he should be able to expound, to an equal degree of proficiency, the *Mīmāṃsā Śāstra*, and, what is more in it, the *Mīmāṃsā Śāstra* in its 20 chapters. The last detail is of the utmost importance to the history of the *Mīmāṃsā Śāstra*. It is clearly stated here that this *Mīmāṃsā Śāstra* was of 20 chapters as it is clearly stated. The 20 chapters of this *Mīmāṃsā Śāstra* would include the first 12 chapters which are together called *Karma Mīmāṃsā*, and the last 4 chapters which are generally known by the term *Bhrama Mīmāṃsā*; but it also includes the four chapters in the middle. These four probably were called by another name, but is known to Hindu scholars now-a-days in the Daivi Kāṇḍa, two chapters and Saṅkarṣaṇa Kāṇḍa the other two chapters, making the four of the middle. That these twenty chapters constituted the *Mīmāṃsā* as a whole single science, and were so regarded regularly at the time of the inscription, is important addition to our knowledge of the *Śāstra*, as recently an opinion has been expressed in a publication of the Allahabad Pāṇini Office, where the Saṅkarṣaṇa Kāṇḍa is plainly stated to be a fabrication of Rāmānuja. This document is of date perhaps one generation anterior to the date of birth of Rāmānuja, and a *Mīmāṃsā Śāstra* of 20 chapters was then regularly known as such. The history

of the *Mīmāṃsā Śāstra* has recently been receiving attention, and a recent work¹ bearing on the subject shows an inclination to put it in its proper perspective. This statement in an inscription of date A.D. 998-9, of the 14th year of Rājarāja Coḷa puts it altogether beyond a doubt that the *Mīmāṃsā Śāstra* was taught as a single science composed of 20 chapters, whatever divisions it might have had as a matter of teaching convenience. This record thus confirms a work called *Prapañcaḥṛdayam*² published recently in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Ganapati Śāstri.

From what is said above, it would be clear that what is called Bhaṭṭavṛtti was far from being a provision for feeding or maintaining an idle Brahmin, but a provision for learning, where the qualifications demanded and the work expected to be done by the beneficiary, were both high. The work to be actually done by the Bhaṭṭa was also precisely laid down, and obviously had been done actually by the teacher.

S. KRISHNASVAMI AYYANGAR

1 By Mr. Ramaswami Sastri of the Annamalai University.

2 For a fuller discussion on this see *Maṇimēkhalai in its historical setting*, and note on 'Mīmāṃsā' pending publication in the *Woolner Commemoration Volume*.

Kālidāsa

Of Kālidāsa's immediate predecessors we know little; and with the doubtful exception of the plays ascribed to Bhāsa, we know still less of their works. Yet, it is marvellous that the Kāvya attains its climax in him and a state of perfection which is never paralleled in its later history. If Aśvaghoṣa prepared the way and created the new poetry and drama, he did not finish the creation; and the succession failed. In the interval of three or four centuries, we know of other kinds of literary effort, but we have little evidence of the type which would explain the finished excellence of Kālidāsa's poetry. It must have been a time of movement and productiveness, and the employment of ornate prose and verse in the Gupta inscriptions undoubtedly indicates the flourishing of the Kāvya; but nothing striking or decisive in poetry or drama emerges or at least survives. What impresses us in Kālidāsa's works is their freedom from immaturity, but this freedom must have been the result of prolonged and diverse efforts extending over a stretch of time. In Kālidāsa we are introduced at once to something new which no one hit upon before, something perfect which no one achieved, something incomparably great and enduring for all time. His outstanding individual genius certainly accounts for a great deal of this, but it appears in a sudden and towering glory without being buttressed in its origin by the intelligible gradation of lower eminences. It is, however, the effect also of the tyrannical dominance of a great genius that it not only obscures but often wipes out by its vast and strong effulgence the lesser lights which surround it or herald its approach.

Of the predecessors of whom Kālidāsa himself speaks, or of the contemporaries mentioned by legends, we have very little information. There are also a few poets who have been confused, identified or associated with Kālidāsa; some of them may have been contem-

poraries or immediate successors. Most of these, however, are mere names; and very scanty and insignificant works have been ascribed to them by older tradition or more modern guess-work. Of these the only sustained work is that of Pravarasena whose date is unknown but who may have reigned in Kashmir in the 5th century A.D.¹ He wrote the *Setubandha*² or *Rāvaṇavadha* in fifteen cantos; if it is in Prakrit, it is obviously modelled on the highly artificial Sanskrit Kāvya. The anthologies,³ however, assign to him three Sanskrit stanzas, but they are hardly remarkable. Of Mātṛgupta, who is said to have been Pravarasena's predecessor on the throne of Kashmir, and who may or may not be identical with dramaturgist Mātṛguptācārya,⁴ nothing remains except two stanzas contextually attributed by the Kashmirian Kalhaṇa in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (iii, 181, 252),⁵ and one by another Kashmirian Kṣemendra, in his *Aucitya-avicāra-carcā* (ad 22). Mātṛgupta, himself a poet, is said to have patronised Menṭha or Bhartṛmenṭha,⁶ whose *Hayagrīva-vadha* elicited royal praise and reward. The first stanza of this

1 See Peterson in *Subhāsitāvalī*, introd, pp. 60-61. But Stein in his translation of the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*, i, pp. 66, 84 f. would place Pravarasena II as late as the second half of the 6th century.—The ascription of a *Kauntaleśvara-dantya* to Kālidāsa by Kṣemendra and Bhoja is used to show that Pravarasena, as the Vākaṭaka ruler of Kuntala, was a contemporary of Kālidāsa; but this is only an unproved hypothesis.

2 Ed. S. Goldschmidt, with German trs., Strassburg and London 1880; ed. Sivadatta and Parab, with Skt. com. of Rāmadāsa, NSP, Bombay 1895.

3 F. W. Thomas, *Kavindra-vacana*°, introd., pp. 54-55.

4 S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, i, p. 32; fragments of this writer have been collected from citations in later works and published by T. R. Chintamani in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, ii (1928), pp. 118-28.

5 These are also given as Mātṛgupta's in *Sbbu* nos. 3181 and 2550. It is curious that the first stanza is assigned to Karpaṭika by Kṣemendra (*Aucityavicāra* ad 15).

6 Kalhaṇa iii. 125 f., 260-62.—The word *menṭha* means an elephant-driver, and this meaning is referred to in a complimentary verse in Jahlana's *Sūkti-muktāvalī* (4. 61). The poet is sometimes called Hastipaka. Mañkhaka (*Śrīkaṇṭha-carita* ii. 53) places Bhartṛmenṭha in a rank equal to that of Bhāravi, Subandhu and Bāṇa; Śivavāmin (*Kapphinābhyudaya* xx. 47) equals him with Kālidāsa and Daṇḍin; and Rājasekhara thinks that Vālmiki reincarnated as Menṭha!

work, in Śloka, is quoted by Kṣemendra,⁷ as well as by some commentators and anthologists,⁸ but it is obviously too inadequate to give an idea of the much lauded lost poem. Tradition associates Kālidāsa also with Ghaṭakarpāra and Vetālabhaṭṭa. It has been suggested⁹ that Ghaṭakarpāra may be placed even earlier than Kālidāsa; but the laboured composition of twenty-four stanzas,¹⁰ which passes under his name, hardly deserves much notice. It reverses the motif of the *Megha-dūta* by making a lovelorn woman, in the rainy season, send a message to her lover, and aims chiefly at displaying skill in the verbal trick of repeated syllables, known as Yamaka, exclusively using, however, only one variety of it, namely, the terminal. It employs a variety of metres,¹¹ but shows little poetic talent. Nor is there much gain if we accept the attribution to this poet of the *Nīti-sāra*,¹² which is simpler in diction, but which is merely a random collection of twenty-one moralising stanzas, also composed in a variety of metres.¹³ Of the latter type is also the

7 *Suṣṛta-tilaka* ad iii. 16: The poem is also mentioned in Kuntaka's *Vakrokti-jivita* (ed. S. K. De, Calcutta 1928, p. 243) and in the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra (ed. GOS, Baroda 1929, p. 174).

8 Peterson, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-94.

9 H. Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, Bonn. 1831, p. 125 note. Jacobi relies mainly on the wager offered by the poet at the close that he would carry water in a broken pitcher for any one who would surpass him in the weaving of Yamakas, but the poem may have been anonymous, and the author's name itself may have had a fictitious origin from the wager itself. The figure, Yamaka, though deprecated by Ānandavardhana, is old, being comprehended by Bharata, and need not of itself prove a late date for the poem.

10 Ed. Haeblerlin in *Kāvya-saṃgraha*, Calcutta 1847, p. 120 f., which is reprinted by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara in his *Kāvya-saṃgraha*, i, Calcutta 1886, p. 357-66; ed. with a Skt. comm. by G. M. Dursch, Berlin 1828 (with German verse trs.).

11 Sundarī, Vasantatilaka, Aupacchandāsika, Rathoddhatā, Puṣpitaṅgrā, Upajāti and Drutavilambita, among which Rathoddhatā predominates.

12 Ed. Haeblerlin, *op. cit.*, p. 504 f; Jivānanda, *op. cit.*, pp. 374-80.

13 Upajāti, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Bhujaṅgaprayāta, Śloka, Vamśathavilā, Vasantatilaka, Mandākrāntā, the Śloka predominating. Some of the stanzas are fine, but they occur in other works and collections.

*Niti-pradīpa*¹⁴ of sixteen stanzas, which is ascribed to Vetālabhaṭṭa; but some of the verses of this shorter collection are indeed fine specimens of gnomic poetry, which has been much assiduously cultivated in Sanskrit.¹⁵

The doubtful poems of Kālidāsa, which comprise some twenty works, form an interesting subject, but no serious or complete study has yet been made of them. Some of them, such as the elaborate Yamaka-Kāvya, called *Nalodaya*¹⁶ in four cantos, and the slight *Rākṣasa-kāvya*¹⁷ in some twenty stanzas are now definitely known to be wrongly ascribed; but it is possible that some of the Kālidāsa

* 14 Ed. Haeblerin, *op. cit.*, p. 526 f.; Jivānanda *op. cit.*, p. 366-72. The metres used are Upajāti, Vasantatilaka, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Drutavilambita, Vaṃśathavila, Mandākrāntā and Sloka.

15 Śaṅku is also regarded as a contemporary of Kālidāsa. He cannot be identical with Śaṅkuka, whom Kallhaṇa mentions as the author of the *Bhuvanābhyaṇḍaya*, a poem now lost; for this poet belongs to the time of Ajitāpiḍa of Kashmir (about 813-16 A.D.); see S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, i, p. 38. Śaṅkuka is also cited in the Anthologies in one of which he is called son of Mayūra; Peterson in *Sbbu.* p. 127 and G. P. Quackenbos, *Poems of Mayūra*, New York 1917, pp. 50-52.

16 Ed. with the Subodhini comm. of the Maithila Prajñākara-miśra, and with introd., notes, and trs. in Latin by F. Benary, Berlin 1830; also by W. Yates, with metrical Engl. trs., Calcutta 1844. Pischel (*ZDMG*, lvi, p. 626) adduces reasons for ascribing its authorship to Ravideva, son of Nārāyaṇa and author probably also of the *Rākṣasa-kāvya*. With this view R. G. Bhandarkar (*Repert.* 1883-84, p. 16) agrees. Ravideva's date is unknown, but Peterson (*JBRS*, xvii, 1887, p. 69, note, corrected in *Three Reports*, 1887, p. 20 f.) states that a commentary on the *Nalodaya* is dated in Samvat 1664=1608 A.D. But A. R. Ramanatha Ayyar (*JRAS*, 1925, p. 263) holds that the author of the *Nalodaya* was a Kerala poet, named Vāsudeva, son of Ravi, who lived in the court of Kulāśekhara and his successor Rāma in the first half of the 9th century (?), and wrote also another Yamaka-kāvya, *Yudhiṣṭhira-vijaya* (ed. Sivadatta and K. P. Parab, NSP, Bombay 1897) and unpublished alliterative poem called *Tripura-dahana*.

17 Ed. Hoefer in *Sanskrit Lesebuch*, Berlin 1849; ed. K. P. Parab, NSP, Bombay 1900; also in Jivānanda, *op. cit.*, iii, pp. 343-53; Latin trs. by F. Belloni-Filippi in *GSAL*, xix, 1906, pp. 83 f. It is sometimes called Buddhivinoda or Vidvadvinoda Kāvya, a text of which is published by D. R. Mankad in *IHQ*, xii, 1936, p. 692 f.; S. K. De *IHQ*, xiii, p. 172-76. There is a poet named Rākṣasa or Rākṣasa-panḍita, cited respectively in *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* (i. 90. 5) and *Śāringadhara-paddhati* (nos. 3810-11), although the stanzas in the anthologies are not from the poem.

Apocrypha belongs to his contemporaries and followers. A more serious claim for Kālidāsa's authorship is made for the *R̥tu-saṃbhāra*¹⁸ as a youthful production of the poet. It has been contested, however, that the poem may be young, but not with the youth of Kālidāsa. The Indian tradition on the question is uncertain; for while it is popularly ascribed, Mallinātha, who comments on the other three poems of Kālidāsa, ignores it;¹⁹ and the artistic conscience of Sanskrit rhetoricians did not accept it, as they did the other three poems, for purposes of illustration of their rules; nor is any citation from it found in the early anthologies.²⁰ The argument that the poem is an instance of Kālidāsa's juvenilia,²¹ and is therefore not taken into account by commentators, anthologists and rhetoricians, ignores niceties of style, and forgets that the poem does not bear the obvious stigmata of the novice.²² The Indian literary sense never thought it fit to preserve immaturities. The work is hardly immature in the sense that it lacks craftsmanship, for its descriptions are properly mannered and conventional, even if they show some freshness of observation and feeling for nature; its peculiarities and weaknesses are such as show inferior literary talent, and not a mere primitive or undeveloped sense of style.²³ It has been urged that

18 Ed. W. Jones, Calcutta 1792 (reproduced in facsimile by H. Kreyenborg, Hannover 1924); ed. with a Latin and German metrical trs. by P. von Bohnen, Leipzig 1840; ed. W. L. Pansikar, with the comm. of Maṇirāma, NSP, 6th ed. Bombay 1906 (1st ed. 1906).

19 Mallinātha at the outset of his commentary on *Raghu*,^o speaks of only three Kāvyaś of Kālidāsa on which he himself commented.

20 Excepting four stanzas in *Subhāsitāvalī*, of which nos. 1674, 1678 (= *R̥ts.* vi. 16, 19) are assigned expressly to Kālidāsa, and nos. 1703, 1704 (= *R̥ts.* i. 13, 20) are cited with *Kayor api*; but on the composite text of this anthology, which renders its testimony doubtful, S. K. De, *IRAS*, 1927, pp. 109-10.

21 Hillebrandt, *Kālidāsa*, Breslau 1921, p. 66 f; Keith's *IRAS*, 1921, pp. 1066-70, *IRAS*, 1913, pp. 410-412, *HSL*, pp. 82-84; Nobel in *ZDMG*, lxxvi, 1912, pp. 275 and *IRAS*, 1913, pp. 401-410; Harichand Shastri, *L'Art poétique de l'Inde*, Paris 1917, pp. 240-42.

22 E. H. Johnston, introd. to *Buddha-carita*, Calcutta 1936, p. lxxxi

23 This would rather rule out the suggestion that inasmuch as it shares

Vatsabhāṭṭi in his Mandasor inscription borrows expressions and exploits two stanzas of the *R̥tu-sambhāra*. The indebtedness is much exaggerated;²⁴ but even if it is accepted, it only shows the antiquity of the poem, and not Kālidāsa's authorship. If echoes of Kālidāsa's phrases and ideas are traceable (e.g. ii. 10), they are sporadic and indicative of imitation, for there is nowhere any suggestion of Kālidāsa as a whole.²⁵ The poem is, of course, not altogether devoid of merit; otherwise there would not have been so much controversy. It is not a bare description, in six cantos, of the details of the six Indian seasons, nor even a *Shepherd's Calendar*, but a highly cultured picture of the seasons viewed through the eyes of a lover. In a sense it has the same motif as is seen in the first part of the *Meghadūta*; but the treatment is different, and there is no community of character between the two poems. It strings together rather conventional pictures of kissing clouds, embracing creepers, the wildly rushing streams and other tokens of metaphorical amorousness in nature, as well as the effect and significance of the different seasons for the lover. It shows flashes of effective phrasing, an easy flow of verse and sense of rhythm, and a diction free from elaborate complications; but the rather stereotyped descriptions lack richness of content and they are not blended sufficiently with human feeling.

Unlike later Sanskrit poets, who are often confident self-puffers, Kālidāsa expresses modesty and speaks little of himself. The current Indian anecdotes about him are extremely stupid, and show that no clear memory remained of him. He is one of the great poets

some of Aśvaghoṣa's weaknesses it is a half-way house between Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa.

24 Cf. G. R. Nandargikar, *Kumārādāsa*, Poona 1908, p. xxvi, note.

25 Very pertinently Keith calls attention to Kālidāsa's picture of spring in *Kumāra*^o iii and *Raghu*^o ix, and of summer in *Raghu*^o xvi (to which scattered passages from the dramas can also be added); but the conclusion he draws that they respectively show the developed and undeveloped style of the same poet is a matter of personal preference rather than of literary judgment.

who live and reveal themselves only in their works. His date, and even approximate time, is at worst uncertain, at best conjectural. His works have been ransacked for clues, but not very successfully; but since they bear general testimony to a period of culture, ease and prosperity, they have been associated with the various great moments of the Gupta power and glory. The hypotheses and controversies on the subject need not occupy us here,²⁶ for none of the theories is final, and without further and more definite material, no convincing conclusion is attainable. Let it suffice to say that since Kālidāsa is mentioned as a poet of great reputation in the Aihole inscription of 634 A.D., and since he probably knows Aśvaghōṣa's works and shows a much more developed form and sense of style (a position which, however, has not gone unchallenged),²⁷ the limits of his time are broadly fixed between the 2nd and the 6th century A.D. Since his works reveal the author as a man of culture and urbanity, a leisured artist probably enjoying, as the legends say, royal patronage under a Vikramāditya,²⁸ it is not unnatural to associate him with Candragupta II (*cir.* 380-413 A.D.), who had the style of

26 The literature on the subject, which is discussed threadbare without yielding any definite result, is bulky and still growing. The various views, however, will be found in the following: G. Huth, *Die Zeit des Kālidāsa* (Diss.), Berlin 1890; B. Liebig, *Das Datum des Candragomins und Kālidāsa* Breslau 1903, p. 28, and in *Indogerm. Forschungen* xxxi, 1912-13, p. 198 f.; A. Gawronski, *The Digvijaya of Raghu*, Krakau 1914-15; Hillebrandt, *Kālidāsa*, Breslau 1921; Pathak in *IBRAS*, xix, 1895, pp. 35-43 and introd. to *Meghadūta*; Keith, *JRAS*, 1901, p. 578, 1905, p. 575, 1909, p. 433, *Ind. Office Cat.* vol. 2, pt. ii, p. 1201; *Sanskrit Drama*, pp. 141-47; also references cited in Winternitz, *HIL*, iii, p. 40 f.

27 See Nandargikar, introd. to *Raghu*^o; Ksetresh Chattopadhyay in Allahabad Univ. Studies, ii, p. 80 f.; K. G. Sankar in *IHQ*, i, p. 312 f. To argue Aśvaghōṣa is later than Kālidāsa is to presume, without sufficient reason, a retrogressive phase in literary evolution.

28 S. P. Pandit (preface to *Raghu*^o) admits this, but believes that there is nothing in Kālidāsa's works that renders untenable the tradition which assigns him to the age of the Vikramāditya of the Saṃvat era, i.e., to the first century B.C. The view has been developed in some recent writings, but the arguments are hardly conclusive.

Vikramāditya, and whose times were those of prosperity and power. The various arguments, literary and historical, by which the position is reached, are not invulnerable when they are taken in detail, but their cumulative effect cannot be ignored. We neither know, nor shall perhaps ever know, if any of the brilliant conjectures is correct, but in the present state of our knowledge, it would not be altogether unjustifiable to place Kālidāsa roughly at 400 A.D. It is not unimportant to know that Kālidāsa shared the glorious and varied living and learning of a great time; but he might not have done this, and yet be the foremost poet of Sanskrit literature. That he had a wide acquaintance with the life and scenes of many parts of India, but had a partiality for Ujjayini, may be granted; but it would perhaps be hazardous, and even unnecessary, to connect him with any particular geographical setting or historical environment.

Kālidāsa's works are not only singularly devoid of all direct personal reference, but they hardly show his poetic genius growing and settling itself in a gradual grasp of power. Very few poets have shown greater lack of ordered development. Each of his works, including his dramas, has its distinctive characteristics in matter and manner; it is hardly a question of younger or older, better or worse, but of difference of character and quality of conception and execution. All efforts,²⁹ therefore, to arrive at a relative chronology of his writings have not proved very successful; and it is not necessary to indulge in pure guess-work and express a dogmatic opinion.

29 Huth attempts to ascertain a relative chronology on the basis of metres, but Kālidāsa is too finished a metrist to render any conclusion probable on metrical evidence alone; see Keith's effective criticism in *SD.*, p. 167. That *Kumara*° and *Megha*° are both redolent of love and youth and *Raghu*° is mature and meditative is not a criterion of sufficiently decisive character. The dramas also differ in quality and character of workmanship, but it is pure conjecture to infer from this fact their earliness or lateness. Similar remarks apply to the elaborate attempt of R. D. Karmarkar in *Proc. Second Orient. Conference, Calcutta 1923*, pp. 239-47. It must be said that the theories are plausible; but their very divergence from one another shows that the question is incapable of exact determination.

The *Kumāra-sambhava*³⁰ is regarded as one of Kālidāsa's early works, but it is in its own way as admirably conceived and expressed as his other poems. But, to the extent to which it has survived, it does not complete its theme,—a defect which it shares with the *Raghu-vamśa*, also apparently left incomplete. The genuineness of the first seven cantos of the *Kumāra-sambhava* is beyond doubt; but it brings the narrative down to the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, and the promise of the title, regarding the birth of the Kumāra, is not fulfilled. Probably canto viii is also genuine; along with the first seven cantos, it is commented upon by Mallinātha and Aruṇagiri, and is known to writers on Poetics, who somewhat squeamishly censure its taste in depicting the love-sports of adored deities,³¹ it also possesses Kālidāsa's characteristic style and diction. The same remarks, however, do not apply to the rest of the poem (ix-xvii) as we have it now. The remaining cantos probably form a supplement³²

30 Ed. A. F. Stenzler, with Latin trs. (i-vii), London 1838; ed. T. Ganapati Shastri, with comm. of Aruṇagiri and Nārāyaṇa (i-viii), Trivandrum Skt. Ser. 1913-14. Cantos viii-xviii first published in *Pandit* i-ii, by Viṭṭhala Shastri, 1866. Also ed. with comm. of Mallinātha (i-vii) and Sitārāma (viii-xvii), NSP, 5th ed. Bombay 1908 (10th ed. 1927); ed. with Mallinātha, Cāritravardhana and Sitārāma, Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay 1898. Eng. trs. by R. T. H. Griffith, 2nd ed., London 1879. It has been translated into many other languages, and edited many times in India. The NSP ed. (2nd ed. Bombay 1886, also 1908) contains in an appendix Mallinātha's comm. on canto viii, which is accepted as genuine in some South Indian editions and manuscripts (see Eggeling in *Ind. Office Cat.*, vii, p. 1419, no. 3764).

31 For a summary of the opinions, see Harichand Shastri, *Kālidāsa et l'Art poétique de l'Inde*, Paris 1917, p. 235 f.

32 Jacobi in *Verhandl. d. V Orient Kongress*, Berlin 1881, ii, 2, pp. 133-56; Weber in *ZDMG*, xxvii, p. 174 f. and in *Ind. Streifen*, iii, p. 217 f, 241 f. The arguments turn chiefly on the silence of the commentators and rhetoricians, and on grammatical and stylistic evidence, which need not be summarised here. Although the intrinsic evidence of taste, style and treatment is at best an unsafe guide, no student of Sanskrit literature, alive to literary niceties, will deny the obvious inferiority of the supplement. The extreme rarity of MSS for these additional cantos is also significant; and we know nothing about their source, nor about the source of the commentary of Sitārāma on them (the only notice of a MS occurring only in Mitra, *Notices*, 8, no. 3289, p. 38). It must, however, be admitted that, though an

composed by some later zealous admirer, who not only insists upon the birth of Kumāra but also brings out the motive of his birth by describing his victory over the demon Tāraka. It is unbelievable that Kālidāsa abruptly left off his work; possibly he brought it to a proper conclusion; but it is idle to speculate as to why the first seven or eight cantos only survived. The fact remains that the authenticity of the present sequel has not been proved.

Nevertheless, apart from the promise of the title, these genuine cantos present a finished and unified picture in itself. The theme is truly a daring one in aspiring to encompass the love of the highest deities; but, unlike the later Greek poets to whom the Homeric inspiration was lost, the Sanskrit poets never regard their deities as playthings of fancy. Apart from any devotional significance which may be found but which Kālidāsa, as a poet, never emphasises, the theme was a living reality to him as well as to his audience; and its poetic possibilities must have appealed to his imagination. We do not know exactly from what source³³ Kālidāsa derived his material, but we can infer from his treatment of the Śakuntalā legend, that he must have entirely rehandled and reshaped what he derived. The new mythology had life, warmth and colour, and brought the gods

inferior production, the sequel is not devoid of merit; and there are echoes in it, not only from Kālidāsa's works, but also lines and phrases which remind one of later great Kāvya-poets. The only citation from it in later writings is the one found in Ujjvaladatta's commentary on the *Uṇādi-sūtra* (ed. T. Aufrecht, Bonn 1859, *ad* iv. 66, p. 106), where the passage *ravaḥ pragalbhābhata-bheri-saṃbhavaḥ* is given as a quotation with *iti Kumārah* (and not *Kumāre*). It occurs as a variant of *Kumāra*^o xiv. 32^a in the NSP edition; but it is said to occur also in Kumāradāsa's *Jānakī-haraṇa*, which work, however, is cited by Ujjvaladatta (iii. 73) by its own name and not by the name of its author. If this is a genuine quotation from the sequel, then it must have been added at a fairly early time, at least before the 14th century A.D., unless it is shown that it is a quotation from Kumāradāsa and an appropriation by the author of the sequel. The question is reopened by S. P. Bhattacharya in *Proceedings of the Fifth Orient. Conf.*, vol. i, pp. 43-44.

33 The story is told in *Mahābhārata*, iii. 225 (Bombay ed.) and *Rāmāyaṇa*, i. 37. It is known to Āśvaghoṣa in some form, *Buddha-carita*, i. 88; xiii. 16.

nearer to human life and emotion. The magnificent figure of the divine ascetic, scorning love but ultimately yielding to its humanising influence, the myth of his temptation leading to the destruction of Kāma as the emblem of human desire, the story of Umā's resolve to win by renunciation what her beauty and love could not achieve by their seduction, and the pretty fancy of the coming back of her lover, not in his ascetic pride but in playful benignity,—this poetic, but neither moralistic nor euhemeristic, working up of a scanty Puraṇic myth in a finished form is perhaps all his own. If there is a serious purpose behind the poem, it is merged in its total effect. It is, on the other hand, not bare story-telling or recounting of a myth; it is the careful work of a poet, whose feeling, art and imagination invest his pictures with a charm and vividness, which is at once finely spiritual and intensely human. His poetic powers are best revealed in his delineation of Śiva's temptation in canto iii, where the mighty effect of the few swift words, describing the tragic annihilation of the pretty love-god by the terrible god of destruction, is not marred by a single word of elaboration, but produce infinite suggestiveness by its extreme brevity and almost perfect fusion of sound and sense. A fine example also of Kālidāsa's charming fancy and gentle humour is to be found in the picture of the young hermit appearing in Umā's hermitage and his depreciation of Śiva, which evokes an angry but firm rebuke from Umā, leading on to the hermit's revealing himself as the god of her desire.

The theme of the *Raghu-vaṃśa*³⁴ is much more diversified and extensive, and gives fuller scope to Kālidāsa's artistic imagination.

34 Ed. A. F. Stenzler, with a Latin trs., London 1882: ed. with the comm. of Mallinātha by S. P. Pandit, Bombay Skt. Ser., 3 vols. 1869-72, and by G. R. Nandargikar, with English trs., 3rd revised ed., Bombay 1897: ed. with comm. of Aruṇagiri and Nārāyaṇa (i-vi), Mangalodaya Press, Trichur, no date. Often edited and translated in parts or as a whole.

The work has a greater height of aim and range of delivery, but has no known predecessor. It is rather a gallery of pictures than a unified poem; and yet out of these pictures, which put the uncertain mass of old narratives and traditions into a vivid poetical form, Kālidāsa succeeds in evolving one of the finest specimens of the Indian Mahākāvya, which exhibits both the diversity and plenitude of his powers.³⁵ Out of its nineteen cantos there is none that does not possess an interest of its own; and there is throughout this long poem a fairly uniform excellence of style and expression. There is hardly anything rugged or unpolished anywhere in Kālidāsa; and his works must have been responsible for setting the high standard of formal finish which grew out of all proportion in later poetry. But he never sacrifices, as later poets often do, the intrinsic interest of the narrative to a mere elaboration of the outward form. There is invariably a fine sense of equipoise and an astonishing certainty of touch and taste. In the *Raghu-vaṃśa*, Kālidāsa goes back to early legends for a theme, but it is doubtful if he seriously wishes to reproduce its spirit or write a Heldengedicht. The quality of the poem, however, is more important than its fidelity to the roughness of heroic times in which the scene is laid. Assuming that what he has given us is only a glorified picture of his own times, the vital question is whether he has painted excellent individuals or mere abstractions. Perhaps Kālidāsa is prone to depicting blameless regal characters, in whom a little blameworthiness had better been blended; but if they are meant to be ideal, they are yet clearly distinguished as individuals; and, granting the environment, they are far from ethereal or unnatural. Kālidāsa introduces us to an old-world legend and to an atmosphere strange to us with all its romantic charm; but beneath

35 The Indian opinion considers the *Raghu-vaṃśa* to be Kālidāsa's greatest poem, so that he is often cited as the *Raghukāra par excellence*. Its popularity is attested by the fact that about forty commentaries on this poem are known.

all that is brilliant and marvellous, he is always real without being a realist.

The earlier part of the *Raghu-vaṃśa* accords well with its title, and the figure of Raghu dominates, being supported by the episodes of his father Dilipa and his son Aja; but in the latter part Rāma is the central figure, similarly heralded by the story of Daśarathā and followed by that of Kuśa. There is thus a unity of design, but the entire poem is marked by a singularly varied handling of a series of themes. We are introduced in first canto to the vows and austerities of the childless Dilipa and his queen Sudakṣiṇā in tending Vasiṣṭha's sacred cow and submitting to her test, followed by the birth of Raghu as a heavenly boon. Then we have the spirited narrative of young Raghu's fight with Indra in defence of his father's sacrificial horse, his accession, his triumphant progress as a conqueror, and his generosity which threatened to impoverish him—all of which, especially his Digvijaya, is described with picturesque brevity, force and skill. The next three cantos (vi-viii) are devoted to the more tender story of Aja and his winning of the princess Indumati at the stately ceremonial of Svayanivara, followed, after a brief interval of triumph and happiness, by her accidental death, which leaves Aja disconsolate and broken-hearted. The story of his son Daśarathā's unfortunate hunt, which follows, becomes the prelude to the much greater narrative of the joys and sorrows of Rāma. In the gallery of brilliant kings which Kālidāsa has painted, his picture of Rāma is undoubtedly the best; for here we have realities of character which evoke his powers to the utmost. He did not obviously wish to rival Vālmiki on his own ground, but wisely chooses to treat the story in his own way. While Kālidāsa devotes one canto (ix) of nearly a hundred stanzas to the romantic possibilities of Rāma's youthful career, he next accomplishes the very difficult task of giving, in a single canto of not much greater length, marvellously rapid but picturesque condensation, in Vālmiki's Sloka

metre, of the almost entire *Rāmāyaṇa* up to the end of Rāma's victory over Rāvaṇa and winning back of Sitā. But the real pathos of the story of Rāma's exile, strife and suffering is reserved for treatment in the next canto, in which, returning from Laṅkā, Rāma is made to describe to Sitā, with the recollective tenderness of a loving heart, the various scenes of their past joys and sorrows, over which they pass in their aerial journey. The episode is a poetical study of reminiscent love, in which sorrow remembered becomes bliss, but it serves to bring out Rāma's great love for Sitā better than mere narration or description,—a theme which is varied by the pictures of the memory of love in the presence of suffering in the *Megha-dūta*, and in the two lamentations, in different situations, of Aja and Rati. Rāma's passionate clinging to the melancholy, but sweet, memories of the past prepares us for the next canto on Sitā's exile, and heightens by contrast the grief of the separation, which comes with a still more cruel blow at the climax of their happiness. Kālidāsa's picture of this later history of Rāma, more heroic in its silent suffering than the earlier, has been rightly praised for revealing the poet's power of pathos at its best, which never exaggerates but compresses the infinite pity of the situation in just a few words. The story of Rāma's son, Kuśa, which follows, sinks in interest; but it has a remarkably poetic description of Kuśa's dream, in which his forsaken capital city, Ayodhyā, appears in the guise of a forlorn woman and reproaches him for her fallen state. After this, two more cantos (xviii-xix) are added, but the motive of the addition is not clear. They contain some interesting pictures, especially that of Agnivarṇa at the end, and their authenticity is not questioned; but they present a somewhat colourless account of a series of unknown and shadowy kings. We shall never know whether Kālidāsa intended to bring the narrative down to his own times and connect his own royal patron with the dynasty of Raghu; but the poem comes to an end rather abruptly in the form in which we

have it.³⁶ It will be seen from this brief sketch that the theme is not one, but many; but even if the work has no real unity, its large variety of subjects is knit together by the powers of colour, form and music of a marvellous poetic imagination. Objects, scenes, characters, emotions, incidents, thoughts—all are transmuted and placed in an eternising frame and setting of poetry.

The *Megha-dūta*,³⁷ loosely called a lyric or an elegy, is a much smaller monody of a little over a hundred stanzas³⁸ in the

36 The last voluptuous king Agnivarṇa meets with a premature death; but he is not childless; one of the queens with a posthumous child is said to have succeeded. The Purāṇas speak at least of twenty-seven kings who came after Agnivarṇa, and there is no reason why the poem should end here suddenly, but not naturally. (See S. P. Pandit, Preface, p. 15 f.; Hillebrandt, *Kālidāsa*, p. 42 f.). It has been urged that the poet's object is to suggest a moral on the inglorious end of a glorious line by depicting the depth to which the descendants of the mighty Raghu sink, in a debauched king like Agnivarṇa who cannot tear himself from the caresses of his women, and who, when his loyal subjects below want to have a sight of him puts out his bare feet through the window for them to worship! Even admitting this as a not unnatural conclusion of the poem, the abrupt ending is still inexplicable.

37 The editions as well as translations in various languages are numerous. The earliest editions are those of H. H. Wilson, with metrical Eng. trs., (116 stanzas) Calcutta 1813 (2nd ed. 1843); of J. Gildemeister, Bonn 1841; of A. F. Stenzler, Breslau 1874. The chief editions with different commentaries are: With Vallabhadeva's comm., ed. E. Hultzsch, London 1911; with Mallinātha's comm., ed. K. P. Parab, NSP, 4th ed. Bombay 1881, G. R. Nandargikar, Bombay, 1894, and K. B. Pathak, Poona 1894 (2nd ed. 1906, both with Eng. trs.); with Dakṣiṇāvartanātha's comm., ed. T. Ganapati Shastri, Trivandrum 1919; with Pūrṇasarasvatī's comm., ed. Śrīvāṇī-vilāsa Press, Srirangam 1909; with comm. of Mallinātha and Cāritravardhana, ed. Narayan Shastri Khiste, Chowkhamba Skt. Ser., Benares 1931. English trs. by Col. Jacob, Poona 1870. There are some fifty commentaries mentioned by Aufrecht.

38 The great popularity of the poem paid the penalty of interpolations, and the total number of stanzas vary in different versions, thus: as preserved in Jināsena's *Pārsvābhyudaya* (latter part of the 8th century) 120, Vallabhadeva (10th century) 111, Dakṣiṇāvartanātha (c. 1200) 110, Mallinātha (14th century) 121, Pūrṇasarasvatī 110, Tibetan version 117, Pānabokke (Ceylonese version) 118. A concordance is given in Hultzsch, as well as a list of spurious stanzas.—On text-criticism, see introd. to eds. of Stenzler, Pathak and Hultzsch; J. Hertel's review of Hultzsch's ed. in *Götting. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1912; Macdonell in *JRAS*, 1913, p. 176 f; Harichand,

stately and melodious Mandākrāntā metre; but it is no less characteristic of the vitality and versatility of Kālidāsa's poetic powers. The theme is simple enough in describing the severance and yearnings of an imaginary Yakṣa from his beloved through a curse; but the selection of the friendly cloud as the bearer of the Yakṣa's message from Rāmagiri to Alakā is a novel, and somewhat unreal, device,³⁹ for which the almost demented condition of the sorrowful Yakṣa is offered as an apology by the poet himself. It is perhaps a highly poetical, but not an unnatural, personification, when one bears in mind the noble mass of Indian monsoon clouds, which seem almost instinct with life as they travel from the Southern tropical sky to the snows of the Himalayas; but the unreality of the poem does not end there. It has been urged that the temporary character of a very brief separation and the absolute certainty of reunion make the display of grief unmanly and its pathos unreal. Perhaps the sense of irrevocable loss would have made the motif more effective; the trivial setting gives an appearance of sentimentality to the real sentiment of the poem. The device of a curse, again, in bringing about the separation—a motif which is repeated in another form in the *Abhijñāna-śakuntala*—is also criticised; for the breach here is caused not by psychological complications, so dear to modern times. But the predominantly fanciful character of Sanskrit poetry recognises not only this as a legitimate means, but even departure on a journey,—on business as we should say to-day; and even homesickness brings a flood of tears to the eyes of grown up men and women! It is, however, not necessary to exaggerate the artistic insufficiency of the

op. cit., p. 238f; Hermann Beckh, *Ein Beitrag zur Textkritik von Kālidāsa's Meghadūta* (Diss.), Berlin 1907 (chiefly on the Tibetan version). A Sinhalese paraphrase with Eng. trs. published by T. B. Pānabokke, Colombo 1883.

39 Bhāmaha (i. 42) actually considers this to be a defect. The idea of sending message may have been suggested by the embassy of Hanūmat in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (cf. st. 104, Pathak's ed.), or of the Swan in the story of Nala in the *Mahābhārata*. Cf. also Kāmavilāpa Jātaka (no. 297), where a crow is sent as a messenger by a man in danger to his wife. But the treatment is Kālidāsa's own.

device; for, the attitude is different, but not the sense of sorrow. If we leave aside the setting, the poem gives a true and poignant picture of the sorrow of parted lovers, and in this lies its real pathos. It is true that the poem is invested with a highly imaginative atmosphere; it speaks of a dreamland of fancy, its characters are semi-divine beings, and its imagery is accordingly adapted; but all this does not negate its very human and genuine expression of the erotic sentiment. Its vividness of touch has even led people to imagine that it gives a poetic form to the poet's own personal experience; but of this one can never be sure. There is little of subjectivity in its finished artistic execution, and the lyric mood does not predominate; but the unmistakable warmth of its rich and earnest feeling, expressed through the melody and dignity of its happily fitting metre, redeems the banality of the theme and makes the poem almost lyrical in its effect. The feeling, however, is not isolated, but blended picturesquely with a great deal of descriptive matter. Its intensity of recollective tenderness is set in the midst of the Indian rainy season, than which, as Rabindranath rightly remarks, nothing is more appropriate for an atmosphere of loneliness and longing; it is placed also in the midst of splendid natural scenery which enhances its poignant appeal. The description of external nature in the first half of the poem is heightened throughout by an intimate association with human feeling, while the picture of the lover's sorrowing heart in the second half is skilfully framed in the surrounding beauty of nature. A large number of attempts⁴⁰ were made in later times to imitate the poem, but the *Megha-dūta* still remains unsurpassed as a masterpiece of its kind; and its chief value lies in its pure poetry, not in its description, matter or setting.

Kālidāsa's deep-rooted fame as a poet somewhat obscures his merit as a dramatist; but prodigal of gifts nature had been to him.

40 See Chintaharan Chakravarti, on the *Dūta-kāvya*s, *IHQ.*, iii, pp. 273-97.

and his achievement in the drama is no less striking. In the judgment of many, his *Abhijñāna-śakuntala* remains his greatest work; at the very least, it is considered to be the full blown flower of his genius. Whatever value the judgment may possess, it implies that in this work we have a unique alliance of his poetic and dramatic gifts, which are indeed not contradictory but complementary; and this fact should be recognised in passing from his poems to his plays. His poems give some evidence of skilful handling of dramatic moments and situations; but his poetic gifts invest his dramas with an imaginative quality which prevents them from being mere practical productions of stage-craft. It is not implied that his dramas do not possess the requisite qualities of a stage-play, for his *Śakuntalā* has been often successfully staged; but this is not the only, much less the chief, point of view from which his dramatic works are to be judged. Plays often fail, not for want of dramatic power or stage-qualities, but for want of poetry; they are often too prosaic. It is very seldom that both the dramatic and poetic qualities are united in the same author. As a dramatist Kālidāsa succeeds, mainly by his poetic power, in two respects: he is a master of poetic emotion which he can skilfully harmonise with character and action, and he has the poetic sense of balance and restraint which a dramatist must show if he would win success.

It is significant that in the choice of theme, character and situation, Kālidāsa follows the essentially poetic bent of his genius. Love in its different aspects and situations is the dominant theme of all his three plays,—carefree love in the setting of a courtly intrigue, impetuous love as a romantic and undisciplined passion leading to madness, and youthful love at first heedless but gradually purified by suffering. In the lyrical and narrative poem the passionate feeling is often an end in itself, elegant but isolated; in the drama, there is a progressive deepening of the emotional experience as a factor of larger life. It therefore affords the poet, as a dramatist,

an opportunity of depicting its subtle moods and fancies in varied circumstances, its infinite range and intensity in closeness to common realities. His mastery of humour and pathos, his wisdom and humanity, come into play; and his great love of life and sense of tears in moral things inform his pictures with all the warmth and colour of a vivid poetic imagination.

The *Mālavikāgnimitra*⁴¹ is often taken to be one of Kālidāsa's youthful productions, but there is no adequate reason for thinking that it is his first dramatic work. The modesty shown in the Prologue⁴² repeats itself in those of his other two dramas, and the immaturity which critics have seen in it is more a question of personal opinion than a real fact; for it resolves itself into a difference of form and theme, rather than any real deficiency of power.⁴³ The *Mālavikā*^o is not a love-drama of the type of the *Svapna-vāsavadatta*, to which it has a superficial resemblance, but which possesses a far more serious interest. It is a light-hearted comedy of court-life in five acts, in which love is a pretty game, and in which the hero need not be of heroic proportion, nor the heroine anything but

41 Ed. F. Bollensen, Leipzig 1879; ed. with comm. of Kāṭyavema (c. 1400 A.D.) by S. P. Pandit, Bombay Sansk. Ser., 2nd ed. 1889, and by K. P. Parab, NSP, Bombay 1915. Trs. into English by C. H. Tawney, Calcutta 1875 and London 1891; into German by Weber, Berlin 1856; into French by V. Henry, Paris 1889. On Text-criticism see C. Cappeller, *Observationes ad Kālidāsaē Mālavikāgnimitra* (Diss.), Regimonti 1868; F. Haag, *Zur Textkritik und Erklärung von Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra*, Frauenfeld 1872; Bollensen in *ZDMG*, xiii, 1859, p. 480 f; Weber in *ibid.*, xiv, 1860, p. 261 f; Jackson in *JAOS*, xx, p. 343 f (Time-analysis). For fuller bibliography see Sten Konow, *Indische Drama*, Berlin and Leipzig 1920, p. 63.

42 If the work is called *nava*, with a reference to far-famed predecessors, the same word is used to designate his *Abhijñānaśakuntala*, which also modestly seeks the satisfaction of the learned as a final test; and his *Vikramorvaśīya* is spoken of in the same way in the Prologue as *apūrvā*, with reference to former poets (*pūrvā kavi*). In a sense all plays are *nava* and *apūrvā*, and no valid inference is possible from such descriptions.

43 Wilson's unfounded doubt about the authorship of the play led to its comparative neglect, but Weber and S. P. Pandit effectively set the doubts at rest. For a warm eulogy, see V. Henry, *Les Littératures de l'Inde*, p. 305 f.

a charming and attractive maiden. The pity of the situation, no doubt, arises from the fact that the game of sentimental philandering is often played at the expense of others who are not in it, but that is only an inevitable incident of the game. The motif of the progress of a courtly love-intrigue through hindrances to royal desire for a lowly maiden and its denouement in the ultimate discovery of her status as a princess was perhaps not as banal in Kālidāsa's time⁴⁴ as we are wont to think; but the real question is how the theme is handled. Neither Agnimitra nor Mālavikā may appear impressive; but they are appropriate to the atmosphere. The former is a care-free and courteous gentleman, on whom the burden of kingly responsibility sits but lightly, who is no longer young but no less ardent, who is an ideal Dakṣiṇa Nāyaka possessing a great capacity for falling in and out of love; while the latter is a faintly drawn ingénue with nothing but good looks and willingness to be loved by the incorrigible king-lover. The Vidūṣaka is a more lively character, who takes a greater part in the development of the plot in this play than in the other dramas of Kālidāsa. The interest of the theme is enhanced by the complications of the passionate impetuosity and jealousy of the young discarded queen Irāvati, which is finely shown off against the pathetic dignity and magnanimity of the elderly chief queen Dhārīṇī. Perhaps the tone and tenor of the play did not permit a more serious development of this aspect of the plot, but it should not be regarded as a deficiency. The characterisation is sharp and clear, and the expression polished, elegant and even dainty. The wit and elaborate compliments, the toying and trifling with the tender passion, the sentimentalities and absence of deep feeling are in perfect keeping with the outlook of the gay circle,

44 The source of the story is not known, but it is clear that Kālidāsa owes nothing to the Purāṇic stories. As st. 2 shows, accounts of Agnimitra were probably current and available to the poet.

which is not used to any profounder view of life.¹⁵ One need not wonder, therefore, that while war is in progress in the kingdom, the royal household is astir with the amorous escapades of the somewhat elderly but youthfully inclined king. Gallantry is undoubtedly the keynote of the play, and its joys and sorrows should not be reckoned at a higher level. Judged by its own standard, there is nothing immature, clumsy or turgid in the drama. If Kālidāsa did not actually originate the type, he must have so stamped it with the impress of his genius that it was, as the dramas of Harṣa and Rājasekhara show, adopted as one of the appealing modes of dramatic expression and became banalised in course of time.

In the *Vikramorvaśīya*,¹⁶ on the other hand, there is a decided weakness in general treatment. The romantic story of the love of the mortal king Purūravas and the divine nymph Urvaśī, is old, the earliest version occurring in the *Rgveda* (x. 95); but the passion and pathos, as well as the logically tragic ending, of the ancient legend¹⁷

45 K. R. Pisharoti in *Journal of the Annamalai Univ.*, ii, no. 2, p. 193 f, is inclined to take the play as a veiled satire on some royal family of the time, if not on the historical Agnimitra himself, and would think that the weakness of the opening scene is deliberate.

46 Ed. R. Lenz, with Latin notes etc., Berlin 1833; ed. F. Bollensen, St. Petersburg 1846; ed. Menier Williams, Hertford 1849; ed. S. P. Pandit and B. R. Arte, with extracts from comm. of Kāṭayavema and Raiganātha, Bom. Skt. Ser., 3rd ed. 1901, 1st ed. 1879; ed. K. P. Parab and M. R. Telang, NSP, with comm. of Raiganātha, Bombay 1914 (4th ed.); ed. Carudev Shastri, with comm. of Kāṭayavema, Lahore 1929. Trs. into English by E. B. Cowell, Hertford 1851; into German by L. Fritze, Leipzig 1880; into French by P. É. Foucaux, Paris 1861 and 1879. The recension according to Dravidian manuscripts is edited by Pischel in *Monatsber. d. Kgl. preuss. Akad. zu Berlin*, 1875, p. 409 f. For fuller Bibliography see Sten Konow, *op. cit.*, p. 65-66.

47 Kālidāsa's source, again, is uncertain. The story is retold with the missing details in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, but the Purāṇic accounts entirely modify it, not to its advantage. The *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* preserves some of its old rough features, but in the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* and in the *Matsya-purāṇa* we find it in a much altered form of a folk-tale. The latter version closely resembles the one which Kālidāsa follows, but it is not clear if the *Matsya-purāṇa* version itself, like the *Padma-purāṇa* version of the *Śakuntalā*-legend, is modelled on Kālidāsa's treatment of the story.

is changed into an unconvincing story in five acts of semi-courtly life, with a weak denouement of domestic union and felicity, brought about by the intervention of a magic stone and the grace of Indra. The fierce-souled spouse, *la belle dame sans merci* of the *R̥gveda*, is transformed into a passionate but selfish woman, an elevated type of the heavenly courtesan, and later on, into a happy and obedient wife. The modifying hand of folk-tale and comedy of courtly life is obvious; and some strange incidents and situations, like the first scene located in the air, are introduced; but accepting Kālidāsa's story as it is, there is no deficiency in characterisation and expression. If the figures are strange and romantic, they are still transcripts from universal nature. Even when the type does not appeal, the character lives. The brave and chivalrous Purūravas is sentimental, but, as his madness shows, he is not the mere trifler of a princely amourist like Agnimitra; while jealous queen Auśinārī is not a repetition of Irāvati or Dhārīnī. Although in the fifth act, the opportunity is missed of a tragic conflict of emotion between the joy of Purūravas in finding his son and his sorrow at the loss of Urvaśī resulting from the very sight of the child, there is yet a skilful delineation of Kālidāsa's favourite motif of the recognition of the unknown son and the psychological climax of presenting the offspring as the crown of wedded love. There are features also in the drama which are exceptional in the whole range of Sanskrit literature, and make it rise above the decorum of courtly environment. The fourth act on the madness of Purūravas is unique in this sense. The scene is hardly dramatic and has no action, but it reaches an almost lyric height in depicting the tumultuous ardour of undisciplined passion. It is a fantasy in soliloquy, in which the demented royal lover, as he wanders through the woods in search of his beloved, demands tidings of his fugitive love from the peacock, the cuckoo, the flamingo, the bee, the elephant, the boar and the antelope; he deems the cloud with its rainbow to be a demon who has borne his beauteous bride

away; he searches the yielding soil, softened by showers, which may perchance, if she had passed that way, have retained the delicate impression of her gait, and may show some vestige of the red tincture of her dyed feet. The whole scene is melodramatically conceived; and if the Prakrit verses are genuine,¹⁸ they are apparently meant to be sung behind the scenes. The stanzas are charged with exuberance of emotion and play of fancy, but we have nothing else, which appeals in the drama, but this isolation of individual passion. The inevitable tragedy of such a love is obvious; and it is a pity that the play is continued even after the natural tragic climax is reached, even at the cost of lowering the heroine from her divine estate and making Indra break his word!

That the *Abhijñāna-śakuntala*¹⁹ is, in every respect, the most finished of Kālidāsa's dramatic compositions is indicated by the almost universal feeling of genuine admiration which it has always evoked.

48 The authenticity of the Prakrit verses has been doubted, chiefly on the ground that the Apabhramśa of the type found in them is suspicious in a drama of such early date, and that they are not found in the South Indian recension of the text. The Northern recension calls the drama a *Troṭaka*, apparently for the song-element in these verses, but according to the South Indian recension, it conforms generally to the essentials of a *Nāṭaka*.

49 The earliest edition (Bengal Recension) is that by A. L. Chézy, Paris 1830. The drama exists in four recensions: (i) Devanāgarī, ed. O. Böhtlingk, Bonn 1842, but with better materials, ed. Monier Williams, 2nd ed. Oxford 1876; with comm. of Rāghavabhaṭṭa, ed. N. B. Godbole and K. P. Parab, NSP, Bombay 1883, 1922, (ii) Bengali, ed. R. Pischel, Kiel 1877; 2nd ed. Harvard Orient. Ser., revised by C. Cappeller, Cambridge, Mss. 1922, (iii) Kāśmīrī, ed. K. Burkhard, Wien 1884, (iv) South Indian, no critical edition, but printed with comm. of Abhirāma, Śrī-vāṇīvilāsa Press, Srirangam (no date), etc. Attempts to reconstruct the text, by C. Cappeller (Kürzere Textform), Leipzig 1909 and by P. N. Patankar (called *Purer Devanāgarī Text*), Poona 1902. But no critical edition utilising all the recensions has yet been undertaken. The earliest English trs. is by William Jones, London 1790; but trs. have been numerous in various languages. On Text-criticism, see Pischel, *De Kālidāsaē Çakuntalī recensionibus* (Diss.), Breslau 1872 and *Die Rezensionen der Çakuntala*, Breslau 1875; Harichand Shastri, *op. cit.*, p. 243 f.; A. Weber, *Die Rezensionen der Sakuntalā in Ind. Studien*, xiv, pp. 35-69, 161-311. For fuller Bibliography, see Sten Konow, *op. cit.*, 68-70, and M. Schuyler in *JAOS*, xxii, p. 237 f.

The old legend of Śakuntalā, incorporated in the Ādiparvan of the *Mahābhārata*, or perhaps some version of it,⁵⁰ must have suggested the plot of this drama; but the difference between the rough and simple epic narrative and Kālidāsa's refined and delicate treatment of it at once reveals his distinctive dramatic genius. The shrewd, straightforward and taunting girl of the epic is transformed into the shy, dignified and pathetic heroine, while the selfish conduct of her practical lover in the Epic who refuses to recognize her out of policy, is replaced by an irreprehensible forgetfulness which obscures his love. A dramatic motive is thereby supplied, and the prosaic incidents and characters of the original legend are plastically remodelled into frames and shapes of beauty. Here we see, in its best effect, Kālidāsa's method of unfolding of a character, as a flower unfolds its petals in rain and sunshine; there is no melodrama, no lame denouement, to mar the smooth, measured and dignified progress of the play; there is temperance in the depth of passion, and perspicuity and inevitableness in action and expression; but, above all this, the drama surpasses by its essential poetic quality of style and treatment.

Some criticism, however, has been levelled against the artificial device of the curse and the ring,⁵¹ which brings in an element of chance and incalculable happening in the development of the plot.

50 The *Padma-purāṇa* version is perhaps a recast of Kālidāsa's story, and there is no reason to think (Winternitz, *GIL*, iii, p. 215) that Kālidāsa derived his material from the Purāṇa, or from some earlier version of it. Haradatta Sarma, *Kālidāsa and Padma-purāṇa*, Calcutta 1925, follows Winternitz.

51 Criticised severely by H. Oldenberg in *Die Lit. d. alten Indien*, Stuttgart and Berlin 1903, p. 261.—The curse of Caṇḍabhārgava and the magic ring in the *Avimāraka*, which have a different purpose, have only a superficial similarity, and could not have been Kālidāsa's source of the idea. On the curse of a sage as a motif in story and drama, see L. H. Gray in *WZKM*, 1904, pp. 53-54. The ring-motif is absent in the *Mahābhārata*, but P. E. Pavolini (*GSAL*, xix, 1906, p. 376; xx, 1907, p. 297) finds a parallel in Jātaka no. 7. It is perhaps an old Indian story-motif.

It should be recognised, however, that the psychological evolution of action is, more or less, a creation of the modern drama. The idea of destiny or divinity shaping our ends, unknown to ourselves, is not a peculiarly Indian trait, but is found in ancient drama in general; and the trend has been from ancient objectivity to modern subjectivity.⁵² Apart from judging a method by a standard to which it does not profess to conform, it cannot also be argued that there is an inherent inferiority in an external device, as compared with the complication created by the inner impetus, to which we are in the present day more accustomed, perhaps too superstitiously. It is not really a question of comparative excellence, but of the artistic use which is made of a particular device. It is true that in Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna-śakuntala*, the dramatic motive comes from without, but it is effectively utilised, and the drama which is enacted within and leads to a crisis is not thereby overlooked. The lovers are betrayed also by what is within, by the very rashness of youthful love which reaps as it sows; and the entire responsibility in this drama is not laid on the external agency. Granting the belief of the time, there is nothing unreal or unnatural; it is fortuitous but not unmotivated. We have here not merely a tragedy of blameless hero and heroine; for a folly, or a mere girlish fault, or even one's very virtues, may bring misfortune. The unriddled ways of life need not always be as logical or comprehensible as one may desire; but there is nothing illogical or incomprehensible if only Svādhikāra-pramāda, here as elsewhere, leads to distress, and the nexus between act and fate is

52 C. E. Vaughan, *Types of Tragic Drama*, London 1908, p. 8 f. On the idea of Destiny in ancient and modern drama, see W. Macneille Dixon, *Tragedy*, London 1924, pp. 35-46. The device of the Ghost as the spirit of revenge in Euripides' *Hecuba* and Seneca's *Thyestes* is also external, although it was refined in the Elizabethan drama, especially in Shakespeare. The supernatural machinery in both *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* may be conceived as hallucination projected by the active minds in question, but it has still an undoubted influence on the development of the plot of the respective plays, which can be regarded as dramas of a man at odds with fate.

not wholly disregarded. If the conflict, again, between the heart's desire and the world's impediment can be a sufficient dramatic motive, it is not of very great poetic consequence whether the impediment assumes the form of a tragic curse, unknown to the persons affected, and plays the rôle of invisible but benevolent destiny in shaping the course of action. It is true we cannot excuse ourselves by arraigning Fate, Chance or Destiny; the tragic interest must assuredly be built on the foundation of human responsibility; but at the same time a human plot need not always be robbed of its mystery, and simplified to a mere circumstantial unfolding of cause and effect, all *in nostra potestate*. Fate or Ourselves, in the abstract, is a difficult question; but, as in life so in the drama, we need not reject the one for the other as the moulder of human action.

Much less convincing, and perhaps more misconceived, is the criticism that Kālidāsa evinces no interest in the great problems of human life. As, on the one hand, it would be a misdirected effort to find nothing but art for art's sake in Kālidāsa's work, so, on the other, it would be a singularly unimaginative attempt to seek a problem in a work of art and turn the poet into a philosopher. It is, however, difficult to reconcile the view mentioned above with the well known eulogy of no less an artist than Goethe, who speaks of finding in Kālidāsa's masterpiece "the young year's blossom and the fruit of its decline," and "the earth and heaven combined in one name." In spite of its obvious poetical exaggeration, this metaphorical but eloquent praise is not empty, but sums up with unerring insight the deeper issues of the drama, which is bound to be lost sight of by one who looks to it merely for a message or philosophy of life.

The *Abhijñāna-śakuntala*, unlike most Sanskrit plays, is not based on the mere banality of a court-intrigue but has a much more serious interest in depicting the baptism of youthful love by silent suffering. Contrasted with Kālidāsa's own *Mālavikāgnimित्रा* and

Vikramorvaśīya, the sorrow of the hero and heroine in this drama is far more human, far more genuine; and love is no longer a light-hearted passion in an elegant surrounding, or an explosive emotion ending in madness, but a deep and steadfast enthusiasm, or rather a progressive emotional experience which results in an abiding spiritual feeling. The drama opens with a description of the vernal season, made for enjoyment (*upabhoga-kṣama*); and even in the hermitage where thoughts of love are out of place, the season extends its witchery and makes the minds of the young hero and heroine turn lightly to such forbidden thoughts. At the outset we find Śakuntalā, an adopted child of nature, in the daily occupation of tending the friendly trees and creepers and watching them grow and bloom, herself a youthful blossom, her mind delicately attuned to the sights and sounds in the midst of which she had grown up since she had been deserted by her *amānuṣī* mother. On this scene appears the more sophisticated royal hero, full of the pride of youth and power but with a noble presence which inspires love and confidence, possessed of scrupulous regard for rectitude but withal susceptible to rash youthful impulses, considerate of others and alive to the dignity and responsibility of his high station but accustomed to every fulfilment of his wishes and extremely self-confident in the promptings of his own heart. He is egoistic enough to believe that everything he wishes must be right because he wishes it, and everything does happen as he wishes it. In his impetuous desire to gain what he wants, he does not even think it necessary to wait for the return of Kaṇva. It is easy for him to carry the young girl off her feet; for though brought up in the peaceful seclusion and stern discipline of a hermitage, she is yet possessed of a natural inward longing for the love and happiness which are due to her youth and beauty. Though fostered by a sage and herself the daughter of an ascetic, she is yet the daughter of a nymph whose intoxicating beauty had once achieved a conquest over the austere and terrible Viśvāmitra.

This beauty and this power she had inherited from her mother, as well as an inborn amiableness and desire for love; is she not going to make her own conquest over this great king? For such youthful lovers' love can never think of the morrow, it can only think of the moment. All was easy at first; the secret union to which they committed themselves obtains the ratification of the foster-father. But soon she realises the pity of taking love as an end in itself, of making the moment stand for eternity. The suffering comes as swiftly and unexpectedly as the happiness was headlong and heedless.

To these thoughtless lovers the curse of Durvāsas comes to play the part of a stern but beneficent providence. With high hopes and unaware of the impending catastrophe, she leaves for the house of her king-lover, tenderly taking farewell from her sylvan friends, who seem to be filled with an unconscious anxiety for her; but very soon, she finds herself standing utterly humiliated in the eyes of the world. Her grief, remorse and self-pity are aggravated by the accusation of unseemly haste and secrecy from Gautamī, as well as by the sterner rebuke of Śārṅgarava; "Thus does one's heedlessness lead to disaster!" But the unkindest cut comes from her lover himself who insultingly refers to instincts of feminine shrewdness, and compares her, without knowing, to the turbid swelling flood which drags others also in its fall. Irony in drama or in life can go no further. But the daughter of a nymph as she was, she had also the spirit of her fierce and austere father, and ultimately emerges triumphant from the ordeal of sorrow. She soon realises that she has lost all in her gambling for happiness, and a wordy warfare is useless. She could not keep her lover by her youth and beauty alone. She bows to the inevitable; and chastened and transformed by patient suffering, she wins back in the end her husband and her happiness. But the king is as yet oblivious of what is in store for him. Still arrogant, ironical and self-confident, he wonders who the

veiled lady might be; her beauty draws him as irresistibly as it once did, and yet his sense of rectitude forbids any improper thought. But his punishment comes in due course; for he was the greater culprit who had dragged the unsophisticated girl from her sylvan surroundings and left her unwittingly in the mire. When the ring of recognition is recovered, he realises the gravity of his act. Her resigned and reproachful form now haunts him and gives him no peace in the midst of his royal duties; and his utter helplessness in rendering any reparation makes his grief more intense and poignant. The scene now changes from earth to heaven, from the hermitage of Kaṇva and the court of the king to the penance-grove of Mārīca; and the love that was of the earth changes to love that is spiritual and divine. The strangely estranged lovers are again brought together equally strangely, but not until they have passed through the trial of sorrow and become ready for a perfect reunion of hearts. There is no explanation, no apology, no recrimination, nor any demand for reparation. Śakuntalā has now learnt in silence the lessons of suffering; and with his former self-complacency and impetuous desires left behind, the king comes, chastened and subdued, a sadder and wiser man. The young year's blossom now ripens into the mellow fruit of autumnal maturity.

Judged absolutely, without reference to an historical standard, Kālidāsa's plays impress us by their admirable combination of dramatic and poetic qualities; but it is in pure poetry that he surpasses even in his dramatic works. It should be admitted that he has the powers of a great dramatist; he can merge his individuality in the character he represents; he can paint distinct individuals, and not personified abstractions, with consistent reality and profound insight into human nature; all his romantic situations may not be justified, but he is always at the height of a situation; within certain limits, he has constructive ability of a high order and the action is perspicuous, naturally developed and adequately motivated; he makes a skilful use

of natural phenomenon in sympathy with the prevailing tone of a scene; he gives, by his easy and unaffected manner, the impression of grace, which comes from strength revealed without unnecessary display or expenditure of energy; he never tears a passion to tatters or oversteps the modesty of nature in producing a pathetic effect; he does not neglect the incident in favour of dialogue or dainty stanzas; all this and more may be freely acknowledged. But the real appeal of his dramas lies in the appeal of their poetry more than in their purely dramatic quality. His gentle pathos and humour, his romantic imagination and his fine poetic feeling are more marked characteristics of his dramas than mere ingenuity of plot, liveliness of incident and minute portraiture of men and manners. They save him from the prosaic crudeness of the realist, as well as from an oppressive and unnatural display of technical skill. The elegant compliment of the author of the *Prasanna-rāghava* that Kālidāsa is the 'grace of poetry' emphasises the point; but poetry is not too seductive for him. He is a master of sentiment, but not a sentimentalist, who sacrifices the realities of life and character; he is romantic, but his romance is not divorced from common nature and common sense. He writes real dramas and not a series of elegant poetical passages; the poetic fancy and love of style do not strangle the truth and vividness of his presentation; he is also not in any sense the exponent of the opera, or the lyrical drama, or the dramatic poem. He is rather the creator of the poetical drama in Sanskrit. But the difficult standard which he set could not be developed except in an extreme form by his less gifted successors.

In making a general estimate of Kālidāsa's achievement as a poet, one feels the difficulty of avoiding superlatives; but the superlatives in this case are amply justified. Kālidāsa's reputation has always been great; and this is perhaps the only case where both Eastern and Western critics, applying not exactly analogous standards are in general agreement. That he is the greatest of Sanskrit poets is

a commonplace of literary criticism, but if Sanskrit literature can claim to rank as one of the great literatures of the world, Kālidāsa's high place in the galaxy of world-poets must be acknowledged. It is not necessary to prove it by quoting the concurring eulogiums of Goethe and Ānandavardhana; but the agreement shows that Kālidāsa has the gift of a great poet, and like all great poetic gift, it is of universal appeal.

This high praise does not mean that Kālidāsa's poetic art and style have never been questioned or are beyond criticism. Leaving aside Western critics, whose appreciation of an alien art and expression must necessarily be limited, we find the Sanskrit rhetoricians, in spite of their great admiration, are not sparing in their criticism; and, like Ben Jonson who wanted to blot out a thousand lines in Shakespeare, they would give us a fairly long list of "faults" which mar the excellence of Kālidāsa's otherwise perfect work. We are not concerned here with the details of the alleged defects, but they happily demonstrate that Kālidāsa, like Shakespeare, is not faultily faultless. That his rhetoric is of the best kind is shown by the hundreds of passages approved by the rhetoricians themselves; but that they sometimes disapprove his not conforming rigidly to their laws is also significant. If his obedience is successful, his disobedience is often no less successful in giving him freedom of idea and expression and saving him from much that is wooden and merely conventional.

Even in the imposing gallery of Sanskrit poets, who are always remarkable for technical skill, Kālidāsa has an astonishing display of the poetic art; but he never lends himself to an over-development of the technical to the detriment of the artistic. The legend which makes Kālidāsa an inspired idiot and implies a minimum of artistic consciousness and design is perhaps as misleading as the counter-error of too great insistence upon the consciousness and elaboration of his art. There is little doubt that he shared the learning of his

time, but he wears his learning lightly like a flower; while the deceptive clarity and simplicity of his work conceal the amount of cultivation and polish which goes into its making. It is not spontaneous creation; but while lesser poets lack the art to conceal art, he has the gift of passion, imagination, music and colouring to give an effective appearance of spontaneity and inevitability. He belongs to a tradition which insists upon literature being a learned pursuit, but he is one of the great and limpid writers who can be approached with the minimum of critical apparatus and commentatorial lucubrations.

This marvellous result is possible because Kālidāsa's works reveal a rare balance of mind, which harmonises the artistic sense with the poetic, and results in the practice of singular moderation. No other Sanskrit poet can approach him in the command of that mysterious instrument, the measured word. Kālidāsa has a rich and sustained elevation of diction, but it is never overwrought and very rarely rhetorical in the bad sense. Conceits and play upon words are to be found in him, as in Shakespeare, but there are no irritating and interminable puns; no search after strained expressions, harsh inversions or involved constructions; no love for jewels five words long; no torturing of words or making them too laboured for the ideas. Even Kālidāsa's love of similitude,⁵³ for which he has been so highly praised, never makes him employ it as a mere verbal trick, but it is made a natural concomitant of the emotional content for suggesting more than what is expressed. On the other hand, his ideas, emotions and fancies never run riot or ride rough-shod over the limits of words, within which they are compressed with tasteful economy and pointedness of phrasing. The result is a fine adjustment of sound and sense, a judicious harmony of word and idea, to a point not often reached by other Sanskrit poets. This is seen

53 A study of Kālidāsa's Upamā has been made by P. K. Gode in *Proc. of the First Oriental Conf.*, Poona 1922, pp. 205-26. On Kālidāsa's relation to Alamkāra-śāstra in general, see Hillebrandt, *Kālidāsa*, p. 107 f.

not only in the extraordinary vividness and precision of his presentment of images and ideas, but also in the modulation of letter, syllable, word, line and stanza to produce a running accompaniment at once to the images and ideas. The felicity of expression, its clarity and ease, which have been recognised in Kālidāsa as the best instance of the Prasāda Guṇa, come from this careful choice of a rich store of words, both simple and compound, which are not only delicately attuned but also made alive with the haunting suggestion of poetry. If it is simplicity, it is simplicity made more elegant than ornateness itself by sheer genius for proportion and vividity. There are hundreds of words, phrases and lines in Kālidāsa, echoing passages and veritable gems of expressions, giving us an infinity of fresh and felt observations, which fasten themselves on the memory; such is the distinctness of his vision and the elaborate, but not laboured, accuracy of his touch. If the gift of phrasing is one of the tests of a great writer, Kālidāsa possesses this happy gift; but it is also combined with the still more rare gift, seen in perfection in great poets, of putting *multum in parvo* and of opening up unending vistas of thought by the magic power of a single line or phrase.

Kālidāsa is indeed careful of form, but he is not careless of matter. Like later Sanskrit poets he does not make his narrative a mere peg on which he can luxuriously hang his learning and skill. Whatever may be said about his choice of themes, he is seldom unequal to them. The wide exploration of subjects, legendary, mythical, emotional and even fanatastic, and his grasp over their realities are seen in the way in which he handles his huge and diverse material in the *Raghu-vamśa*, creates a human story out of a divine myth in his *Kumāra-sambhava*, and depicts the passionate love of hapless lovers in an environment of poetical fancy in his *Meghadūta* and his dramas. He may not always be at the height of his power through the entire length of a work, but he is always at the height of a particular situation. His sources are not exactly known, but it

is clear that his subjects serve him for the stuff out of which he *creates*; and Kālidāsa has perhaps borrowed nothing from his supposed originals that makes him Kālidāsa. He is not so much the teller of a story as the maker of it, and his unerring taste and restraint accomplish this making by not allowing either the form or the content to overwhelm or exceed each other.

The same sense of balance is also shown by the skilful adjustment of a mobile and sensitive prosody to the diction and theme of the poems. The total number of different metres which Kālidāsa employs is only about twenty. With the exception of Mandākrāntā of his short poem, they are either Śloka,⁵⁴ or a few moric metres like Vaitāliya, Aupacchandāsika or Puṣpitāgrā, but the general bulk consists normally of the relatively short lyrical measures of the Triṣṭubh-Jagati family, or metres akin to it. In the drama there is greater metrical variety suited to the different situations and emotions. In the bigger poems the short lyrical measures are perhaps meant for facility of continued narration; the simplicity and swing of the stanzas make his narrative flow in a clear and attractive stream; but even in the leisurely descriptive and reflectively serious passages, they never cramp the thought, feeling or imagination of the poet. The stately and long-drawn-out music of the Mandākrāntā, on the other hand, very well suits the picturesque and melancholy recollections of love in his *Meghadūta*. It is, however, clear that Kālidāsa is equally at home in both short and long measures; and though a part of canto ix of the *Raghu-vaṃśa* is meant deliberately to display the poet's skill in varied metres, the variation is not unpleasing. But, normally, it is not a question of mere metrical

54 It is remarkable that the Śloka is used not only for the condensation of the Rāmāyaṇa story in *Raghu*° xii, but also for the Stotra of deities both in *Raghu*° x and *Kumāra*° ii, as well as for the narration of Raghu's Digvijaya. For repetition of the same metre for similar theme, cf. Upajāti in describing marriage in *Raghu*° x and *Kumāra*° vii; Rathoddhatā in depicting amorous pastimes in *Raghu*° xix and *Kumāra*° viii; Viyoginī in Aja-vilāpa and Rati-vilāpa, etc.

skill, but of the developed and delicate sense of rhythmic forms and the fine subtlety of musical accompaniment to the power of vivid and elegant presentation.

With the same sense of equipoise Kālidāsa's imagination holds in perfect fusion the two elements of natural beauty and human feeling. His nature-pictures grow out of the situations, and his situations merge into the nature-pictures. This is palpable not only in his *Megha-dūta*, but practically throughout his other two poems and his dramas. The pathos of the destruction of Kāma is staged in the life and loveliness of spring; Rāma's tender recollection of past joys and sorrows is intimately associated with the hills, rivers and trees of Daṇḍaka; the pretty amourette of Agnimitra, the madness of Purūravas, or the woodland wooing of Duṣyanta is set in the midst of the sights and sounds of nature. A countless number of Kālidāsa's beautiful similes and metaphors are drawn from his loving observation of natural phenomena. The depth and range of his experience and insight into human life is indeed great, but the human emotion is seldom isolated from the beauty of nature surrounding it. Kālidāsa's warm humanism and fine poetic sensibility romanticise the natural, as well as the mythological, world, and they supply to his poetry the grace and picturesqueness of background and scenic variety.

It will be seen that the sense of universality in Kālidāsa's work springs not merely from its humanity and range of interests, but also from the fact that it reveals him as a great master of poetic thought, who is at the same time a master of poetic style. Diction, imagery, verbal music, suggestion,—all the elements of poetry are present in an intense degree and in many forms and combinations novel and charming; but all exhibit a marvellous fusion of the artistic consciousness with poetic imagination and feeling. Kālidāsa's poetic power, which scorns anything below the highest, is indeed not narrow in its possibilities of application but its amplitude and

exuberance are always held in restraint by his sense of art, which however, does not act as an incubus, but as a chastener. His work, therefore, is never hampered or hurried; there is no perpetual series of ups and downs in it, no great interval between his best and his worst; it maintains a level of excellence and a stamp of distinction throughout. All ruggedness and angularity are delicately smoothed away; and the even roundness of his full-orbed poetry appeals by a haunting suggestion of serene beauty, resulting from a subtle merging of thought and feeling in sound and visual effect.

But from this springs as much the strength as the weakness of Kālidāsa's poetic achievement. If tranquil contemplation of recollected emotions, in both eastern and western theory, denotes the aesthetic attitude and forms the essence of true poetry, Kālidāsa's work is certainly marked by it in an eminent degree. His tranquility, considered as an attitude towards life, is not easy-going indifference or placid acquiescence in the order of things; there is enough of earnestness and sense of sorrow to indicate that it must have been hard-won, although we are denied the sight of the strife and struggle which led to its attainment, or of the scars or wrinkles which it might have been left behind. In his poetry, it bore fruit in the unruffled dignity and serenity of artistic accomplishment. At the same time, it encouraged a tendency towards reserve more than towards abandon. Kālidāsa's poetry seldom surprises us by its fine excess; it is always smooth, measured and even. The polished and the ornate is as much natural to Kālidāsa as, for instance, the rugged and the grotesque to Bhavabhūti. While Kālidāsa brooders the exquisite tissue of poetry, Bhavabhūti would have it rough and homespun. This is perhaps not so much a studied effect as a temperamental attitude in both cases. The integrity and sincerity of primal sensations and their fervid expression, which Bhavabhūti often attains, are rare in Kālidāsa's highly refined and cultured utterances. It is not that Kālidāsa is averse to what is intense and

poignant, as well as grand and awe-inspiring in life and nature, but the emotions are chastened and subdued in the severity, strength and dignity of finished poetic presentation. There is nothing crude, rugose or tempestuous in Kālidāsa, not a jarring note of violence or discord, but everything is dissolved in the harmony and beauty of reposeful realisation. The limitation of this attitude is as obvious as its poetic possibility. While it gives the perfect artistic aloofness conducive to real poetry, it deprives the poet of robust and keen perceptions, of the concrete and even gross realism of undomesticated passion, of the freshness of the drossy but unalloyed ore direct from the mine. Kālidāsa would never regard his emotions as their own excuse for being, but would present them in the embalmed glamour of poetic realisation, or in the brocaded garb of quintessenced rhetoric. Kālidāsa has perhaps as much optimism for civilisation as Bhavabhūti has for savagery; but he does not often attain the depths and heights which Bhavabhūti does by his untamed roughness. It is for this reason that some of Kālidāsa's pictures, both of life and nature, finely poetic as they are, are still too refined and remote. The Himalayas do not appear to Kālidāsa in their natural grandeur and sublimity, nor the Daṇḍaka forest in its wild beauty and ruggedness; all these pictures are to be properly finished and framed, but thereby they lose much of their trenchant setting and appeal.

But all this is not mere suavity or finicality. Kālidāsa's poetry does not swim in langour, cloyed with its own sweetness; the chastity and restraint of his imagination, the precision and energy of his phrasing, and the austerity of his artistic vigilance save him from mere sensuous ideality. The ornate in Kālidāsa, therefore, means very rarely prettiness or aesthetic make-believe; it is the achievement of the refined effect of a thought or feeling chiselled in its proper form of beauty and becoming thereby a poetic thought or feeling. It thus involves the process through which the poet

lifts his tyrannical passion or idea to the blissful contemplation of an aesthetic sentiment. Kālidāsa can keep himself above his subject in the sense of command, as Bhavabhūti too often merges himself in it in the sense of surrender; and the difference is best seen in their respective treatment of pathos, in which Kālidāsa's poetic sense of restraint and balance certainly achieves a more profound effect. This is nowhere more clear than in the picture of Rāma's suffering on the occasion of Sītā's exile drawn respectively by the two poets. Bhavabhūti's tendency is to elaborate pathetic scenes almost to the verge of crudity, omitting no circumstance, no object animate or inanimate, which he thinks can add to their effectiveness; and, like most Sanskrit poets, he is unable to stop even when enough has been said. But Kālidāsa, like Shakespeare, suggests more than he expresses. Not one of those who gather round the body of Cordelia makes a phrase; the emotion is tense, but there is no declamation to work it up. The terrible blow, given by the reported calumny regarding his beloved, makes Rāma's heart, tossed in a terrible conflict between love and duty, break in pieces, like the heated iron beaten with a hammer; but he does not, declaim, nor faint, nor shed a flood of tears. It is this silent suffering which makes Kālidāsa's Rāma a truly tragic figure. Not until Lakṣmaṇa returns and delivers the spirited but sad message of his banished wife that the king in him breaks down and yields to the man; but even here Kālidāsa has only one short stanza (xiv. 84) which sums up with infinite suggestion the entire pity of the situation.

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Indo-Europeans in the Mediterranean Area

It is not inappropriate, in view of the deep interest of the late erudite scholar, Louis de La Vallée Poussin, in the Indo-European question, to honour his memory by examining an issue connected vitally therewith. At what date can we trace the presence of people of Indo-European speech in the lands bordering on the Mediterranean Sea? The problem is one of those to which no certain answer can be given, but results of greater or less probability are still worth striving for.

I

Asia Minor

The claim has been made by Dr. Forrer¹ that the Luvians, whose speech is of Indo-European character, came to Asia Minor before the fourth millennium B.C. This theory is set out in a modified form by Dr. A. Götze,² who finds Luvian as the speech dominant in south-west Asia Minor, including Arzava, whose eastern area extended to the Pisidian Alps, and Kizvatna, which embraced at least a part of Cilicia,³ in the third millennium. In the north he finds Proto-Hattic speech, which is assuredly not Indo-European, using

¹ *SBA.*, 1919, pp. 1034 ff.; *MDOG.*, lxi. (1921), 23 ff.; *ZDMG.*, N.F. i. 215 ff.

² *Kleinasien*, pp. 53 ff.

³ These locations are much disputed. Forrer (*Klio*, xxx. 135 ff.) places Arzava in Cilicia, but cf. Sommer, *IF.* lv. 292 ff.

prefixes for noun and verb formation in a manner which distinguishes it from any other speech of Asia Minor known to us; it may be deemed to be the speech of the earlier people. In the south-east he finds Hurrite and Amorite speeches with the use of Akkadian speech for treaty purposes. Archæological evidence is adduced to confirm the date assigned to Luvian. In west Asia Minor we find pottery of the red or black types known from the discoveries at Troy and Yortan, extending to Pisidia and even up to Konya, the date of which may be placed from the third millennium down to 1900 at least. In the east we have painted Cappadocian pottery in the Halys region, from say 2000 to 1200. The ornamentation and form of the vessels used show a close connection. We note that the Luvian is older in phonology and forms than Hittite, which was established about 1900 in the east, and we can thus properly connect the Troy-Yortan civilisation with the Luvian, and that found at Alishar Hüyük, third stage, with the Hittite speeches. The cultures known as Alishar I and II are different from that of Alishar III which we must treat as intrusive, showing the advent of the Hittites. The new art, however, does not prevail; Alishar III is merged ultimately in Alishar II.

The picture presented to us is not very clear. Apparently the Proto-Hattic are to be held to have occupied Asia Minor, and then the Luvians and Hittites to have entered from Europe in the third millennium, though Hittite activity becomes apparent only later. Dr. Forrer indeed holds that the Luvians entered before the fourth millennium, and the Hittites only in the second half of the third, but it is really difficult to separate the two speeches in this way. The claim that Luvian is the older is far from clear. It is true that in the third person singular and plural of the verb in the present we have the forms *-ti* and *-nti* against the Hittite developments *-zi* and *-nzi*,

but the third plural preterite *-nda* is not necessarily older than the Hittite *-ir*, nor the singular in *-tta* than the Hittite *-t*, *-ta*, or *-š*. In other respects Luvian seems to be more affected by non-Indo-European speeches than Hittite, and there is no sufficient reason to hold that it is anything more than a dialectical variation of that tongue.

Dr. Götze supports his views of the Luvians by ascribing to their speech the famous *-ss-* and *-nt-* (also *-nth-* and *-nd-*) suffixes, which have played a great part in discussions of Aegean language.⁵ As the suffixes are found widely in Greece, in other parts of the Balkan peninsula, and in many areas of Asia Minor, it is clear that they must represent the speech of a very widely prevalent race, and it is highly improbable that that race was Indo-European for a most obvious linguistic reason. The words wherein they appear are regularly without Indo-European cognates, whence the obvious deduction is that the suffixes are not Indo-European. Characteristic is the Labyrinth,⁶ bound up in Greek tradition with the bull of Minos of Knossos. The word denotes the place of the double ax (*labrys*), a word non-Indo-European, just as Minos himself and Knossos have non-Indo-European names.

Dr. Götze ascribes to Luvian the deities Šandaš, Tarhunt and Tarku, and instances Tarhuntašša and Dattašša as showing plainly the sense of 'belonging to' the god mentioned. But it is very far from proved that Tarhunt or Šandaš are in any sense Luvian deities. There is indeed much more ground for holding that these deities are non-I.E. We find Sandes and Sandon in Lydia, Trokondas in Lycia and Pamphylia, and neither name nor that of Datta seems to be I.E.

⁵ Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* (1896); A. Fick, *Ortsnamen als Quelle für die Vorgeschichte Griechenlands* (1905); *Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* (1909).

⁶ R. Burrows, *The Discoveries in Crete*, p. 117. W. Brandenstein, *Hirt-Festschrift* (1936), ii. 37 insists that Luvian derived the *-ss-* suffix from a development of Proto-Hattic *-s-*. See on the suffix, Sommer, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 157, 363 f., 370 f.

Dr. Brandenstein⁷ indeed insists that Tarhunt is a Luvian modification of a Proto-Hattic Tarhun or Tarhu, the affix being the Luvian equivalent of I.E. *-went-*. The same authority claims the *-nd-* affix for Proto-Hattic, on the score that it is presumed in the name Arinnanda given to a mountain rich in streams, *arin* being found freely in names of streams or places therewith connected, as in the Greek Arne, Arna, and Arnaia. But this view is denied by Dr. Götze,⁸ who insists that the Proto-Hattic Burushat and Kuburnat give the true forms, and the Hittite Baršuḫanda and Kaburnanda are nasalised by a process which has analogies in Hittite. Dr. Brandenstein,⁹ however, claims that the names with *-at* recorded in the Cappadocian records show an Assyrian *-at* substituted through likeness of sound, not sense, for the original *-and(a)*. He admits, however, that the Greek words in *-ant(b)-* are not necessarily taken from Proto-Hattic, while most of those in *-inth-* and *-unth-* are not thence derived. The case for Proto-Hattic origin is certainly not made out, and the Luvian forms are best ascribed to the non-I.E. speech prevalent in the lands occupied by the Luvians.

There seems no real reason in the circumstances of the case to separate Luvians and Hittites on their first appearance in Asia Minor. It is perfectly reasonable to assume that differentiation was the result of division, the Luvian settling on the south coast, while the Hittites moved rather to the interior. When they entered Asia Minor, and by what route, remains to be considered. The view of Professor E. Meyer¹⁰ is that the date of entry was about 2500 B.C., and no doubt in favour of an early date we may reckon the fact that in certain respects the language of the Hittites is antique. But on this point there must be caution. We are told that its anti-

7 *Hirt-Festschrift* (1936), ii. 31. 8 *Kleinasien*, p. 50. 9 *Op. cit.*, ii. 30.

10 *Geschichte des Altertums*, II, i, 22. On the linguistic character of Hittite, see Keith, *IHQ.*, xiv. 1 ff. B. Rosenkranz (*IF.*, lvi. 265 ff.) holds that Luvian was the colloquial speech of the Hittite realm.

quity is established by the incomplete character of the plural, the absence of moods, the small number of tenses, and the lack of the feminine—to which on one view may be added the fact of its possessing the much disputed sound *h*, a fact upon which has been built up an imposing mass of hypotheses of very dubious value, despite their ingenuity.¹¹ But all this argument is of slight value; there remains the possibility or probability that the alleged marks of early date are rather signs of deterioration of an I.E. speech among non-I.E. people. Everything points to the people of I.E. speech being merely an élite, who physically were soon merged in the existing population which deeply affected their religion and culture.

Against an early date tells the absence of any clear recognition of their existence in the Kültepe records of the Assyrian colonies, whose activities seem to have been ultimately terminated by the advent of the I.E. speakers. Moreover, it must be regarded as surprising, if they really came in the third millennium, that their activities should be recorded only from about 1900 B.C. or, on one theory, about 1650.¹² There seems, therefore, every ground for placing their arrival not long before that date, though due allowance must be made for the fact that, so far as our record reveals, they were not conscious of themselves as immigrants.

The route of their entry is claimed by E. Meyer¹³ to have been the Caucasus. Otherwise, he argues, they would assuredly have established themselves in the rich plains of the western areas. Moreover, the later Kimmerioi followed this route, showing that it was not unnatural. These arguments are of weight, even if his other contentions are not conclusive. The chariot in the Florentine Museum, found in Egypt has the nave fastened to the spokes by

¹¹ New theories of ablaut and primitive roots have been based on it. Kyrylowicz, *Etudes indoeuropéennes*, I, (1935); Benveniste, *Origines de la formation des mots en indoeuropéen*, I, (1935).

¹² Sommer, *Ahhijavā-frage und Sprachwissenschaft* (1934), p. 49.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, II. i. 23 f.

birchbark, and the birch is found in the Caucasus, but we cannot assert that it came with Hittites or that the Hittites introduced the horse, the chariot, and racing. These may be due to the I.E. elements of the Mitanni. On the other hand, it is argued¹⁴ that the earliest records treat the Hittites as advancing from the west, but, granting this, it is clearly a mere conjecture that they entered Asia Minor from the west, and the absence of any trace of them in the western areas is significant. Taken on the whole, entry from the Caucasus seems more probable, once we dismiss the suggestion that the Luvians were the bringers of the civilisation of Troy from Europe. This leaves the Caspian route for the Mitanni and the Aryans generally.

From another point of view it has been proposed¹⁵ to find evidence of a Proto-Indo-European stratum of population in Asia Minor. The evidence adduced for this hypothesis is linguistic. It is argued that certain I.E. elements in Lycian and Lydian, for instance, can best be explained by the hypothesis that there was an admixture of such a Proto-I.E. speech with differing non-I.E. speeches. But obviously the natural way to explain the apparent I.E. elements in these speeches is to set them down to admixture of the native speeches with I.E. elements in later times, and, if we are to establish a Proto-I.G. hypothesis, we need to be able to show the existence of a number of words with some peculiarity distinguishing them from normal I.E. But this is far from being the case. It is held that a Proto-I.E. *Tin-*, denoting Zeus, is reflected by Etruscan *Tin(i)a* and Laconian *Tindaridai*, the *Dioskouroi*, as opposed to I.E. *din-*, Slav. *dini*, 'day'. Similarly with a like change *tītō* is explained by the glossaries to denote dawn or day, and can be compared with the Albanian *dite*. We have also the name *Tītōnos*, but the legend and the formation of

14 F. Schachermeyr, *Hirt-Festschrift* (1936), i. 235, n. 1.

15 Kretschmer, *Glotta*, xiv. 300 ff.; xi. 277 f. Disapproved by Terracini, *Studi etruschi*, v. 341.

the name from the feminine have decidedly a non-I.E. suggestion. There is nothing to be gained by the suggestion that the word group Greek *Anēr*, Sabine *Nero*, etc. is connected with Hittite *Inaraš*, for the word seems to denote a female deity,¹⁶ and connection with the word for 'man' is too far fetched. There is an *Inaras* as a proper name of a man, but it is much more reasonable to find for it an origin of Asianic character. Other evidence is as unconvincing, and it is impossible to find any archaeological facts¹⁷ which demand the acceptance of the Proto-I.E. hypothesis, which therefore ought to be negatived as unnecessary and certainly quite unprovable. If we examine the words adduced as I.E. in Lycian and Lydian, we shall not find any which cannot be explained from contact with historical I.E. peoples; thus Lycian *sñta*, 'hundred,'¹⁸ is patently of Phrygian origin and so forth.

The Phrygians,¹⁹ it may safely be assumed, were pressed forward from Thrace into Asia Minor largely by the Illyrian movements; they were followed by Mysians and Bithynians. It is probable that leaders of the Moschoi known to Tiglatpileser I (c. 1115-00) were of Phrygian race.²⁰ Penetration to the south-east was stayed by the Assyrians in due course, but the Hittite realm, with Arzava and Kizvatna, the minor states of Asia Minor, and the buffer state, Amurru, were ruined. Interest attaches to the records of Rameses III²¹ who stayed the advance of wandering peoples in Egypt about 1900 B.C. The Philistines seem to have been the leaders, and Crete as well as Cyprus may have for a time fallen under their control. But.

16 J. Friedrich, *Hirt-Festschrift* (1936), ii. 223; cf. Brandenstein, *Ibid.*, ii. 36.

17 Schachermeyr's view (*Hirt-Festschrift*, i. 236) lacks any clearness.

18 P. Meriggi, *IF.*, xlv. 3; cf. *Hirt-Festschrift*, ii. 257 ff.

19 Meyer, *op. cit.*, II. i. 567 ff. The Dardana known to Rameses II as Hittite auxiliaries cannot be treated as Phrygians, nor those of Homer or the tribe which annoyed the Macedonian kings; A. R. Burn, *op. cit.*, pp. 109 ff.

20 Götze, *Kleinasiens*, p. 187.

21 Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, iv. 64; Meyer, *op. cit.*, II. i. 455 ff.

whether we recognise a shortlived Philistine empire²² or not, they left their mark in the form of a group of states on the coast of Palestine. There is no doubt that the Philistines profited from the traditions of late Mycenaean pottery, architecture, and weapons, and it is argued that their appearance, as depicted in Egyptian art, and as described in the Old Testament, suggests nordic racial characteristics. There is no particular reason to object to classing them with the Phrygian movement; more than that cannot reasonably be claimed.

The Mitanni Indo-European elements may be taken not to have entered into their historic homes from Europe, and need not here be further considered.²³

II

Greece and the Balkans

How far can we trace back I.E. elements in the Balkans and in Greece? There is a widespread belief that something can be inferred from archaeology. The Greek language must have developed its distinctive characters in some considerable area, and it is suggested²⁴ that we may trace an I.E. civilisation in the third culture of Thessaly, which would correspond with this development. It is marked by the going out of fashion of painted pottery, and the introduction of new types of pottery, high-handled cups and jugs with cut-away necks, while the first perforated stone axe-heads and mace-heads appear. The area of this culture extends from the Dardanelles to the Adriatic with ramifications in the Danube valley, Upper Italy,

22 Meyer, *op. cit.*, II. i. 560 ff., 586 ff.; Schachermeyr, *Hirt-Festschrift* (1936). i. 245; Hall, *Cambridge Ancient History*, ii. 275 ff.; Burn, *op. cit.*, pp. 141 ff.

23 See G. Schmökel, *Die ersten Arier im Alten Orient* (1938); Götze, *Hethiter, Churriter und Assyrer* (1936), pp. 32, 48, 55, 98 f., 117 f.; A. Ungnad, *Subartu* (1936). It should be noted that the I. E. Hittites are assigned only to 1650 B.C. by I. Gelb, *Inscriptions from Altschar and Vicinity* (1935).

24 V. S. Childe, *The Aryans*, pp. 58 ff.; A. R. Burn, *Minoans, Philistines and Greeks*, pp. 33 ff.

and even Apulia. The date of this culture may be conjectured to be about 2300 B.C. From it was derived the Minyan or Middle Helladic culture of central Greece, whose authors ousted the early Helladic settlers from Orchomenos about 1900 B.C. The same civilisation was carried to the Peloponnese and to Attica and Aegina. This dispersion may account for the differentiation of the common Greek into different dialects, the Aeolic in Thessaly and the north, the Attic and the Ionian as the speech of those who penetrated south. The Dorian and west Greek dialects will represent the speech of the Greek elements in Macedonia and the west, where we can trace the third Thessalian culture also. The development of Greek civilisation through contact with the pre-Greek population was deeply affected by the influence of the Minoan civilisation as developed in Crete. About 1600 it is suggested Minoans established a strong hold on Mycenae,²⁵ and the specific Mycenaean civilisation gradually evolved in reaction against this influence. A valuable date is suggested for the existence of Arcadian speech in the Peloponnese by the fact that the Greek dialect of Cyprus was closely akin to Arcadian, and about 1400 on, appears there a stream of imported Mycenaean pottery.

Another view of the position, however, is possible.²⁶ It is pointed out that the Minoan civilisation appears on the Greek mainland about the termination of the Middle Minoan age and the beginning of late Minoan, say 1600 B.C., the date depending on Egyptian synchronisations. But it is suggested that the appearance of Minoan influence is not due to conquest or colonisation from Crete, but to the appearance in Greece of a northern I.E. race which was able to bring pressure to bear on the Minoans of Crete and to exploit their artistic capabilities. This conclusion is supported²⁷ by

25 Wace, *Cambridge Ancient History*, i. 597 f.; Burn, *op. cit.*, pp. 74 ff.; G. Glotz, *The Aegean Civilization*, pp. 44 ff.

26 M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, pp. 23 ff.

27 Nilsson, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 ff.

stressing certain novel features in the culture of the Mycenaean period which are not Minoan. These include the megaron, the characteristic form of house, preserved in the later Greek temple, as compared with the buildings of Knossos. The distinction is very marked: the Minoans produce a court surrounded by a complex of many rooms, without architectonic plan, while the Mycenaeans produce a house consisting of one single room surrounded by a court. Again, while the Mycenaean ladies adopted the Minoan dress of flounced skirt and an open jacket, the men in the Mycenaean representations appear not in the Minoan loin cloth, but in a shirt or chiton with short sleeves. The amber of the north, probably the Baltic, is richly represented in the Mycenaean graves, but is very rare in Minoan Crete. The practice of ornamenting helmets with boar's tusks is specifically Mycenaean, whose tastes may be deemed more primitive than those of the highly cultivated Minoans. More striking still is the fact that the Mycenaeans made use of the writing of the Minoans merely for labels; we may imagine that they were far less literate²⁸ than their rivals. The horse too may have reached the mainland before it was carried to Crete²⁹ by Indo-Europeans. Even in art there are traces of non-Minoan influence as in the clumsiness of the sculptured stelae over the Mycenaean shaft graves, and the geometrical treatment of decorative elements such as spirals, meanders, and rosettes. There is the like geometrical treatment of decorative motifs on many of the gold objects from the shaft graves. The evidence is satisfactory enough, and it tends to support the view of the position as one in which a dominant element is superimposed on a less war-like situation. We may, therefore, incline to the belief that we have here the presence of Indo-Europeans. We need not, however, rule out the possibility of some Minoan colonisation also.

28 Homer clearly had vague ideas as to writing, *Iliad*, vi. 168 ff. There is no proof that Greek on the mainland was written in Aegean characters.

29 The usual view takes it from Syria; Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. 16 ff.; G. Glotz, *The Aegean Civilization*, p. 167.

How far can we trace back the new influence? Here we reach no assured result. If we are asked to accept the intruders as the people who developed the third Thessalian culture, the answer must be that there is no essential reason for accepting this view. It may be sound, but we cannot establish it. The new features enumerated are not characteristic of that culture in sufficient degree. Later on, it may prove practicable to strengthen the case for this opinion by further archaeological considerations, but the issue does not now permit of final determination.

A further question arises whether we can bring the catastrophes which archaeological evidence proves to have from time to time affected Minoan civilisation into connection with events on the mainland, and with the distribution of the Greek dialects. There appears to have been at the time of transition from the Middle to the Late Minoan age a disaster in Crete, marked by the destruction of the palaces of Knossos and Phaistos. The disaster was not wholesale, and the palaces were rebuilt. At the end of Late Minoan I, Knossos was subjected to a fresh catastrophe, which affected also other towns. The Mycenaean civilisation of the mainland starts from Late Minoan I. Its fresco painting was derived from the Cretan wall painting of Late Minoan I; its pottery follows the earlier style of Late Minoan I, and they develop independently. At Knossos, on the other hand, we find the reconstruction of the palace with the development of the special Palace style, and of a linear script class B, while the Mycenaean script so far as it is used derived from earlier forms employed in Late Minoan I.

At the end of Late Minoan II Knossos was sacked and destroyed, and the whole island suffered from severe poverty and decadence, while, on the other hand, the mainland civilisation flourished.³⁰ The second palace at Mycenae was erected at the beginning of Late

³⁰ Glotz, *Aegean Civilization*, pp. 47 ff.; Burn, *Minoans, Philistines and Greeks*, pp. 103 ff.

Minoan III and the famous Lion Gate, the Grave Circle, the enceinte of the citadel, and the third group of the tholos tombs have been ascribed to this period, to which also may be assigned the later palaces of Tiryns and Thebes. The cause of the destructions cannot, of course, be determined with certainty, and may have varied; local disturbances may explain certain instances, but it is hardly possible to doubt that the fall of Knossos at the end of Late Minoan II was due to enemy action on a large scale, while the special development of Knossos in that epoch and its distinction from the civilisation of the mainland points to hostility between Knossos and Mycenae.

The distribution of the Greek dialects has been appealed to in order to carry things further. The essential distinctions of these dialects may be given as (1) the Attic and the Ionian or eastern group; (2) the central group, sometimes called Achaeae, which includes the Aeolian of Asia Minor, Thessalian, Boeotian, Arcadian, and Cypriot; and (3) the western, including the Dorian of the Isthmos towns, Argolis, Laconia, Messenia, Crete and the Southern Sporades, and the north-western of Aetolia, Elis, etc. Efforts have indeed been made from time to time to claim Dorian affinities for Achaeae and to regard the Achaeae as closely related to, and precursors of, the Dorians.³¹ But, despite the energy with which this thesis has been expounded, it fails to convey conviction. The Greeks who took possession of Cyprus were Arcadian by speech but we know that they were styled Achaeae.

It has been suggested that linguistic evidence supports the view that the first Greeks in Greece were Ionian by speech. Their later distribution shows then in Attica, Euboea, the Cyclades, and the middle part of the western coast of Asia Minor, but there are traditions which assign to them also later district of Achaea, Megara, Epidauros and Troizen, while Herodotos assures us that they once

³¹ Cf. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-41. Contrast Burn, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-42; but see Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II. i. 280 ff.

inhabited the strip of coast known as Kynouria south of Argolis, which later had been made Dorian. Linguistic evidence helps.³² It shows that traces of Ionic influence can be seen in the Achaeon group, but not *vice versa*, which is best explained by the assumption that Achaeans superimposed themselves on Ionic lands, whence in substantial measure the Ionians withdrew to the less attractive Attica, whence took place the migration to the Cyclades and Asia Minor. The Achaeans in their turn fell under Dorian domination in most of the Peloponnese; there is a striking proof of the superimposition of Dorian on Achaeon speech in the Laconian dialect, where the god of Taenarum is styled Pohoidan, in place of the Dorian Poteidan, the original being patently the Arcadian Posoidan, the weakening of *s* to *h* being a normal feature of Laconian. In Thessaly and Boeotia we have the concurrence of tradition and of linguistic phenomena to show that the Achaeans there were invaded by western tribes.

On the whole the distinction of dialects is best accounted for by the theory of distinct waves of population, resulting in geographical separation and the development of national characteristics, partly no doubt as the consequence of co-mingling with different groups of pre-Hellenic population. It is thus legitimate to conjecture that it was Ionians who first occupied Argolis and Attica, attracted by their proximity to the Cretan civilisation, just as the German tribes of the Great Migration were attracted to Italy and Rome. Like the Goths of the 3rd century A.D.,³³ they learned to build ships, to invade Crete and thence to bring back booty and slaves; moreover, they took over Minoan civilisation and created from it that of the Mycenaean epoch. Perhaps to them may be assigned

32 Kretschmer, *Glotta*, i. 9 ff.; Buck, *Classical Philology*, xxi. 1 ff., Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, i. 75 ff.

33 So the Slavs reached the Adriatic in 610 A.D.; and in twenty years were very active on the sea.

the destruction of Knossos at the end of Middle Minoan, and at the end of Late Minoan I. The fall finally of Knossos at the end of Late Minoan II may mark the advent of a new Greek immigration, that of the Achaeans who partly subjected, partly expelled the Ionians. The idea is supported by the fact that there now appear the great buildings of the late Mycenaean period, but contemporaneously a decline of art sets in, while a change of taste³⁴ is shown by the representations of boar and lion hunts as well as the bull-leaping game famous in Minoan Crete. The fact that the towns are strongly walled reveals a period of contention and small principalities as opposed to the unwallcd cities³⁵ of Crete, where the fleet was expected to assure safety and there was a unity of rule for probably a prolonged period.

If we assign dates to these supposed movements, then we arrive at some period before 1600 B.C. for Ionian inroads on Crete, and about 1400 for Achaean assaults and their dominance in much of Greece. These dates depend on Egyptian synchronisms in the main, and are fairly to be trusted. How much earlier the Ionians entered Greece we simply cannot say, for, as noted above, there is no archaeological evidence which carries any conviction as to the period or character of their stay in the lands to the north or north-west.

The destruction of this civilisation was doubtless due to various causes. We may probably admit that the Achaeans declined in the quality of their artistic productions, once the destruction of Knossos prevented a continuous connection between Minoan and Mycenaean civilisation. But external influences were of great importance. Archaeological evidence establishes that c. 1200 B.C.—the date is based on the records of Rameses III of Egypt who stemmed the flood of invasion—there was a widespread destruction of historic sites,

34 Burn, *op. cit.*, pp. 105 ff.

35 Burn, *op. cit.*, p. 92. On the Ionians, see Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II. i. 282-7.

especially in the Peloponnese, and most of all in Argos and Corinth.³⁶ A considerable number of sites were left uninhabited, and we may assume much emigration, especially to Cyprus. Artistically the period of sub-Mycenaean culture which follows ranks low; it may be reckoned as extending from c. 1200 to 1050 B.C., and it is perhaps to this period that we should assign, not indeed the first beginnings of colonisation by Ionians and Aeolian Aegeans, but its wide extension. In this period possibly fell the epoch of Homeric poetry.

What brought about this collapse? The usual suggestion that it was due to the west Greeks and the Dorians is not wholly satisfactory, for it proves to be impossible to trace the continuity of the Dorian settlements into the sub-Mycenaean age. We find a change from sub-Mycenaean to protogeometric style in art rather abruptly, probably about 1050 B.C. It appears at Sparta, now first settled, not superimposed on the Mycenaean Menelaion, at Corinth which now attains importance, and in Rhodes, where there is a sharp break between the sub-Mycenaean and the protogeometric age, visible especially in the cemeteries both as regards the place of internment and the form of the tombs.³⁷ It is not unnatural to assume the Greeks of the north-west advanced into central Greece about the same period, so that for the invaders who wrought havoc about 1200 we have to look to Thraco-Phrygian elements, impelled perhaps by Illyrians whose activities may well have caused the north-west Greeks and Dorians to move on. Of the close relations of Dorians and Illyrians we have a striking proof in the existence of the three tribes of the Dorians. The Dumanes have been shown to represent the national Dorian element, the Pamphyloi, mingled tribes, and the Hyllees bear the style of an Illyrian tribe. We may thus take it that the Dorians were long in Epirus. It is quite a plausible theory that under Illyrian pressure they may have essayed

36 Schachermeyr, *Etrusk. Frühgeschichte*, pp. 32 ff.

37 Schachermeyr, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 ff.; *Hirt-Festschrift* (1936), i. 247.

a move to the east, which failed as a whole owing to the resistance of the north-west Greeks, leaving Doris as a trace of its existence, and that later on, compelled to abandon Epirus, they proceeded to take possession of Crete, whence they later attacked the Argolid, and thereafter from the north-east assailed the region wherein they established Sparta.³⁸

In any case, whatever the causes, the decline of art is notorious, and it is a quite legitimate assumption that the later revival of Greek artistic achievement was largely due to the renaissance of Minoan talent modified by the immixture of Greek Indo-European blood. As is well known, so far as evidence is available, the Greek population has always contained a very large Mediterranean racial element,³⁹ and the society depicted to us by Homer is certainly suggestive of the rule of great feudal lords over much humbler people,⁴⁰ whence we may well believe that, even when strongest, the Achaeans were a governing aristocracy, whose blood was rapidly being intermingled with that of the earlier race.

III

Foreign Evidence of Greek Activities

It seems clear that the destruction of Knossos about 1400 B.C. meant the end of Cretan thalassocracy and opened the way to the spread of the Achaeans, and that they were attracted, as formerly to Knossos, to Egypt as a great centre of wealth and civilisation. Linguistically the movement is attested by the Achaean elements in the curious dialect of Pamphylia, and by the Arcadian.

38 Cf. F. Miltner, *Klio*, xxvii. 54 ff.; for the tribes see Lagercrantz, *Streitberg-Festgabe*, pp. 218 ff. On one theory the Dorians were 'spear-fighters'; W. Schulze, *SBA.*, 1910, p. 805. For the history of Sparta, see T. Lenschau, *Klio*, xxx. 269 ff.

39 Burn, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-7; Glotz, *Aegean Civilization*, pp. 57 ff.

40 The common people are curiously ignored, or, in the case of Thersites, treated with contumely; Burn, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

i.e. Achaean, dialect of Cyprus. In that island we find Mycenaean art as well as language and its comparatively early date is shown by the fact that the Cypriots adopted, not the Phoenician alphabet which achieved success in Greece, but a clumsy syllabic script going back to Cretan originals.⁴¹ It is natural that we should expect from this period of maritime activity to find records by people already familiar with such action of the inroads of the Greeks, and it is often alleged that from Egyptian and Hittite sources we can obtain confirmation of their presence. The question is one of equal interest and importance.

The most important source to be considered is the evidence of the Hittite records, which present us with a fair amount of information regarding the old and the new Hittite realm, the latter disappearing in the inroads which about 1200 B.C. swept over the eastern Mediterranean area. Part of the intruders were Phrygians from the Balkans, whose I.E. character is not in serious doubt; they may have lived for a time in contact with the proto-Greeks. What is clear is that they were closely related to the Thracians⁴² of the same period. Illyrians also may have participated in the movement which brought destruction to the Achaean as well as the Hittite strongholds. It is quite possible as noted above that the Dorians only became active after the destruction wrought by the earlier invaders.

In its greatness the Hittite realm⁴³ was ruled by a Great King superior over vassal kings, who was reckoned to be on a footing of equality with the Great Kings of Egypt, Babylon, and Assyria when the rise of that power eclipsed the former glories of the Mitanni-Hurri state. The fact of recognition of equality in express terms is justly deemed significant of a new spirit in the east, superseding

41 Glotz, *Aegean Civilization*, pp. 377 ff.

42 E. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, i. 67 ff.

43 Schachermeyr, *Hethiter und Achäer* (1935).

the older conception by which each power aimed at unbounded empire. North and middle Syria fell under Hittite control, but its extension is not clear. The capital, the modern Boghazköi, anciently Hattuša,⁴⁴ is clearly older than the I.E. Hittite occupation; and the kingdom was doubtless inhabited by people of whom only the dominant element was Indo-European.

Prima facie, its records could be read to reveal considerable knowledge of Greece. Dr. Forrer⁴⁵ led the way by asserting the recognition of two kings of Ahhiyavā, named Antaravaš, who was also king of Lazpaš, his son Tavagalavaš, described as an Aiavalaš, an Aeolian,⁴⁶ both in the 14th century B.C. Finding a record in Pausanias (ix. 34.6) of two mythical kings connected with Orchemenos, he felt justified in holding that we had mention of Achaia, of Andreus, and of Eteokles, and of Lesbos. A century later he found an Attariššiyaš, also a king of Ahhiyavā, plundering the coasts of Caria and Cyprus and becoming an ally of the Hittite king; here he found Atreus, father of Agamemnon. A little earlier was recorded Alakšanduš of Uiluša, who must be Alexandros of Ilios. Other equations were given. Tāravizan was made out to be the Greek Troizan, Taruiša, Troy, and Aššuva Asie. Much discussion followed, and it is now possible, more objectively to envisage the situation.⁴⁷

Tāravizan must disappear; even if correctly read, which is more than doubtful, the place cannot have been in Greece, for the person mentioned in relation to it is not a person of Ahhiyavā but a Hittite. Tavagalavaš turns out not to be a king of Ahhiyavā; Antaravaš is an uncertain interpretation; his nationality is not known at all, and he is not mentioned as connected with Ahhiyavā

44 Sommer, *Ahhiyavāfrage und Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 55

45 *MDOG.*, lxiii. 1 ff.; *OLZ.* 1924, pp. 113 ff.; *Kleinas. Forsch.* i. 252 ff.

46 This is clearly wrong and no longer pressed by the author

47 Sommer (*Ahhiyavā-Urkunden*) gives the essential texts.

or Lazpaš. The deities of these two places are desired to help the Hittite king Muršil, but there is nothing to show that they are in close proximity. Attariššiyaš was of Ahhiyā and was a condottiere or something of that sort, who attacked a protégé of the Hittite king, and later raided Alašia, no doubt Cyprus. There is nothing whatever in him of Atreus of history. All these identifications and the argument based on that of Alakšanduš⁴⁸ must be deemed wholly irrelevant and clearly wrong. We are left thus with Ahhiyavā, and its equation with Achaia.

The facts regarding it can be summarised as follows.⁴⁹ It is known first under Muršil of the Hittite kingdom as engaged in a certain measure of conflict over Millavanda, a country which seems to have fallen under its suzerainty; from it the Ahhiyavā king appears to have attempted to establish influence in Luqqā, which brought about a Hittite countermove against Millavanda. Under Hattušil III (c. 1295-60) the countries were on friendly terms. Under Tuthalia IV (c. 1260-30) we find that Ahhiyavā was, on the one hand, perhaps recognised as a Great Kingdom, but was denied the formal title, whether because its greatness was recent or because it lay outside the region of the Great Kingdoms of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria. Under him and his successor, Arnuvanda (c. 1230-15) there occurred the ravages of Attariššiyaš, while the latter's reign ended shortly before the great wanderings which destroyed the Hittite realm. It should be added that in addition to Attariššiyaš

48 Sommer (*Ahhijavā-frage*, pp. 24 ff.) shows clearly that it is impossible to take Alexandros in Greek as a genuine old compound, denoting 'one who wards men', and to suppose that Alakšanduš represents a Greek chief, and not an Asianic prince. This is fatal to ideas that Troy was really a semi-Greek state, or that Alakšanduš was a Greek prince of Ialysos in Rhodes (Burn, *Minoans, Philistines, and Greeks*, p. 121). The I.E. character of early Trojan population (Childe, *The Aryans*, pp. 130 ff.) seems clearly an error; cf. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II. i. 298 ff.

49 As interpreted by Schachermeyr, *Hethiter und Achäer*, pp. 43 ff. cf. Götz, *Hethiter, Churriter und Assyrier*, pp. 43 ff.; *Kleinasien*, pp. 77 ff.

we hear of Atpāš and Avayanaš as well as Tavagalavaš, perhaps as subordinate rulers; none of these names is at all likely to be Greek, a fact of some importance.

The position of Abḥiyavā is vaguely described in the Hittite texts. It had ships, which it could send to Syria, and the Hittite king sent by ship an exile thither.⁵⁰ There is no mention of any direct contact between Abḥiyavā and the Hittite kingdom; there is evidence that the Hittites were at some distance, for no town-name occurs, and the ignorance of its ruler regarding Hittite social rules as to the status of the family of the queen is implied; moreover, both countries are deemed suitable as reception areas of persons banished. It follows from these facts that Abḥiyavā must either have been situated in Asia Minor at some distance from the Hittite realm, or it must have been overseas. Millavanda was in direct contact with the Hittites, and close to the Luqqā, who must be the Lycians; it therefore should be located in Caria or Pamphylia. The Luqqā have naturally been hailed as I.E., their name being interpreted as 'wolf men', perhaps from a totem, or 'worshippers of the wolf god'⁵¹ but it is very much more likely that it is a word of Asia Minor, perhaps from a stem *luk-*, 'high', so that the land was named from its highlands.⁵²

Dr. Kretschmer contends that in Luqqā we have to recognise a Proto-Indo-European *lukos*, which corresponds to I.E., *ulkos*, and this accords with his general view of Proto-I.E. influence in Asia Minor.⁵³ But this claim lacks any sound basis. We do not know that the Luqqā had any claim to be regarded as wolf-men in any

50 This by no means implies a great distance; even now geographical conditions often render sea transit easier; Sommer, *Abḥijavā-Urkunden*, pp. 311 f.; *IF.*, lv. 282 f.

51 Kretschmer, *Kleinasiat. Forsch.* i. 1 ff.

52 See Schachermeyr, *op. cit.*, p. 57, n. 3.

53 This view Kretschmer (*Glotta*, xxi. 238 ff.) seems to have abandoned in favour of a Greek immigration before 1400 B.C.

sense. When we find Apollo worshipped there, and Apollo connected in some way with wolves, there is nothing to show that he was not brought from Greece. The meaning of Apollo as Lukēgenēs⁵⁴ in Homer is wholly uncertain and unascertainable. More to the point still is the fact that the name Luqqā cannot soundly be severed from the name of the Lukaones. That name shows no necessity of rendering as 'wolf-worshippers'. None of the words of like formation adduced by Dr. Kretschmer is naturally interpreted in a like sense. He has to find the Sanskrit Bhaga in the Bagadaones; to invent a non-existent god Hatti for Kataones; and to ignore that the name Meiones, supposed to be connected with the goddess Ma, has an *-i-* as an essential element. Not can we accept as an argument for the immigration of Greeks the conclusions drawn from Herodotos' statement⁵⁵ that aforetime the land occupied by Lycians in his time was called Milyas and its people Solymoi. All we need assume at most is that Milyas was one of the territories of the Luqqā. The idea of Lycians as Greeks can plainly be traced to the fancy of the Greek world, which invented for the Persians Persees, son of Perseus of Argos.⁵⁶

We hear,⁵⁷ indeed, of invaders from Crete or Lycia, but their name was Termilai as is confirmed by their own local records. We cannot say whether they were merely an offshoot of the Luqqā or a distinct people. Their name is without interpretation. But the 'wolf' complex has not spared them. We are told⁵⁸ that the word, Trmmili, denotes 'the wolfish people', *t* being a collective prefix. The singular is then discovered in Milyas, for *rmilyas*, though that word, as denoting the land of the wolfish ones, should surely maintain the plural.

54 Sommer, *Abhijavāfrage*, p. 79; *IF.*, lv. 261.

55 i. 173; cf. vii. 92.

57 Cf. Sommer, *op cit.*, p. 65.

58 Ostir, cited in *Hirt-Festschrift*, ii. 32.

56 *Ibid.*, vii. 61.

In the same spirit⁵⁹ we are assured that the Luvians might be no other than Lycians, as wolves. This follows from the fact that in ideographs the name is given as UR. BAR. RA which means 'jackle-people'. Unfortunately the Luvian speech does not permit us to accept the proposal, even if we could believe that UR. BAR meant 'wolf', for in it the labio velar assumed in I.E. *wlkwos* gives not *u* but *ku* as in *kuinzi*, plural of the relative. A different etymology is suggested by a version of the name in Hieroglyph-Hittite which would make the people to be those of stone, perhaps as inhabiting rocky lands. All these guesses have minimal value. It is characteristic of the whole method of argumentation of which in these matters even Dr. Kretschmer makes use, that he finds evidence of Proto-I.E. in the most chance similarities, and in such as have no probative value at all. Thus Lydian *-k* and Etruscan *-c*, meaning 'and', are needlessly made Proto-I. E., despite the obvious possibility of direct I. E. origin from *kwe*, Sanskrit *ca*, Greek *te*, Latin *que* and so on. So Greek *ethēke*, 'he placed', is compared with Etruscan *lupuce*⁶⁰ on the assumption that it means 'he died', although the only thing clear is that the Etruscan word falls in the sphere of death, neither the verbal nor the past tense implication being proved. So again the adversative particles Etruscan *-m*, *-um*; Hittite *ma*; and Thessalian *ma* are classed together⁶¹ without noting that these sounds are a primitive and natural interjectional utterance of doubt, for which independent origin can be safely presumed.⁶²

Millavanda, on one view is to be connected with Milyas, in which case it would fall to be assumed that it formed part of what was at certain times reckoned as Lycian territory. The fact⁶³ that

59 See Brandenstein's criticism, *ibid.*, ii. 37. 60 Kretschmer, *Glotta*, xiv. 285.

61 Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, i. 65.

62 Jespersen, *Language*, pp. 314 ff.

63 Schachermeyr, *Hethiter und Achäer*, p. 55.

in the Hittite records of this period it is not included in the Luqqā lands does not rule out this identification; changes of overlordship and political connection can easily be admitted and must have been common.

It has also been suggested⁶⁴ that Millavanda should be equated with Miletos, but from the point of view of linguistics the proposal has no cogency. If at all, identity would have to rest on an argument from its position as a state lying between Aḥḫiyavā and the Hittite realm. If it were held that Aḥḫiyavā meant the main land of Greece, we could compare the position of the Ionian states as regards Sparta and Persia in the time of the younger Cyrus. But it is imperative to note that there is no other ground for the identification with Miletos.

The two outstanding theories of Greek connection at present are probably those of Drs. Kretschmer⁶⁵ and Schachermeyr,⁶⁶ both of whom accept connection between Aḥḫiyavā and Achaia, but who differ vitally in locating Achaia. The former believes the reference to be to an Achaian Greek realm in Cilicia, while the latter holds that the reference is to a great realm in Greece, whose centre of power was in Mycenae and Tiryns. For a state in Mysia and the Troad Dr. Götze⁶⁷ has contended.

Now it is essential to note that the linguistic evidence is by no means favourable to equating the names in question.⁶⁸ The old name recorded in Homer as Achaiis, and there is no evidence of the existence either of an Achaivā or an Acaiviyā; moreover neither form is at all probable. Formations of the type presumed are found in Homer only in respect of the names of non-Greek places such as

64 Schachermeyr, *op. cit.*, p. 68; Contra, Sommer, *IF.*, iv. 272.

65 *Glotta*, xxi. 213 ff.; xxiv 209 ff.

66 *Op. cit.*, pp. 134 ff.

67 *Kleinasien*, p. 171.

68 Sommer, *Aḥḫiyavāfrage*, pp. 73 ff.; *Indogerm. Forsch.*, lv. 169 ff.

Phoinikē, though in the late Catalogue of Ships Arkadiē is recorded. We need not press this argument unduly; it suffices to note that we have no probability of the existence of either supposed form. But, even if we assume their existence, we are faced with the fact that the Hittite Ahḫiyavā cannot be deemed to be a natural reproduction of either; the double *bh* and the ending *-iyavā* are alike strange, and, what is important, cannot be paralleled in the uses of Hittite. On the other hand we may say that changes in taking over a name are natural enough, but we must admit that all that is left to us is a general similarity in the names. We are assuredly not compelled to assume identity, and the difficulties thereof are often underestimated. It must be insisted that there is not a scrap of evidence that any person with a Greek name was connected with Ahḫiyavā.

Importance attaches to the question whether Ahḫiyavā was really an important kingdom. Dr. Forrer⁶⁹ was insistent on the fact that the Ahḫiyavā king is greeted by the Hittite monarch as 'my brother', but the sufficient answer is that the same style is given to the ruler of Alašia who could not be deemed an equal of the Hittite monarch. The term has merely, as in modern usage, the point of treating the king addressed as an independent ruler, not a subordinate. There remains the fact that in the reference by the Hittite monarch to his peers, the sovereigns of Egypt, Babylon, and Assyria, there is added the ruler of Ahḫiyavā, but the passage has been struck out. The most natural view seems still that of Dr. Sommer,⁷⁰ that the ascription of equality was given by error, and that in fact the ruler of Ahḫiyavā did not rank as an equal in status as a Great King. We may readily admit that the state was of importance to the Hittites but there is nothing to induce us to look for an empire. In Asia Minor states seem to have attained from time to time substantial strength, only shortly after to sink into unimportance.

69 *Forsch.*, II. i. 246 ff.

70 *Ahḫiyavā-Urkunden*, pp. 65 f., 377.

Dr. Sommer has suggested that Ahhiyavā denotes the Cilician pre-Greek kingdom. We know that the Hittite king objected to ships from Ahhiyavā which traded with Amurru, no doubt the coast towns of the middle of Syria such as Byblos, carrying on trade with Egypt, and this would accord well enough with Cilicia. A further argument in favour of Cilicia may be found in a notice of Herodotos, who declares that the people were formerly called Hypachaiōi.⁷¹ The term has excited much controversy, not diminished by the existence of Achaiōi on the north-east coast of the Black Sea; Dr. Sommer would render it, if treated as containing the preposition *hypo* in Greek, as referring to the people as Lower Achaeans, meaning that they dwelt on the sea below the Achaeans further inland, who were later driven to the north of the Black Sea, the term Achaean in both cases being merely a Greek rendering of a name of an Asianic people. But this is obviously very dubious, and it is far

71 Sommer (*Ahhiyavāfrage*, pp. 8 ff.) deals conclusively with the idea of Dr. Kretschmer that Hypachaiōi can denote sub-Achaeans in the sense of barbarised Achaeans (see *IF.*, iv. 209 ff. against *Glotta*, xxiv. 203 ff.). It is shown by him to be clearly possible that a geographical relation to Asianic peoples, whether the Ahhiyavā or the later Pontic Achaeans may be meant (the tribes might have been severed by immigrant Cilicians from the Troad or otherwise). But he admits that we may simply assume a Greek version of an earlier Asianic name which involved no relation to Ahhiyavā and the later Pontic tribes. He shows (*IF.*, iv. 273 ff.) that all Schachermeyr's arguments against a location of Ahhiyavā in some part of the later Cilicia are invalid, without claiming to prove location there. Forrer's effort (*Klio*, xxx. 135 ff.) to show that Arzava was Cilicia and that Ahhiyavā was the Greek mainland, while the Hypachaiōi were late Greek settlers after the Trojan war, and therefore unconnected with the Ahhiyavā, is disposed of by Sommer (pp. 290 ff.). Burn (*Minoans, Philistines, and Greeks*, p. 121) takes 'Lesser Achaea' as meant, and for a Cilician location appeals to the Assyrian Kuweh (Qōc) in the south-east corner of Asia Minor, and to the Assyrian record of a barbarian leader in the Taurus (c. 658 B.C.) whose name Andaria, recalls Antaravaš, but none of this is of probative value. R. Radoszek (*IF.* lvi. 40 f.) suggests that Kizvatna lay in east Cilicia, then Arzava to the west, then Luqqā, then Ahhiyavā, and that, perhaps under Tuthliyaš IV in the 13th century B.C., Ahhiyavā sought to advance to the east along the coast. This is ingenious, but the evidence is insufficient to establish any theory of the locations.

more likely that the two terms have nothing to do with each other, and that the names Hypachaioi and Achaioi as applied to the Cilicians and to a Pontic tribe are merely Greek adaptations of local names of non-Greek peoples. The name should therefore be ignored as supporting the case for Cilicians Ahhiyavā.

But that does not dispose of the matter. Nor is it fatal to this localisation that the texts show no actual conflict with the Hittites nor any making of treaties, which is hard to reconcile with the fact that at the time in question the Hittites controlled Syria and Cyprus in close proximity. On the other hand must be set the fact that Cilicia cannot be positively excluded, and there are definite suggestions that Ahhiyavā was in Asia Minor. We seem to learn of the Ahhiyavā ruler as present personally⁷² in the river Seha area; in one passage Dr. Sommer⁷³ has thought to find a description of a boundary of Ahhiyavā; and another fragment⁷⁴ may definitely show Ahhiyavā to be in Asia Minor, while no text whatever requires us to locate it outside Asia Minor; all that is clear is that it had a sea coast. Further Cilicia cannot with any certainty be identified with any other land recorded, whether Kizvatna or Arzava. Again the territories with which Ahhiyavā was concerned were in Asia Minor, wherever we locate Millavanda, and above all Luqqā must be Lycia or somewhere near it. *Prima facie*, therefore, we must hold that Ahhiyavā was not a Greek country but was a state in Asia Minor, perhaps in the region of Cilicia, and Pamphylia,⁷⁵ but the location must be left undecided. Light may be thrown upon it by later discoveries which may show more exactly the geographical boundaries of the Hittite kingdom.

Dr. Kretschmer's view that Greek Achaeans in Cilicia are meant by Ahhiyavā lacks any foundation other than that given by

72 *Ahhiyavā-Urkunden*, p. 319; *IF.*, lv. 278.

73 *Ibid.*, p. 328; *IF.*, lv. 279 ff.

74 *Hethiter und Achäer*; p. 43.

75 See Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II, i. 546 ff.

the term Hypachaioi which has been dealt with above. There is also a serious objection from chronology to the theory that there was an Achaean kingdom. The Hittite knowledge of Ahhiyavā goes back to the time of Šuppiluliuma (c. 1395-55), and it is extremely dubious if Greek settlement were either early or strong enough to render possible the Hittite allusion to Ahhiyavā, if a country of Achaean settlement were meant. In Pamphylia we have evidence of Arcadian-Cypriot dialect,⁷⁶ but the country is not styled Achaia, and here again Greek settlement is comparatively late. Cyprus is ruled out by its possession of the name Alašia, and by the absence of any proof of an Achaean state of importance; the name Achaion Akte whose date is quite unknown marks a point of mercantile settlement, not of Empire,⁷⁷ and Greek relations seem to date later than those with Rhodes. The claim of Rhodes is championed by Dr. Hrozný,⁷⁸ and it has one point in its favour. The island was evidently thickly populated by Greeks as soon as the destruction of the Minoan supremacy at sea, rendered occupation easy. But the name Achaia was not applied to the island at any time. The later Dorian settlers described Ialysos as an Achaia polis, but this is valueless for the claim that the island could be Ahhiyavā. Moreover, the argument from chronology is not without value. The suggestion of Ionia as Ahhiyavā, supported by Dr. Götze,⁷⁹ has least attraction of all. We have to assume that Troy was an Achaean town, but that its Achaeans were on hostile terms with those of the mainland. Moreover, it is very hard to fit in the relations of Ahhiyavā with Millavanda and the Luqqā. The names Viluša⁸⁰ and Taruiša⁸¹ which are found in Hittite records do not represent

76 Schwyzer, *op. cit.*, i. 89. It may however have come from Crete, Bechtel, *Gr. Dial.*, ii. 797.

77 Schachermeyr, *Hethiter*, p. 122.

78. *Archiv Orientalni*, i. 323 ff.

79 Criticised in *Hethiter*, pp. 125 ff.

80 Sommer, *Ahhiyavāfrage*, pp. 54 ff.

81 Sommer, *Ahhiyavā-Urkunden*, pp. 362 ff., 370.

places in Ahhiyavā, and there is no justification for equating them with Ilios and Troy.

There remains the suggestion of recognising the mainland of Greece as Achaia. We may for the purpose of the argument accept suggestion that there was a substantial kingdom of the Peloponnese whose sovereign had as his capitals Mycenae and Tiryns.⁸² The Homeric tradition of the Trojan war may be adduced as evidence of the memory of such a realm, and archæological arguments from the nature of sites in the Peloponnese can be adduced. Chronology suits well enough, and we can see Miletos in Millavanda, and accept reference to Lazpaš as really meaning Lesbos. The latter point, however, is very dubious, for its settlement by Greeks seems to fall too late and the mere similarity of name cannot be pressed. On the other hand, all we have so far is possibility, and other considerations tell against this possibility. The Achaeans did not use cunneiform writing, and there is no trace in the archæological remains of such records. We must then suppose that the bearer of the Hittite missives interpreted them, and did not leave the originals with the illiterate monarch. He for his part would send his answer by an envoy who would interpret it if written in Minoan-Mycenaean script on papyrus, to the Hittite king, or merely give a verbal answer. Frankly, however ingenious the suggestion, it seems unconvincing. A further difficulty lies in the difference between the two cultures, and it is not disposed of by insisting on the maintenance of diplomatic relations between the Minoans of Crete and the rulers of Egypt. Moreover, it is a serious objection that the excavations at Boghazköi have failed to reveal Mycenaean pottery, common as that is elsewhere. Nor is it convincing to urge that other objects of art may have reached Hattušas as royal gifts, but have perished or been carried off in the disaster which ruined that city. It may be

82 Schachermeyr, *Hethiter*, pp. 137 ff.; Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II. i. 242 ff.

that archæological evidence to strengthen this view will be found. At present the impression left is that identification of Ahhiyavā with an Achæan Peloponnese should be ruled to be very improbable.

Further, for Greeks of the mainland there is another serious difficulty. The Egyptian records show as mercenaries in the service of the enemies of Merneptah the Aqaiwaša.⁸³ But this is a much disputed rendering of 'ikwš, and it is quite impossible to lay any stress on it. Further, if the Aqaiwaša are the people of Ahhiyavā, then the name must be assumed to contain the Aegean suffix -s-,⁸⁴ which means that it came to the Hittites through Crete presumably before the Minoan catastrophe of 1400 B.C. Now the evidence⁸⁵ suggests very strongly that the Egyptians noted that these Aqaiwaša were circumcised. The effort⁸⁶ to disprove this view of Professor Meyer is ingenious, but it is not effective. Assuming, therefore, Aqaiwaša to stand for the people of Ahhiyavā, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that they were non-Greeks, or, if they were, they came from Asia Minor, where they had learned the practice, which was widespread among the Egyptians, from whom, according to Herodotos,⁸⁷ the Phoenicians and Syrians of Palestine copied it. In favour of the view that no reference is made to Greeks may be set the fact that the other peoples named are Šardana, Šekeleša, Luku and Turuša.⁸⁸ We can hardly doubt that we are to look for these people somewhere in the region of Asia Minor. The Luku are plainly Lycians, the Turuša suggest the Tiras of the

83 Sommer, *Ahhiyavā-Urkunden*, pp. 358 ff.; 396, *IF.*, lv. 288.

84 The Egyptian *s* is not *s* hence Streitberg's *Achaiwōs* as the original will not do, and an ethnic suffix is denied by Sommer, *Indogerm. Forsch.*, lv. 288.

85 Sommer, *op. cit.*, pp. 358, n. 2, 395 f.; Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II. i. 558.

86 Schachermeyr, *Hethiter*, pp. 141 ff. See Sommer, *IF.*, lv. 289 f. for a refutation.

87 ii. 104; Meyer, *op. cit.*, II. ii. 157.

88 Meyer, *op. cit.*, II. i. 555 ff., 564, 566, 578.

Old Testament, conceivably Hittite Taruiša,"⁸⁹ doubtless the Greek Tyrrhenoi, and the Tursci or Etruscans, whose original connection with Lydia remains by far the most plausible account of their beginnings. Šardana, as will be seen below, must be connected with the later Sardis⁹⁰ rather than with Sardinia, and Šekeleša with Sagalassos rather than Sicily.

A very different view has been taken of Aqaiwaša which sees in them a tribe of the Syrtes region, whose name may be recognised in Agbia, inland from Carthage. This is arguable, seeing that they were connected with the Libyans, and on the whole it seems better to hold that there is no reason to connect Aqaiwaša and Ahhiyavā. The vague similarity of name leads to no certain result.

Much ingenuity has been devoted to discovering in Egypt evidence of the existence of the Danaoi, who are known to us from Homer as a branch of the Achaei in Argos.⁹² A letter found at Tell-el-Amarna gives a report from the king of Tyre to the Pharaoh (c. 1400), whence we learn that the king of the Danauna had died and had been peacefully succeeded by his son. It is true that *prima facie* the tribe concerned should be looked for in Canaan, but that point very probably cannot be pressed unduly. Reference, however, to events in Greece seems most unlikely. There is also, some two centuries later, a mention of this name as among the sea folk from the islands who made an assault on Syria and were repelled by

89 Suggested by Burn, *Minoans, Philistines, and Greeks*, p. 138.

90 Cf. Burn, *op. cit.*, p. 112; Meyer, *op. cit.*, II. i. 218 f.

91 Flinders Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, iii. 112. Cf. Glotz, *Aegean Civilization*, p. 405.

92 Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II. i. 224, 556, 559, 561, 586, 591; Burn, *Minoans, Philistines, and Greeks*, pp. 120, 141 f., Childe (*The Aryans*, p. 73) suggests that the Danauna of Rameses III were scattered bands of Agamemnon's host returning from Troy. But, apart from other reasons, the date is hopeless, as the Trojan war cannot be placed earlier than late in the 12th century on archaeological grounds, and the traditional date (1194-84 B.C.) is impossible to defend; see Burn, pp. 52 ff. He rightly points out that there is no clear reference to the fall of the Hittite empire in Greek tradition; the legend of Pelops, which he suggests as possibly arising thence, cannot be so interpreted.

Rameses III. This suggests that we are not entitled to look far afield from the Danauna, and throws very serious doubt on their connection with Greece. It has, of course, not unnaturally been suggested,⁹³ as an alternative hypothesis, that the Danaoi and the Achaioi bear names of Asianic tribes, which later were for uncertain reasons transferred to Greek tribes, perhaps because they entered Greece and imposed their rule on early Greek peoples. But this is conjectural, and in the case of the Achaioi the sense 'spearmen' has been ascribed from Indo-European.⁹⁴ The mythological connections⁹⁵ of the Danaoi and Egypt leave us no real ground for accepting the Danauna and Danaoi as connected by more than accidental agreement on part of the name. Among the tribes enumerated at the same time are the Uašēš who may be connected with Oassos in Caria or Oasos in Crete, but not with the Oscars in Italy.

The Zakkari also recorded to have been placed in connection with the post-Homeric Teukroi, who have connections with Salamis in Cyprus, the Troad, and Pamphylia, as well as with Greece.⁹⁶ But the difference of name is too substantial to allow any value to the comparison. The Philistines⁹⁷ were among the attackers, and they succeeded in establishing themselves in Palestine. But the view that they are Indo-European, and that their name is to be compared with the Pelasgoi of Greek legend is a mere conjecture, and we have no real knowledge whether the Pelasgoi were Greek. Many peoples to whom the style was given were no doubt not Greek at all, and

93 Cf. Otto, *Hist. Zeitschrift*, cxlvi. 220.

94 Cf. Walde, *Vergl. Wörterbuch*, i. 608, ii. 327. The interpretation is quite uncertain.

95 See Kretschmer, *Glotta*, xxiv. 15 ff.

96 Meyer, *op. cit.*, II. i. 560 ff., 586 ff. They were settled later in Palestine in conjunction with the Philistines; *ibid.*, II. ii. 13, 16, 240. For alleged connection with the Teukroi, see Burn, *op. cit.*, pp. 155 f. Zakro in Crete, whence they and the Philistines came, is more plausible as a connection.

97 Meyer, *op. cit.*, II. i. 218, 560 ff., 579, 586 ff. 590 f., 593; ii. 239 ff. Macalister, *Philistines*, p. 2; Burn, *op. cit.*, pp. 141 f., 146, 159 ff.

there is nothing really to show that we are to regard the Philistines as a Nordic people or a group of overlords over a Semitic population.

Of special interest is the case of the Ionians. Excavations in the region of the ancient Ugarit, known to us from the Amarna letters and other sources, have proved very close relations with Cyprus and the importation thence of Mycenaean pottery.⁹⁸ But the idea that it was an Achaean colony in the period 1400-1200 B.C. is clearly untenable. The Mycenaean weapons and dress are not adopted, and a special variety of *tholos* (tomb) appears. The effort has been made to find Greek names.⁹⁹ Nqmd is made out to be Nikomedes, but unhappily Niko- is not found early in Greek as the first part of a name. Then Ddm(a)j becomes Didumaioi, quite improbable, and Ym(a)n is rendered Ionian. That must be ruled impossible. The Akkadian Yāmanu, adduced in support, is to be read with a *u*, and the form would have to be Yvn as in Hebrew Yāvān, which may be traced to the beginning of the first millennium, though not with certainty.¹⁰⁰ The Hebrews may have received it via Lydia. It has been suggested that Egyptian 'iwn as the name of Hittite auxiliaries under Rameses II (c. 1312-1246 B.C.) refers to Ionians, but the guess has no attractive character.¹⁰¹ The word, as is well known, occurs only in a late Homeric line, and the name was presumably created late in history after the Ionians had occupied the Asian coast. An etymology is difficult, as they worshipped Apollon Iēios, the suggestion has been made that they were called from their religion cry of *ia*.¹⁰² Patently no certainty is possible.

98 See Schachermeyr, *Hethiter*, pp. 107 ff.

99 Dhorme, *Revue biblique*, 1931, pp. 37 ff. Hrozný, *Archiv Orientalni*, iv. 169; but see Viretand, *Syria*, xiv. 118; Sommer, *Ahhijavā-Urkunden*, p. 396.

100 Lehmann-Haupt, *Klio*, xxvii. 286 ff.

101 Bilabel, *Geschichte vorderasiens und Ägyptens*, i. 239, 398 f.; but see Sommer, *op. cit.*, p. 360 n. 2; *IF.*, lv. 288.

102 Kretschmer *Klein. Forsch.*, i. 5 ff.; *Glotta*, xviii. 323 f.; xxiv. 239; Sommer, *IF.*, lv. 227 n. 1.

It would not be worth while investigating further traces of Indo-Europeans in Asia and the Aegean as immigrants from Europe. The questions regarding the Mitanni and the dynasts in Syria or the Hykšos in Egypt concern Indo-Europeans whose provenance was Asiatic, even if the ultimate I.E. home is to be located in Europe, at present an insoluble problem.¹⁰³

IV. *Illyrians and Italians*

Mention has already been made of the pressure of Illyrians on the Dorians. But their activity extended undoubtedly to Italy also. We may confidently find in the Veneti of the north and in the various Iapygian tribes of the south, Daunii, Peucetii, Messapii, Calabri, and Sallentini, representatives of the Illyrian race and speech.¹⁰⁴ The dates to be assigned to the entry of the Illyrians are wholly conjectural; it may be taken for granted that they go back to the 10th century B.C. at least, but the archaeological evidence is quite impotent to tell us any more. Linguistically it has been claimed¹⁰⁵ that Venetic reveals to us a language which, like Hittite and Tocharian, belongs to an extremely ancient form of I.E. speech anterior to the development of centum and satem dialects as such. It is difficult to understand what is really meant by this claim. The extreme antiquity appears to be exaggerated, but it seems clear that Venetic in some words preserves I.E. palatals, and that it does not labialise velars.¹⁰⁶ The question of the ancestry of modern Albanian¹⁰⁷ is disputed, as Thracian influence is also alleged; for our purpose no importance seems to attach to the question. It has been shown¹⁰⁸ that there is between Illyrian and Germanic a certain amount of similarity, but that can be exaggerated, and is easily

103 See Keith, *IHQ.*, xii. 569 ff.; xiii. 201 ff.

104 Whatmough, *Foundations of Roman Italy*, pp. 126 ff. 105 *Ibid* p. 177.

106 E.g. Kluthiariis (Messapic *Klaobizis*), and *ekupetharis*.

107 Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, i. 66 f. see Georgiev, *KZ.* lxiv. 107 ff.

108 H. Krahe, *Hirt-Festschrift*, ii. 565 ff.

explained by the proximity of the early German speakers and the Illyrians, for the Illyrians, to judge from their names of places and similar tokens, appear to have occupied much of what later became eastern German lands.

There are also serious difficulties in determining when the Italians came to Italy.¹⁰⁹ There are easily distinguished two groups the Q-Italici, of whom those best known are the Latins, and the P-Italici, sometimes styled Safines,¹¹⁰ including the Oscans and Umbrians. It appears for many reasons proper to assume that the ancestors of the Celtic and Italic peoples once dwelt together in close union,¹¹¹ and efforts have even been made to show that we can trace a special relation between the Q-Italici and the Irish group of Celtic speeches, and a less close connection of P-Italici and the Britannic group, but this must be deemed unproved.

When we seek to find a place in Italy for the joint existence of the Italici, we are invited¹¹² to find it in the Po valley, where archaeology reveals to us people dwelling in villages consisting of pile structures on dry land, incinerating their dead, the terramaricoli who spread over Italy in the 15th and 14th centuries B.C., though they nowhere exterminated the Mediterranean race, which is accepted as a rule as the oldest population to be traced. But the view that the Romans and Safines are really descended from the terramaricoli is not by any means universally accepted,¹¹³ and must be regarded as incapable of being proved by the evidence available. There is a distinct civilisation, the Villanovan,¹¹⁴ in Reggio Emilia and Tuscany.

109 Childe, *The Aryans*, pp. 68 ff. 110 Whatmough, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, 195.

111 Meillet, *Histoire de la langue latine*, ch. iii.

112 A. Walde, *Über älteste sprachliche Beziehungen zwischen Kelten und Italikern* (1917). Cf. Kretschmer, *Sprache*, pp. 104 ff.

113 Childe, *The Aryans*, p. 71.

114 Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I. ii. 792.

115 Whatmough, *op. cit.*, pp. 84 ff.; Randall MacIver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* (1924).

in the Early Iron Age, which on one and the most probable view cannot be derived from that of the *terramaricoli*, but must represent a new invasion, and it is usually supposed that the Umbrians introduced it. It is quite possible to hold that like the Umbrians, the Latins were not descendants of the *terramaricoli* at all, but represent a distinct and earlier wave of invasion of a people akin to but not derived from the *Safines*.¹¹⁶ This is strongly supported by the fact that no *terramare* settlement has ever been found in Latium, and that the similarity of Roman town-planning to that seen in the *terramaricoli*'s settlements can be explained easily by natural features and Etruscan influence. A distinct Villanovan element thus seems to have introduced Latin. On the whole, it seems best to disregard the *terramaricoli* doctrine, and to accept invasions from the north to explain the arrival of Italic of all kinds as Indo-Europeans by speech.¹¹⁷ If this is so, then we have no definite means of suggesting any early date, before say 1000 B.C. for entry; how much earlier any I.E. speakers arrived must remain guesswork. We cannot be at all certain that the Italic as a unity ever resided in Italy; probably they did not.

An effort, however, to find Indo-European speech at a very early date in Italy has been made, the Ligurians being the chosen people.¹¹⁸ Ancient tradition ascribes to Ligurians considerable areas of southern Gaul, Corsica, Elba, the north-west and centre of Italy, and the Po valley. It has been sought—by adducing place names with *-sc-* to establish the wide distribution of the people in ancient times, and, no doubt without sufficient warrant, the name has been claimed for the Mediterranean race. But it is also claimed that in

¹¹⁶ Whatmough, *op. cit.*, pp. 203 ff.

¹¹⁷ Meyer, (*op. cit.*) suggests arrival by the Adriatic sea, but Kretschmer (p. 106) prefers the land route along the coast. R. Much (*Hirt-Festschrift*, II. 549 ff.) argues for a northern origin of the Italic from the linguistic similarities of Latin and German.

¹¹⁸ Whatmough, *op. cit.*, pp. 139 ff.

fact Ligurian was an I.E. speech, not agreeing with any other known speech.

In discussing the issue the so-called Lepontine inscriptions must be disregarded; they seem to show a Celtic speech,¹¹⁹ affected by Etruscan influences, and can be held certainly not to be Ligurian in origin. The glosses given as Ligurian are of minimal value. They are said to have called themselves Ambrones, with which have been compared German Ambrones and the Umbrians,¹²⁰ but this is a mere guess. The stream Bodincus is said to mean 'without bottom', - and the Sanskrit *budhna*, Greek *puthimēn*, Latin *fundus*, German *boden*, are naturally compared, but *-incus* remains without solution.¹²¹ The suffix *-asco* or *-asca* cannot with any plausibility be made out I.E. in character; the plea¹²² that its frequency was due to the existence of river names in *-a* such as Macra or to that of common words in *-a* such as *pala* is quite unintelligible. The examination of the list of names ending in one or other of these suffixes shows that the earliest part of each is regularly without I.E. connections. With this accords the fact that characteristic Ligurian names, such as Ciminus or Alba, remain without I.E. relationships. There is no real doubt that the basis of Ligurian is not I.E. The idea that the neolithic inhabitants spoke an I.E. speech is really impossible, and commonsense dictates that we must admit the infiltration of I.E. speakers at some time to account for the scanty I.E. traces, which we must regard as signs of a new population movement, not necessarily at all important numerically. This view is supported by certain names,¹²³ patently Indo-European. Beregiema, a mountain, clearly contains the I.E. *bber-*, 'bear', and

119 Krahe, *Hirt-Festschrift*, ii. 241-7. Contrast Whatmough, *op. cit.*, pp. 134 f. who tries to make out the speech as Kelto-Ligurian.

120 Kretschmer, *Glotta*, xxi. 114.

121 Krahe, *op. cit.*, ii. 253 ff.

122 Whatmough, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

123 Krahe, *Hirt-Festschrift*, ii. 254.

gheyem-, 'winter, snow', but the form is not Latin, because the sonant aspirates are represented by sonants only, as opposed to *f* and *h* respectively in Latin. Porcobera again cannot be Celtic, on one view, since *p* is retained while Irish has *orc*. This is not decisive, and there are Celtic parallels in other cases, e.g. Comberanea, a stream, with which compare Irish *commar*, 'meeting' of streams etc. Biveliu, Irish *biu*; Roudeliu, Old Irish *ruad*; Eburelia, Gall. *eburo*-. There is too little authority to allow yet of a decision whether we have a really independent I.E. speech, or merely a form of Celtic, or an another view a Karno-Illyrian dialect.¹²⁴

Nor can we say of the speech¹²⁵ of the Sicels of Sicily and South Italy with what I.E. speech it is connected, nor when it was introduced. The scanty remains contain much that is like Latin, but borrowing cannot certainly be presumed. We have *leporis*, L. *lepus*; *duro*, Latin *durum*; *vino*, L. *vinum*; *brtom*, L. *gratum*, Oscan and Gaul. *bratom*; *nepos* as in Latin. Aitne compares with L. *aedes*, as *litra* with *libra*. For *maru* compare Umbrian and L. *maro*; for *moiton*, loan', L. *mutuum*; for *katinos*, L. *catinus*. There are fewer cases of Greek connection as in *hemitom* and *hemina*, while it is possible that in L. *müser*, G. *musaros*, we have a borrowing from Sicel via Sicilian comedy. On the other hand, the name for leader, Douketios, has the same ending as in Ill Peucetii, with the local name Brikinniai compare Messapic *brigannas*, and the fact that there were Sicels in Dalmatia, so that connection with Illyrian cannot be ruled out.

As already mentioned, we need not take seriously the idea that Sicels¹²⁶ took part in raids on Egypt. The early Sardinians have

¹²⁴ K. F. Wolff, *Mannus*, xxii 181 ff.; xxiii, 227 ff.

¹²⁵ Whatmough, *op. cit.*, pp. 363 ff.; *Prac-Italic Dialects*, ii. 457 ff. Sicel *esti* is older than L. *est*.

¹²⁶ Contrast Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II. i. 573 ff. with Whatmough, *op. cit.*, pp. 338 ff. 356 f. on the movement from Sicily to Italy, not *vice versa*.

clearly scant right to I.E. character. We have no speech relics, only ancient local names, which have parallels in Spain, Liguria, and North Africa.¹²⁷ That they were among the tribes brought against Egypt is most unlikely; even if they cannot be treated as the people of Sardis,¹²⁸ it is illogical to go so far a field as Sardinia, and no archaeological evidence can be adduced to support the idea of location there.

The Etruscans can be briefly disposed of. The non-I.E. character of their language only becomes more apparent with every effort to arrive at a different conclusion.¹²⁹ Of more importance is the question of their date of arrival on the west coast of Italy. There is also the possibility or probability of more than one Etruscan arrival. Thus it has been suggested¹³⁰ that some came to eastern Italy from the Greek mainland, either by land or sea, while others came to the west direct from somewhere in the Aegean by sea. There is a variance regarding dates of advent, and they have been ascribed to the second millennium B.C.¹³¹ But it is far more likely that we have to go down to about 850 B.C.¹³² though there may have been settlements of less importance in the 10th century. There is far too little clear archaeological evidence to decide such a point as this. That for a time they extended an overlordship over large areas, including Latium, is plain. Against the idea of arrival by land must be set the fact that archaeological evidence, as well as tradition, strongly supports the view that traces of Etruscan speech

127 Whatmough, *op. cit.*, pp. 373 ff.

128 The original name is stated to have been Stard. We have a Sardene not an Asianic Home (Burn, *Minoans, Greeks and Philistines*, pp. 112 ff.) is more likely than Sardinia (Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II. i. 57 f. 557).

129 E. Fiesel, *Etruskisch* (1931); Schachermeyr, *Etruskische Frühgeschichte* (1929).

130 Kretschmer, *Sprache*, p. 109; *Glotta*, xxii. 204; Whatmough, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 189, wavers in opinion.

131 E. Kieckers, *Die Sprachstämme der Erde*, p. 93.

132 Whatmough, *op. cit.* pp. 208, 213.

among the Raeti,¹³³ who lived to the north and south of the Brenner pass, are due to penetration from the south, not to an entry from the north, by the Rasenna. The theory¹³⁴ that the Etruscans are aboriginal in Italy is quite impossible of acceptance.

Note should, however, perhaps be made of the suggestion¹³⁵ that beside our historic Etruscans there was a much older element in the population which arrived before the Indo-Europeans and was kindred to the historical Etruscans. It seems extremely difficult to make much of this suggestion and mere possibilities which cannot be verified are probably best left aside. The same observation applies to an ingenious effort¹³⁶ to see sober history in the legend of Aeneas and Rome to the extent that a body of sea-raiders may have landed somewhere south of the Tiber in the Early Iron Age and have aided the Latins against the pressure of the Sabellian wave of Italic stock.

The Celts did not reach Italy until somewhere about 400 B.C.;¹³⁷ they came rather from the east than the west, and their provenance may have been the Danube; in any case their importance for the early Mediterranean is negligible. Nor do any of the facts we have examined enable us to arrive at any conclusion helpful for the solution of the problem of the Indo-European home on which the late Professor L. de La Vallée Poussin wrote with such prudent reserve in the appendix added in 1935 to his *Indo-européens et Indo-iraniens*.

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¹³³ Whatmough, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

¹³⁴ Schuchhardt, *Præhist. Zeit.* xvi. 109 ff.; *Alterropa* (1935). pp. 125 f.

¹³⁵ See, e.g. Krahe, *IF.*, lv. 149.

¹³⁶ Burn, *Minoans, Philistines and Greeks*, pp. 243 f. He gives (pp. 240 ff.) suggestions as to places whence the Etruscans came to Italy.

¹³⁷ Whatmough, *op. cit.*, pp. 147 ff.

India and the Archæology of Malaysia and Indonesia

It is only recently that we are realizing the importance of the Malayan world for researches in anthropology and archæology. The ethnic history of the Malay peoples is still far from being clear. We find them mostly as a maritime race whom we may call the Oceanic Malays. But they have got their cousins on the mainland as well spreading over the Malay Peninsula and Indo-China, who may be called Continental Malays. The Proto-Malayas are sometimes called Oceanic Mongols spreading over the vast "Oceanic domain of Further Asia from Formosa to the Nicobars and Madagascar." And as Dr. Hutton observes in his paper on "Races of Further Asia," the Proto-Malayas are found "forming hybrid groups by fusion with Negritos, Papuans, pre-Dravidians or Indonesians." The present day Malays with dark-brown skin may thus very probably be the result of the fusion of the Yellow races from the North with the Black races of Southern Asia. Thanks to the researches of French scholars, we now know that the far off island of Madagascar is culturally and linguistically connected with the Malayan world, and the devoted workers of the École Française d'Extrême Orient in Hanoi (Indo-China) are supplying valuable materials for the study of the archæology of Malaysia. The history of the Proto-Malays and the Malays will, therefore, when adequately treated, enable us to follow the strange lines of expansion of the primitive peoples from Africa to Melanesia across the Indian Ocean to the Pacific.

The earliest, so far traced, of the Dark races to spread over Malayasia and South East Asia were the Negritos, precursors of the Negroids or Oceanic Negroes as opposed to the Continental Negroes now in Africa. The Negrito as a submerged

Pre-Dravidian element in our Indian population, has been definitely identified by Dr. B. S. Guha, in the extreme South-Western strip of the Peninsula consisting of the hills and ranges along both sides of the Ghats. There we find such tribes as the Kadars, Irulas, Pulayans etc. who are basically Negritoid in character but modified by other racial elements specially the Proto-Australoid, spreading from the Gulf of Cambay to the coasts of Orissa now speaking mostly "Austrie" speech common to the Kol, Munda, Santal, Juang and Savara tribes. A few others like the Bhil, the Gond, and the Oraons now speak corrupt forms of Dravidian or Aryan speech abandoning their tribal languages. These Proto-Australoids or Veddoids (as they are sometimes called from physical affinities with the Veddas of Ceylon) may be the earliest indigenous substratum interspersed with a later filtration of the Negritos whom we find in South India in the Andaman Islands, in Malay Peninsula (Semang races), in East Sumatra and in the Philippines (Aeta people). Agriculture and domestication of animals were unknown to the Negritos who were, mainly speaking, food gatherers and hunters with bow and arrow as their typical weapon (unknown to the Veddoid ancestors of the Australian aborigines).

After the Negritos we find the infiltration of the Oceanic Negroes represented by its Papuan branch leaving their traces among the Naga and other tribes of Assam and those of Papua and Fiji in Melanesia. The earlier and later strands of this Melanesoid culture are just being distinguished as we shall presently discuss. Their cultural contributions may not be much but they supply valuable links in our study of the stone-age cultures of Asia.

Next to the Melanesian or Black races come the Indonesians composed of a Caucasian stock modified by Mongolian infiltration. Racially the Indonesians are "submerged" according to Dr. Hutton but the area once covered by the Mon-Khmer languages of the Indonesian stock embraces Cambodia and Yunnan in French Indo-

China, Wa and Palaung lands in Burma, Khasi Hills in Assam and the Munda zones of Chota Nagpur. In those areas have been discovered a special type (which we may call Indonesian) of polished stone adze "the tanged and shouldered cult." Other characteristics noted by Dr. Hutton are tatooing, canoe-drum, megalithic culture, head-hunting "to secure souls to add to the general village stock of soul matter which is required for the successful propagation of animal and cereal life," phallic cult, terrace cultivation, buffalo and plough cattle, among others. These are found in Assam, Burma, Malay Archipelago, the Philippines and in Formosa, Papua and Oceania. Along with these there appeared totemism, taboo, exogamy, matrilineal society, Bachelors Hall, priest-chiefs and Prayer houses developing into temples in Indonesia and Polynesia. We have noticed how often the students of Micronesian, Melanesian and Polynesian cultures turned to Indonesia for the explanation of many customs and institutions in the remote parts of Oceania. Now Indonesian and Mon-Khmer cultures are considered by an eminent authority like Dr. Hutton to have their origin in Southern India (pre-Dravidian and Dravidian). Consequently Pre-Aryan India should be a most profitable field for those who aspire to contribute new chapters to the pre-historic and anthropological studies of Asia.

Next to Dr. J. H. Hutton's admirable survey of the "Races of Further Asia" prepared for the 14th Edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1929), we should notice Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels' monograph on "The Melanesoid Civilizations of Eastern Asia."² Traces of Melanesoid civilization were discovered also in French Indo-China by Mm. Mansuy and Pallo and Dr. M. Colani which came to be critically examined at the First Congress of the Pre-historians of the Far East (Hanoi, 1932). The second session of that Congress was in Manila (1936) when heaps of new materials

2 *Bulletin of the Raffles Museum*, Singapore. Series B. No. 1, May, 1936.

came forth for examination and a third session of the Congress was organised by the Raffles Museum in Singapore.³

In 1935 Dr. Callenfels was entrusted by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, with the task of making a systematic survey of the palæolithic and neolithic sites and human remains of Melanesoid and Indonesian affinities. He completed his report (dated Kyoto, Dec. 1935) of the first year's work (1934-1935) in course of which he regretted that "both Siam and Burma are still blank areas on the pre-historic maps."⁴

The conclusions of Dr. Callenfels as recorded in this, practically his last scientific communication on the subject, deserve close attention: Far from being confined to present Melanesia, the geographical extension of the composite Melanesoid culture takes us to the Tumba culture of West Africa where according to Dr. Menghin, we find "artifacts bearing a strong resemblance to the palæolithic types of Western Europe like Chellean, Levalloisian or Mousterian." These types have already been found in South India, Java and South China. So it seems probable that from Africa the home of the Dark races, the oval or ellipsoid chipped implements reached Western Europe on the one hand and *via* India to Java and the Far East on the other. We quote in this connection the following significant remarks of Dr. Callenfels who seemed to support the hypothesis of Dr. Hutton: "It seems now improbable that influences from India played a part in the development of the Melanesoid civilisations, and the theory that the cultures found in Malaysia had their origin solely or mainly from Tonkin (Hoabinhian) can no longer be maintained." In discussing a rare stone arrow

3 This information I gathered from the authorities of the Museum and from Prof. Orley Bayer of the University of the Philippines on my way to and from Polynesia and Australia (1937-38).

4 He collaborated with the French and the British workers and was preparing for a survey of Burma when suddenly he died in Rangoon, to the great loss of pre-historic studies in the Far East

head found in north eastern Kedah, Dr. Callenfels opined that the arrow head, like the neolithic and bronze civilizations of the East coast of Sumatra, opposite Kedah, probably showed "Indian or Burmese influence." Another Dutch archæologist Dr. G. H. R. von Königswald who published his results on the "Early Palæolithic stone implements from Java"⁵ definitely correlated the Pleistocene hand-axe cultures of Java and India⁶ while reviewing the '*Stratigraphy of Java and its Relations to Early Man.*' To find implements comparable with the Javanese hand-axes we must go back, he says, "to the beginning of human industry, to the early palæolithic Chellean culture known from Europe, Africa and India, and indeed to the most primitive phase of this culture."

Dr. Callenfels, however, warned us against accepting mere typology as a reliable indication of age which can only be fixed by more convincing geological or palæontological evidence. But he agreed that probably the oldest wave of Melanesoid civilization reached Java. One of the earliest human fossils was found by Dubois in Trinil and another near Wadjak where probably a proto-Australoid type was discovered and within fifty miles from that site Dr. Königswald found stone-tools of the Chellean type. A very remarkable find was that in the rock-shelter called Guwa Lawa near Sampung (East Java). Here, between a layer with stone arrow heads below and one with polished stone-axes above, a culture was discovered using only bone and horn artifacts, nowhere else to be found associated with a Melanesoid culture. The proto-neoliths found near Malang, East Java resemble those from Celebes. Palæolithic tools have also been found in the Melanesoid remains near Galumpang in West Central Celebes and probably a Melanesoid bone culture reached Java via Celebes. Melanesoid palæolithic artifacts have also been found in Sarawak and in Dutch West Borneo.

Thousands of such stone-axes have been found in the East coast of Sumatra. This "Sumatra type" of tools consists of rounded pebble worked on one side only. Two other types could be distinguished: a broad flat axe and a thicker elongated pick. Polished neolithic axes and bronze axes have also been found in East as well as north Sumatra and in Nias, pointing to a later stage of culture derived from different sources. Grinding stones and slabs associated with hæmatite used as pigment have been found in Sumatra and in Malay Peninsula but are totally absent in Indo-China.

A very primitive type of culture has been found by the Swiss Anthropologist Dr. F. Sarasin, in the caves of Northern, Central, and Southern Siam. But systematic excavations have not yet been undertaken.

In Indo-China valuable relics of Stone Age culture have been found in Bac-son and Hoa-Binh. Suffice it to say that the palæolithic tools from those sites are associated with Melanesoid human remains and the proto-neoliths with the Indonesian strata which apparently succeeded.

In the Kwangsi province of South China an expedition sent by the Chinese Geological Survey discovered a late palæolithic culture with no polished celt or pottery. This Kwangsi culture appears to resemble the Stone Age cultures of Western Europe and it is described by Dr. W. C. Pei in his paper "On a Mesolithic Industry of the Caves of Kwangsi." This may be the forerunner of the Bacsonian (early Neolithic) culture of Indo-China.

Palæolithic and proto-neolithic implements have been found, as we have described above, near the Laguna del Bay in Luzon and other parts of the Philippines which wait for systematic exploration.

Even far off Japan which is generally considered to be in the neolithic zone some apparently palæolithic tools were reported to have

been discovered by prince Oyama among the kitchen-middens of Liu Kiu islands. In 1932 Dr. Callenfels could detect similar implements from Kiushiu, Hondo and Sendai islands. These tools have not yet received sufficient attention from the authorities of different Japanese Museums because of their pre-occupation with ceramic materials.

Malay Peninsula is the natural land bridge between India and Indonesia. Yet, owing to the cultural backwardness of the people inhabiting that country, few explorations have been undertaken. As early as 1880 Mr. L. Wray, former Director of F.M.S. Museums discovered shell and bone deposits at Gunong Pondok, Perak. In 1886 he excavated some rock shelters at Gunong Cheroh near Ipoh and reported finding human remains (neolithic?), red pigments and grinding stones but no palæolithic tools or flakes.

Between 1917-1921 Mr. I.H.N. Evans conducted excavations in several places; at Gua Kajang near Lenggong he found tools of palæolithic type but no protoneoliths, as he reported. He found proto-neoliths near Gua To Long in Pahang and thanks to the expert collaboration of Dr. Callenfels he could trace (in 1926-27) a definite Melanesoid culture in Gua Kerban rockshelter in Gunong Pondok (north Perak). Among the finds are mentioned palæolithic tools including Sumatra type; protoneoliths approaching neoliths, crude pottery (very rare in lower levels), red pigment, grinding stones etc. with human remains.

Melanesoid palæolithic tools, worked on both sides (and not associated with any protoneoliths) were found by Mr. G. W. Thompson in 1921-23 near the Sungai Lembing tin mine in Pahang. In the alluvium of a small stream he found also "layers of flakes and chips" suggesting probably that it was an "ancient workshop." Some of the artifacts are of the unwieldy Indo-Chinese (Hoabinhian I) type and represent probably the oldest stage of the Melanesoid culture in the Malay Peninsula.

Under the auspices of the Carnegie Corporation (New York) several important excavations were made in 1934-35 and preliminary reports thereof were published by Dr. Callenfels.⁸ In the Province of Wellesley three kitchen middens were excavated in 1934 at Guak Kepah where he found traces of secondary burial, hæmatite and pure neolithic "axes with an encircling groove" round the base for the attachment of a rattan handle. The forerunners of this type may be the "knob-handled axe" from Gulampang, Central Celebes or the type of tools found in Kalgan in Mongolia, Manchuria and Japan as communicated by Dr. Callenfels in the *Proceedings of the Second Congress of Pre-historians of the Far East*, Manila (1936).

In the lime stone hills of Baling in Kedah, a cave was excavated by H. D. Collings and inspite of difficulties in cultural stratification, was attributed by Dr. Callenfels to "the same wave of civilization as that of Gua Kerban showing protoneoliths developing into true neolithic tools with a straight edge and also of small chipped picks." Another site was excavated by Mr. M. W. F. Tweedie at Bukit Chintamani in Pahang. Here the oldest layers showed a culture without pottery and with palæolithic "Sumatra-type" tools which was succeeded by a later stratum with pottery and protoneoliths. The older type of pottery shows that netting was used for impressing the ornaments on vessels before baking. The later type of pottery probably belonged to Iron Age, and its inner surface was varnished probably with gum or lac which were used for coating (both externally and internally) in the pottery found by Mr. Evans in the Iron Age slab graves at Changkat Manteri and Sungkai.

Summing up his observations, Dr. Callenfels remarked that the oldest phase of Melanesoid culture in Malay Peninsula appeared to be that of Sungai Lembing with palæolithic culture. The protoneo-

lithic stage is reached in Gua Kajang, Gua Kerban and the Baling caves. Partially belonging to these stages and partially different from and later than those, stand the layers of the Chintamani caves where, both in the higher and the lower levels, secondary burials occurred. Ordinary burial is found in Gua Kerban rock shelter. Guak Kepah with its peculiar neolithic axes is quite distinct and seems to represent the youngest stage of Melanesoid civilization so far known, in this part of the world. The later Melanesoids evolved tools which appear to show that they employed them in some kind of primitive agriculture. And here as elsewhere "when human remains are found associated with protoneoliths and pottery, they include individuals with affinities other than Melanesoid." Dr. Callenfels admits the presence of the second race, the Indonesians living with the Melanesoids, practising burials with no trace of cannibalism.

In tracing the history of the relatively simple and unmixed Melanesoid races and culture we have often been puzzled by complicated problems which only further researches may solve. The difficulties are multiplied more and more as we proceed to tackle with the history of mixed races like the so-called Pre-Dravidians and Indonesians who seldom appear as pure races and only offer some "archaic survivals," the date or cultural sequence thereof, remaining often vague and perplexing. The theories and interpretations of the ethnologists and anthropologists often conflict, and no less conflicting are the opinions and observations of archaeologists who worked in this much neglected field of Malaysian pre-history. Dr. Callenfels warned us against accepting mere typology as a reliable indication of age for he showed how apparently old stone culture and tools from Galumpung (Celebes), Gua Kerban (Malay) and Kwangsi (South China) which abound in so-called "Chellean types" are probably "younger than Mesolithic." So protoneoliths are often confused with neoliths and the neolithic culture has no clear chronological boundaries, some-

times, as in the history of Japan and some other countries, the neolithic age and culture reaching as late an epoch as the beginning of the Christian Era. Even the fossilisation of bones, wood etc. is found to take different spans of years in different climes and countries and so mere fossilisation is a most unsound criterion for age in case of a country like Java, (as observed by Dr. Callenfels), where, in some sites, bones and other objects get fossilised in a very short time. With all these reservations, we may nevertheless pursue the study of palæoethnology and prehistoric archæology of Malaysia.

Next to the Melanesoid Negritos, we notice the somewhat obscure group of pre-Dravidian spreading from India into the Malayan world. Dr. Hutton has identified them with the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula, the Toalas of the Celebes and their cousins in East Sumatra, the Ulu Ayar tribes of Dutch Borneo with the blow gun as their distinctive weapon. This pre-Dravidian strain in some of the hill tribes of Assam and Burma is admitted by Dr. Hutton. He considers the Indonesians as introducing the earliest and the most abiding cultural elements in Further Asia, from Assam to Fiji, from the Munda zone to the Polynesian world. The Indonesians were probably composed of a Caucasian stock which, according to Hutton, occupied South-East Asia at a very early date and was modified by Mongolian infiltration. These Indonesians were submerged by the flood of South-Mongoloid races, called by Dr. Hutton, as the Pareëan invasion represented by the North to South drive of the Shan, the Thai, the Burmese, the Anamites, down to the Kuki-Cachins of our own days. As result of such racial fusions there emerged the Oceanic Mongols, the Proto-Malays or the Indonesians. Leaving the mainland to the indigenous pre-Mongol folks and to the invading Southern Mongols, the Indonesians with a rare audacity and adaptability spread over Malaysia and Micronesia and again through Melanesia reached the farthest confines of the Polynesian world. This forgotten history has been partially reconstructed by W. F.

Perry in his *Megalithic Culture of Indonesia* and by Loeb and Heine-Geldern in their studies on *Sumatra*.⁹ Recently Mr. Sheppard in his paper on the "Megaliths in Malacca territory"¹⁰ concluded that "a wave of Megalithic culture may have passed through Malacca, *en route* for South Sumatra, Java and the South Pacific." He further pointed out that the megaliths of Talang Padang should be studied along with such other monuments found in Assam and Burma, in the Celebes, Nias and the little Sunda islands.

One of the best collections of Malaysian antiquities is to be found in the Raffles Museum of Singapore. Founded in 1844, it got a new building in 1887 with special galleries and departments on Zoology, Ethnography etc., of Malaysia and Indonesia. It is an institution for regional research containing a representative collection of finds from various expeditions in Malay Peninsula. The Museum has recently departed from its regional function by assembling in its new Hall of Asiatic Pre-history, a synoptical series of stone-implements and other objects from many regions in the east and southeast of Asia. Its *Bulletin* was mainly biological in character but it has, from 1936, opened its pages to non-biological research in its series, B, which gave the first survey of pre-historic research in the Peninsula.

The Perak Museum has been collecting tools and specimens from the Perak state, Kelantan, Pahang, Kedah and Negri Sembilan.

The Selangor Museum contains artifacts from Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang. Neolithic stone tools are very common in Kuala Tembeling, Kuala Kangsar and other places. Mr. Evans has classified them into four common types:—

- (1) Stone adze-head with chisel-like edge
- (2) Stone adze-head with slightly hollow ground at the point on the 'under' surface

9 Robert Heine-Geldern, Pre-historic Research in Indonesia in *Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Leyden, 1934.

10 *Bulletin of the Raffles Museum*, May, 1936.

(3) Large stone adze-head

(4) Short adze-head ground on both sides towards the point.

Among the rarer types Mr. Evans refers to "quoit shaped" objects in black and greenish blue stone and also to a kind of "shouldered" tool found in Iaiping. The latter is well-known from north-east India (Munda-zone), Burma, Siam and Indo-China." These neolithic implements followed the invasion of Malaya by a CroMagnon race (Indonesians.) who subjugated the palæolithic cave dwellers using Chelleo-Mousterian tools.

While there are plenty of axes and adze-heads, no stone knives, spears or arrow heads so far have been discovered. These, according to Evans, probably came to be made of hard wood or bamboo as we find in New Guinea; but in the Admiralty Islands, where obsidian (volcanic glass) is available, we find chipped points, so well known to the Maoris.

Some late neolithic objects are found mixed up with bronze or iron age finds e.g. in the Iron Age graves of granite slab, discovered at Changkat Mantri (near Bernam river, Perak) where have been found rough pottery, with carnelian beads, bronze vessel, iron tools, and stone bark-cloth beaters also found in Passo, middle Celebes and in so many places of Polynesia which developed the bark-cloth industry transmitted by their Indonesian forbears. Such dolmens and cists have been found also in East Java where the culture objects range from late neolithic to the iron age strata. Mr. Evans mentions granite megaliths at Linggi, Negri Sembilan and compares them with the megaliths found in Indonesia and north-eastern India "which are so intimately connected with Indonesia and Malay Peninsula." With this remark he refers to the standard works like *The Khasis* by P. R. T. Gordon and to *The History of Upper Assam*, by L. W. Shakespeare as well as to the Mikirs, Nagas, and Ho-Munda tribes who erect memorial stones for departed spirits as we find among many races of Malaysia and Oceania. This megalithic

culture, according to Dr. Hutton, takes the form of menhirs and dolmens, intimately connected with the cult of the dead and also with a phallic cult: "The general theory underlying it seems to be that the soul of the dead takes up its abode in the erect or the recumbent stone," according as the sex is male or female and that the fertilization of the crops and propagation of all life is dependent on the action of the soul which is assisted by a process of sympathetic magic dependent on the symbolic form of these megalithic erections." The survival of this cult in Chota Nagpur, in Assam, in parts of Indo-China and in Madagascar suggests that it originated at a very early date and "perhaps preceded the expansion of the Proto-Malay race." Thus although the origin of the Mon-Khmer culture is still obscure, it is possible, says Dr. Hutton that India was "the source of the Indonesian and Mon-Khmer cultures." He compares very significantly the *aren* or soul-matter of the Ao-Nagas with the Polynesian *mana* or dynamic soul-principle. He refers also to the canoe-drum and canoe-cult spreading from the Naga and Khasi Hills, Burma, Malay Peninsula to Borneo, Melanesia, Fiji and even to South America.

In their cult of the Dead we find platform exposure (as among Australian aborigines), burial and burning (without any reference to Hindu influence), the ideas of "the Village of the Dead," and of the "overseas" colony of the Dead. Dr. Hutton refers also to urn-burial in Naga hills, saying that the "boat-shaped coffins are used, some times where boats are unknown," and that the construction of the war canoe is "attended in the Naga Hills by *tabus* identical with those attending the construction of canoes in Melanesia."

Another *tabu* among the Malays refers to the eating of the buffalo which has been definitely associated with Mon-Khmer culture

11 Cf. The guardian stones "used by the Nias islanders the Dusuns of British North Borneo and the Tingnians of the Philippines."

and irrigated terrace cultivation in Assam, Borneo and the Philippines. Headhunting and tatoo patterns referring to rank or to head hunting exploits are found among the Assam-Burma hill tribes, the Tai races, the Kayans of Borneo and other tribes of Oceania.¹²

Thus we find again and again traces of Indonesian races and cultures following in the wake of Melanesoid races, as we notice in so many ethnic and cultural survivals of Malaysia, Polynesia and Oceania. Definite chronology is out of the question but as we have noticed in our chapter on the race migrations into the Philippines, the Negritos reached there in the Old Stone Age, while the Indonesians or Proto-Malays appeared with the New Stone Age cultures about 5000 B.C. Their history can thus be rarely studied with reference to surviving monuments but their tools and implements are being classified, helping us further in the study of palæoethnology of Oceania. It is significant that the Negritos still survive in Malay Peninsula, in Siam and the Philippines and Mr. Evans refers to a story reported by a Negrito woman to the effect that their people "came originally from Lanka when it was burnt." Hence are their curly hair and monkey affinities! These Negritos were pushed up into the hills by the invading Sakai people who were pre-Dravidians. With the Indonesian invasion, possibly both the Negrito and the Sakai began to borrow from the Mon-Khmer or Austric languages which influenced the Negrito and Sakai dialects. The Proto-Malay Indonesians or Austronesians fused with other races to form the present Malays who were pushed into the sea by the aggressive South Mongolian races, notably the Thai, and thus the overseas colonies and empires of the Malays gradually emerged in history.

Mr. Evans refers, in this connection, to the three pre-historic types of men so far traced in Indo-China: Negrito, Cro-Magnon and Melanesian. He further institutes a close comparison between

¹² Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of Malaya Peninsula*, 1906.

the pre-historic finds of Indo-China and Malaya. We summarize below his conclusions so far as they relate to Malay Peninsula:

(1) A Melanesoid palæolithic culture with chipped and ground tools and flakes from the caves at Lenggong, Nyik (Pahang) and Gunong Pondok. This rude lithic culture, without any transitional type as we find in Indo-China, was followed by—

(2) A Neolithic culture of an invading Cro-Magnon people at Gunong Sennyum (Pahang) and in two places in Perak.

(3) Stones for grinding spices and colours: red paint to anoint the body.

(4) Cord-mark pottery followed by coarse glazed wares with basket design.

(5) Pounders with grip-depressions, associated with the lower neolithic culture of Malay.

(6) Ashes overlying human remains.

(7) Associated fauna not of the extinct types but of the surviving species. Fish bones are not common but plenty of *Melania* shells and turtles used for food are found together with marrowbones of monkeys, deer, pig, rhinoceros etc.

Evans and Callenfels traced a new "Sumatra" type of palæolithics made of pebble with only one face chipped. These are found in Sumatra, in Upper Perak and in the caves of Indo-China.

That the crude palæolithic Chelleo-Mousterian culture was followed by a neolithic culture with polished tools is fairly clear. But Malay Peninsula is as yet imperfectly explored and its pre-historic study is still in its infancy. Hence we are often confused by contradictory reports which may be cleared up with further excavations on scientific lines. At the end of the Neolithic Age we find plenty of metal objects as we may expect in this land ever famous for its mineral resources. But the systematic survey of the Metal Age of Malay has not yet been attempted. So we do not know yet what progress in metallurgy was made by the aborigines of the Malayan

world which came to be dominated by the Proto-Malay (Indonesian) and the Malay races.

Thus it is clear now that the Malaya served, in the pre-historic ages, as the transmitter of races and culture from India and the Pacific world. So in the historic epoch the same process continued. Yet strangely enough, the Malaya remained, till quite recently, almost a totally neglected field. Thanks, however, to the initiative of Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales, the Greater India Research Committee of which he is the first Field Director, was formed. He undertook the systematic exploration of Malaya a few years ago, obtaining promising results. Dr. Wales published a summary of those results in a recent paper on the "Art and Archæology of Ancient Malaya" in course of which he observed: "The object of the work was primarily to gain by practical means, a fuller understanding of the processes of ancient Indian cultural expansion which led ultimately to the flowering of the Indo-Javanese and Khmer civilizations in the further East."

Malaya was on the main *sea route*, of all times, between China and the West, as Dr. Wales rightly observed. But we must remember at the same time that Malaya was a most important *land route* for the migration of Indian culture into Siam and Indo-China. The Indian colonists often avoided the risky sea route round the coast of the entire Peninsula and preferred to pass through Kedah (Sanskrit *Kaṭāha*) into South Siam and thence into upper Siam, Laos, Cambodia and Champā, where we often find traces of simultaneous penetration of Indian culture by the land as well as by the sea routes.

During his recent excavations (1937-38) in the Malay States of Kedah, Perak and Johore Dr. Quaritch Wales made valuable additions to our knowledge of Malayan antiquities: In Kedah alone, he excavated some thirty ancient sites, dating from 4th to 13th century A.D. In an isolated hill on the Sala river (twenty miles north of Kedah peak) he discovered a stūpa with a stone inscription of the

usual Buddhist formula *Ye Dharma* etc. in south Indian script of 4th century A.D. In another laterite stūpa-base on the left bank of river Bujang (? Sanskrit *Bhujamga*) he discovered a sun dried clay tablet inscribed with three stanzas of a Mahāyāna text ascribed to the 6th century A.D. Thus it "antedates by more than a 100 years the dated Mahāyāna inscriptions from Sumatra previously believed to be the earliest evidence of the 'Great Vehicle' in this region."

The palæographical examination of the numerous clay tablets in the Raffles Museum and other epigraphic documents in Malaya will surely reveal that to reach the remote regions of Indo-China and Indonesia, Indian cults (both Brahmanical and Buddhistic) must have passed through Malay where more copious traces thereof, would be found with systematic explorations.

Kedah was at first a dependency of the ancient Malayan state known to the Chinese as *Lang-ya-bsin* which was renamed as *Laṅka-suka* with the assertion of independence of the Hindu colonies strengthened by the coming of the Pallavas towards the end of the 6th century A.D. This Hindu city of *Laṅkasuka* on the river Bujang after incorporating the older capital of Port Ligor, flourished in the 7th and 8th centuries. Remains of ruined Śiva temples of this period have been found and Dr. Quaritch Wales is of opinion that "there was sufficient evidence to establish beyond doubt the Pallava affinities of the art of the colonies." He further observed that the shape and form of the roof of a miniature bronze shrine reminded him of the *Sahadeva Ratha* of *Mamallapuram*. It shows the *Caitya* window design, the *Kalasa* or flower-pot on the top and four Śaivite ascetics sitting cross-legged at the four corners of the bronze shrine found in the bed of the Bujang river.

Another beautiful Śiva temple has been discovered on a low spur of the Kedah peak and constructed with carefully shaped granite blocks, quarried nearby. In its foundations have been discovered many precious objects resembling silver capsules each containing a

ruby and a sapphire. Among the foundation deposits have also been found stone caskets with gems and gold objects. Gold and silver discs, jars with cult objects have also been found. While excavating the foundation of a pillared hall Dr. Wales found within an earthen jar an inscription, on silver, in the South Indian script of 9th century A.D. and also some Arab coins, one definitely dated A.D. 848. Another such pillared hall is ascribed to 9th-10th century A.D., when the Śailendra kings dominated over the state of Laṅka-suka and constructed many Buddhist temples (including the great Borobudur in Java) of Mahāyāna denomination specially favoured by the Śailendras.

Inside the brick-lined chamber of laterite flint was discovered a rare type of a bronze casket south Indian in design. It contains a silver bull, a bronze horse, a tin lion, and the shape of the miniature weapons deposited remind us of those represented on the bas-reliefs of Borobudur which show a special type of dagger depicted on the Mahiṣāsūra Māṇḍapa of Mamallapuram.

After the Pallavas the famous Cola kings, specially under Rājendra Cola the Great, extended not only the cultural but political domination over Malay as is well-known to students of Cola history and epigraphy. So it is natural that traces of a revival of Hinduism in Kedah during the 11th-13th centuries are found on the lower reaches of the Bujang river. Buddhism also probably lingered but several brick temples with Hindu images, terracotta Gaṇeśa and other cult objects seem to explain why the Malays were called *Hindus* when they were conquered by the Islamic invaders in the 15th century.

In an earlier communication on the subject published in the *Indian Art and Letters*¹³ Dr. Quaritch Wales threw a new light on the route of migration of Indian culture into Indonesia through Malay

¹³ Vol. IX, no. 1, 1935.

Peninsula.¹¹ He supports substantially the theory of Dr. R. C. Majumdar on the origin of the Śailendras of Indonesia,¹² concluding that a state named Śrīvijaya existed in South-east Sumatra in the 7th century A.D. dominating the Malay Peninsula as far as Ligor or Śrī Dharmarāja. In 775 A.D. the Śrīvijaya kingdom was displaced and absorbed by the great Indianised empire of the Śailendras who probably belonged to the Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinga and Mysore and were Mahāyānists by religion. Reaching Ligor about the middle of the 8th century they spread their power over Further India, Cambodia, Champā and Ceylon bringing with them the Nāgarī script and the new name of Kalinga for Malaya.

They ruled over Malay Peninsula and Indonesia for nearly six centuries (8th to 14th). The Cola inscriptions refer to the Śailendra dynasty as reigning over Kadāra (Kedah) and Śrīvijaya came to be named as Javaka (Zabag of the Arabs). It is quite likely that the Śailendras adopted the name Śrīvijaya after conquering the earlier Sumatran state of the same name near Palembang which was considered by Coedes and Ferrand to be the capital of the Śrīvijaya empire. Prof. Majumdar, after shifting the political centre of gravity to north Malay, suggested that the capital might have been at Ligor or Nakon Śrī Th'anumarat; but Dr. Quaritch Wales concludes on the strength of archæological evidence that Jaya (abbreviation of Śrīvijaya) or Caiya was the earlier capital which was displaced later on by Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja. The early Indian colonists, after crossing the Bay of Bengal, appeared to have settled near Kedah. Their onward march was partially impeded by the Malay pirates swarming the straits of Malacca, forcing them to discover some safer land-route to the eastern coast of the Peninsula. According to Dr. Quaritch Wales the Takuapa harbour on the west coast formed a very good anchorage leading to the Bay of Bandon on the east coast.

14 *A Newly Explored Route of Ancient Indian Cultural Expansion.*

15 *Journal of the Greater India Society*, vol. I, pt. II, 1939.

Near Takuapa has been discovered the ancient site of Tung Tuk which was identified by Gerini with the Takkola mart mentioned by Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.). Here the brick work of the vestibule of a temple site has been unearthed where stone sculptures and inscription have been discovered and ascribed to the eighth century A.D. Close by is the Pra No hill from the top of which a four-armed Viṣṇu image over 6 ft. high, with Gupta or Pre-Khmer affinities have been discovered. It is now kept at the National Museum of Bangkok. The ancient Sanskrit name of Giri-Rāṣṭra still survives near Ta Khanon. Another purely Indian settlement is Wieng Sra or the city of the lake. At its centre lay the site San Pra Narai whence three Brahmanical statues were discovered and removed to the National Museum of Bangkok. Here a small sand stone figure of Buddha has been found dating from 6th or 7th century A.D. This Buddha image, only seven inches high, is of the Indian Gupta style. Several statues of Viṣṇu and of Śiva have been discovered in this area, these might have served as models to the makers of the earliest images of the Dieng Plateau, West Java. The male and female figures from opposite the Pra Narai hill, Takuapa, are charming samples of Gupta or Pallava art, proving thereby that successive waves of art and culture reached Indonesia through these Malayan colonies.

To the north of the Bay of Bandon lies the important city of Caiya with many remains of Brahmanical cults later submerged by Mahāyāna Buddhism. Here a small bronze Tārā of Indo-Javanese style has been discovered. The temple of Wat Pra Th'at bears according to Mon. Parmentier, close resemblance to the miniature edifices appearing on the bas-reliefs of Borobudur. Another ruined monument Wat Keu was discovered by Mon. Coedes in 1926. This is a big shrine "Constructed on a plan analogous to that of Candi Kalasan in Java, but of which the architecture recalls closely the cubic art of Champā and the Pre-Khmer art of Cambodia. From Caiya

several Brahmanic sculptures have been discovered which remind us strongly of Indian proto-types. Bronze Mahāyāna figures have also been discovered. The next important site on the east coast is the famous Buddhist city of Nakhon Sī Thammarat. Some of its architectural features remind us of Candi Kalasan of Central Java and the Cham towers of Dong Duong and Mi-Son.

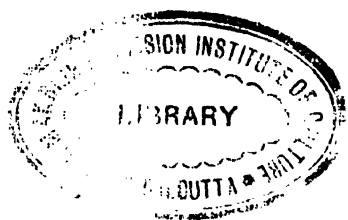
In summing up the results of his investigations Dr. Quaritch Wales observed that there was a strong local tradition in favour of an early migration of the Indians across the route from the West and that colonies of Brahmins of Indian descent survive at Nakhon Sī Th'ammarat and Patalung. Through this country the far off Hindu Colony of Fu-nan (Cambodia) was Indianised by a sage Kauṇḍinya as recorded in *Liang Shu* about the end of the 4th century A.D. The most primitive in style of the Indian colonial temples are to be found near the colony of the Brahmins who traced the arrival of their ancestors from India by an overland route across the Malay Peninsula and not *via* Java or Sumatra. The primitive non-specialised type of Indian colonial architecture gradually influenced the pre-Khmer, Cham and Indo-Javanese architectural types just as the sculptures found in this Trans-Peninsular zone could have served as inspiration to the development of local forms in an Indonesian environment. Indian administrative ideas, ceremonials and the drama also most probably came to influence Siam and Cambodia on the one hand and Java and Bali on the other.

It goes without saying that there were possibly other land-routes and sea-routes in the propagation of Indian culture. It is probable that there were two periods in this cultural migration in the earlier period. There was a slow dissemination from the Bay of Bandon (Pan-Pan), to the then receptive and politically backward states in Fu-nan (Champa) and in western Java which, in the second period, gradually became politically and culturally conscious and creative. Then they were capable of pursuing within their borders the evolu-

tion of their own distinctive art and culture inspired by India. The Pan-Pan of Malay probably collaborated with Java, developing the great Sailendra empire. From the inscriptions we learn that the Sailendras were masters of the northern part of the Malay Peninsula in the 8th century A.D.

They were Mahāyānists arriving fresh from India and looking out boldly for fresh conquests beyond the seas. Thus gaining control over the Malay States they organised their conquests of Java and Sumatra. The few sculptures that have been found near Palembang in Sumatra are almost all of the late Javanese style. On the other hand at Caiya, probably the first capital of Sailendra empire, we have a range of sculptural types beginning with almost purely Indian forms. Scarcity of stone confined the architecture to bricks as was also the case in Champa. From the inscription of the Buddha of Wat Hua Wieng (1183 A.D.) we learn that Caiya was temporarily overrun by their aggressive neighbours the Cambodians and probably that was the reason why the capital was transferred further south to Nakon Sri Th'amarat in 1230 A.D. The great Sailendra empire which included Java in the 9th century was weakened, progressively by the disastrous war with the Colas in the 11th century by the attacks of the Khmers in the 12th and by an unfortunate expedition to Ceylon in the 13th century. It finally collapsed as a result of the simultaneous attacks by the Thai (Siamese) from the North and by the Javanese from the South.

KALIDAS NAG



The Date of the Sanskrit Inscription of Vo-canb (South Annam)

In a recent article in the *Journal of the Greater India Society* entitled the "Date of the earliest Sanskrit Inscription of Campā,"¹ Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar, who is now engaged in the study of the origin and development of classical Sanskrit style,² has proposed to bring down the date of the Vo-canb inscription to the first half of the 4th century which would be, according to him, the earlier limit.

This dating fits in ill with the palæography of the inscription. The previous writers were unanimous in placing the script in "a period which in no way seems to be later than the 3rd century A.D."³

Dr. Sircar is of opinion that palæography had misled these scholars. I have however doubts if this science can be so summarily condemned. Good logic may evidently require us to suppose that ancient forms of the alphabet continued to be used in the Hindu kingdoms of Indo-China and Indonesia several decades and even several centuries after their disappearance in India. But so far as the earlier times are concerned, when the relations between India proper and Further India were active and frequent, it is the contrary which has been noticed. Certain modes of writing and particularly the "box-head" alphabet of the 5th century were diffused with an astonishing rapidity.⁴

1 *JGIS.*, vol. VI, 1939, p. 57 (*Canb* is pronounced *Kaṇ* and not *Chaṇb*, as the author writes).

2 Cf. his article "Inscriptional evidences relating to the development of classical Sanskrit." *IHQ.*, March, 1939, p. 38.

3 These are the exact words of A. Bergaigne, *Inscriptions Sanskrites de Campā et de Cambodge*, p. 192, who adds later (p. 195): "It appears to be almost certain that this inscription is anterior to the 4th century A.D. and it is possible that it goes back to the 2nd century. On the whole, 3rd century may be considered to be approximately the most probable date."

4 A. Bergaigne, *loc. cit.*, pp. 195, 204.

The palæographic evidence of the inscription of Vo-canb may be set aside only by uncontrovertible arguments.

In order to bring down the date of this inscription to a century later than hitherto believed Dr. Sircar relies on the use of Sanskrit and the metre *Vasantatilakā*. In short he is not disposed to admit that a *kāvya* could be engraved on stone in Indo-China before the 4th century A.D.

That the inscription of Vo-canb may be palæographically either contemporary or later than the Gīrnār inscription of Rudradāman, which in Indian epigraphy marks the victory of Sanskrit over Prakrit, already occurred to A. Bergaigne.⁵ "If we believe, he says, as we ought to do, that the relations with the motherland were frequent, there is no reason why Sanskrit should come into use in the epigraphic monuments much later than in India proper."

It may be added that the circumstances which might have retarded the general use of Sanskrit in Indian epigraphy did not exist in Indo-China where there was no long Prakrit tradition as in India. It is a noteworthy fact that in the linguistic Indianisation of Indo-China neither the Prakrits nor the vernacular languages did play any part. Excepting certain rare uses most of the borrowed words are Sanskrit.

But still it would be surprising if Sanskrit was found in Indo-China before its earliest occurrence in Indian epigraphy. The inscription of Rudradāman is of about 150 A.D. So A. Bergaigne was extremely wise in suggesting that the Vo-canb inscription might go back to the end of the century. But recently new documents have been published by Prof. H. Lüders⁶ which attest the use of Sanskrit and even of the *kāvya* style proper since the 1st century A.D. in inscriptions discovered in the region of Mathurā. Amongst these

⁵ *Loc. cit.* p. 195.

⁶ *Seven Brāhmī Inscriptions from Mathura and its Vicinity*, pl. XXIV, January 1938, pp. 194-209.

inscriptions in Brāhmī script, it may be noted, there is one Sanskrit text written in the metre *Bhujāṅgaviṣṭmḥita* which belongs to the reign of Śoḍāsa. "The occurrence of this stanza, says Prof. H. Lüders, is of considerable interest for the history of Sanskrit literature. The metre *Bhujāṅgaviṣṭmḥita* is found also in Kumāralāta's *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, but our inscription is about 200 years earlier than that work, and if a most artificial metre such as *Bhujāṅgaviṣṭmḥita* is used here for a Sanskrit stanza, it is proved that the Sanskrit Kāvya poetry was fully developed in the 1st century A.D.". After this perhaps it would be less difficult for Dr. Sircar to admit that the verses in *Vasantatilakā* could have been engraved on the Vo-canb rock in the 3rd or even earlier, in the 2nd century.

It would be certainly easier to convince him of the great antiquity of this inscription if we could find out some Chinese synchronism for the king of the line of Śrī Māra at whose order the inscription was composed. There is perhaps one such synchronism that has so far been ignored by the historians probably because they have so long directed their investigations in Chinese texts relating to Campā only, being under the impression that the Vo-canb inscription was of Cham origin. Thus M. G. Maspero⁷ for purely chronological reasons has identified Śrī Māra with K'iu Lien who, according to the *Tsin Shu*, had founded in 192 A.D. the kingdom which later on came to be known as Lin-yi, that is the Cham kingdom. On his part M. S. Sugimoto⁸ has taken great pains to explain that the two variants K'iu Ta and K'iu K'oueï given respectively by *Leang Shu* and the *Shuei King Tchu* are translations of the name Māra or "the Evil One."

But already in 1927 M. Finot had expressed his doubts on the Cham origin of the Vo-canb inscription and formulated the hypothesis that the Hindu settlement of South Annam that has left

7 *Le Royaume de Champa*, Paris 1928, p. 51.

8 *Mélanges Kuwahara*, Kyoto, 1931, p. 213.

the inscription of Vo-canb (200 A.D.) was a small vassal kingdom of Fou-nan and older than the foundation of the kingdom of Campā in this region.⁹

I am tempted to go further than my late lamented teacher and to identify Śrī Māra with the king of Fou-nan called Fan-She-man who according to the Chinese Annals ruled over Fou-nan in the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century A.D.¹⁰ But although *She* accords well with *Śrī*, *man* is not correctly speaking a regular transcription of Māra. But this does not seem to be impossible as the use of a Chinese character with nasalised final syllable for the transcription of an open syllable followed by a syllable with initial *l* is as common as the elision of a character in the transcription. *She-man* seems to be either an abbreviation or a possible alteration of *She man lo* < Śrī Māra. As regards *Fan* it is well known that it is an equivalent of the termination of royal names with *varman*, interpreted by the Chinese as the name of family.

The great expansion of the kingdom of Fou-nan during the reign of Fan-She-man is attested by the texts. Thus M. Pelliot¹¹ writes: "Fan She-man was the principal artisan of the greatness of Fou-nan. He brought under submission the neighbouring kingdoms which were recognised as his vassals." There is therefore nothing unusual in discovering in a valley of South Annam an inscription emanating from one of his descendants. They were however few and the dynasty which Fan She-man had founded was of short duration. Upon his death his son Fan Kin-Sheng was deposed from the throne and was put to death by his cousin Fan Tchan who was the son of the elder sister of Fan She-man. Fan Tchan was the

9 *JA.*, CCX, 1927, p. 186.

10 P. Pelliot, 'Le Fou-nan', *BEFEO.*, III, pp. 257, 265, 291. The author places the death of Fan She-man about 205-210 A.D.

11 *Māra* is *Man* in T'ai, but the change of *r* into *n* in T'ai is a phonetic phenomenon quite peculiar to these languages and cannot be used as an argument in this case.

first king of Fou-nan to have entered into an official relation with an Indian king, that of the Muruṇḍas. He was also dethroned and assassinated by his cousin Fan Tch'ang the younger son of Fan She-man, who was the last prince of the dynasty.¹²

These successors of Fan She-man reigned in the 2nd and the 3rd decade of the 3rd century A.D.¹³

If my identification of Fan She-man with Śrī Māra is correct the inscription of Vo-canb emanated from a prince who cannot be placed later than 230 A.D.

This date which is in perfect accord with palæographical data is later respectively by '80 and 200 (about) years than the inscriptions of Rudradāman at Girnār and Śoḍāsa at Mathurā which are the most ancient specimens of Kāvya in Indian epigraphy. This interval is quite enough to explain the occurrence of similar literature in Indo-China.

GEORGE CÉDÈS

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 291

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

The oldest Representation of the Śākta Cult in Bengal Art

In his recently published work entitled *Excavations at Paharpur, Bengal*,¹ Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, while describing the terra-cottas of the main shrine, writes as follows: "Another plaque shows a man seated on a cushion, holding the top-knot of his head with the left hand and a sword in the right across his own neck as if in the act of striking. This may possibly refer to the life of Buddha himself when he cut off his long hair with his sword just before he turned a recluse."

In the absence of further references, it is not possible to trace this remarkable sculpture which is not illustrated in the volume under notice. Its significance, however, can be understood from the clear description given above.

Representations of the Buddha's cutting off his hair, preparatory to his renunciation, are by no means unknown to the Eastern school of sculpture to which category the series of terra-cottas at Paharpur belongs at least in part. This scene, for example, is represented in two *stêlae* hailing from a village in Jessore and from an unknown site in Behar, which have been described and reproduced by the late Mr. R. D. Banerjee.² But neither in these nor any other known specimens the Buddha is figured as holding his sword "across his own neck as if in the act of striking."

The clue to the correct interpretation of the Paharpur plaque is to be found in a series of four Pallava and Early Cola sculptures which were first identified by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel in a paper published in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*.³ In these sculp-

1 *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*. No. 55, p. 67.

2 *Eastern Indian school of Mediaeval Sculpture*, pp. 46, 57, and Pls. XIX, b, and c.

3 *The Head-offering to the Goddess in Pallava Sculpture*, BSOS, VI, pp. 539-543, with four plates.

tures which are found in the Draupadi *ratha* and the Varāha Cave at Mamallapuram, the Lower Cave at Trichinopoli and the temple at Pullamaṅgai (10 miles to the south of Tanjore), we have the identical *motif* of a pair of male figures kneeling by the side of a four-armed goddess who can be easily identified as Durgā or Mahiṣamardini. Dr. Vogel, after a minute examination of the sculptures in question, concludes that in each of the above examples the person kneeling to the proper right of the goddess is shown in the act of offering his own head to the deity.

The description of the kneeling figures by Dr. Vogel in the above examples tallies in all essentials with that of the seated figure of the Paharpur terra-cotta, to which Mr. Dikshit refers. In the two clear specimens, those from Trichinopoli and Pullamaṅgai, the personage seizes the tuft of his hair by the left hand while applying the sword held in his right hand to his neck. The difference viz., the absence of the goddess and the seated posture, is probably due to the fact that the Paharpur plaque was held to be not a cult-object, but a decorative design.⁴

A terra-cotta panel now deposited in the Mathura Museum enables us to trace the extension of this striking *motif* further afield in the region of the Upper Ganges valley as far back as the Gupta period. It "shows a bearded monk with emaciated ribs detaching his own head with a sword which has half entered his throat."⁵ In this specimen the monk is shown as kneeling with the right hand grasping the sword and the left holding the tuft of hair

4 For the illustrations of the two specimens see Dr. Vogel's article cited above. A very similar motif (without the goddess) occurs in an old South Indian sculpture preserved in the Madras Government Museum. It is described as "showing a man holding his head by its hair with his left hand while he severs it from his body by means of a sword in his right" (F. H. Gravely, C. Sivaramamurti and other curators, *Guide to the Archaeological Galleries*, Madras Government Museum, Madras 1939).

5 V. S. Agrawala, *Handbook of Archaeology*, Muttra, 1939, p. 51, and figure 39.

exactly as in the South Indian examples quoted above. As Mr. Agrawala kindly informs me, the terra-cotta was discovered from the bed of the Jumna at Muttra in 1938. Mr. Agrawala assigns it on grounds of style to the Gupta period.

The offering of his own head by the devotee is not unknown to our ancient religious literature. An early instance is found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Uttarakāṇḍa chaps. ix-x) in connection with the story of Rāvaṇa's austerities for matching the greatness of his half-brother Vaiśravaṇa (Kubera). How Rāvaṇa propitiated Lord Brahmā is told in the following lines:—

दशवर्षसहस्राणि निराहारो दशाननः ।
 पूर्णं वर्षसहस्रे तु शिरश्चाम्नां जुहाव सः ॥
 एवं वर्षसहस्राणि नव तस्यातिचक्रमुः ।
 शिरांसि नव चाप्यस्य प्रविष्टानि हुताशनम् ॥
 अथ वर्षसहस्रे तु दशमे दशमं शिरः ।
 छेत्तुकामे दशग्रावे प्राप्तस्तत्र पितामहः ॥

The above instance is only an isolated one. It is quite otherwise with the literature of the Śāktas, where we find repeated sanctions for ritual-offering of his own blood by the devotee in honour of the goddess. In the *Devi-māhātmya* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, we are told how the king Suratha and the Vaiśya Samādhi, after hearing the story of the *Devi's māhātmya*, propitiated the image of the deity by various offerings and ended by making her an offering soaked with blood from their own bodies. The *Devi* being propitiated appeared before them and granted them their desires:—

तां तस्मिन् पुलिने देव्याः कृत्वा मूर्तिं महीमयीम् ।
 अर्हणां चक्रतुस्तस्याः पुष्पधूपाम्रितर्पणैः ।
 निराहारं यताहारं तन्मनःक्रौं समाहितौ
 ददतुस्तौ वलित्थं व निजगतासृगुक्षितम् ।
 एवं समाराधयतोऽस्त्रिभिर्वर्षैर्यतात्मनोः ।
 परितुष्टा जगद्धात्री प्रत्यक्षं प्राह चरिडका ।

देव्युवाच

यत् प्रार्थ्यते त्वया भूप त्वया च कुलनन्दन ।

स्तत्तत् प्राप्यतां सर्वं परितुष्टा ददामि तत्⁷ ।

The *Kālikā Purāṇa* has the following verses in praise of the practice of blood-offering from his own body by the devotee :

शार्दूलश्च नगश्चैव खगाव-रुधिरं तथा ।

चण्डिकाभैरवादीनां बलयः परिकीर्तिताः ॥

...
मिहस्य शरभस्याथ खगावम्य च शोणितैः ।

देवी तृप्तिमवाप्नोति सहस्रं परिवत्सरां⁸ ॥

With these may be quoted the verses from the same work sanctioning the offering of flesh by the devotee :—

यः स्वहृदयमञ्जानमंसं माषप्रमाणतः ।

तिलमुद्ग-प्रमाणाद्वा देव्यं दद्यात् भक्तिनः ।

पगमासाभ्यन्तरे तस्मात् काममिष्टमवाप्नुयात् ॥

...
येनात्ममंसं सत्येन ददामीश्वरि भूतये ।

निर्वाणं तेन सत्येन देहि हं नमो नमः ।

इत्यनेन तु मन्त्रेण स्वमंसं वितरेद्बुधः⁹ ॥

The *Tantrasāra*, perhaps the most popular Tāntric nibandha work in Bengal, actually quotes rules relating to the offering of one's own blood before the goddess and the blessings supposed to follow from this act :

खगावरुधिरदाने तु

...
ऋगठाथो नाघितश्चोद्धृ हृद्भागस्य यतस्ततः ।

पार्श्वयोश्चापि रुधिरं दुर्गायै विनिवेदयेत् ॥

फलन्तु कुमारीतन्त्रे

...
खगावरुधिरं दत्त्वा नत्वा राजत्वमाप्नुयात् ॥

यः स्वहृदयसञ्जानं मांसं माष-प्रमाणतः ।

तिल-मुद्ग-प्रमाणं वा दद्याद्भक्तियुतो नरः ।

पगमासाभ्यन्तरे तस्य काममिष्टमवाप्नुयात्¹⁰ ॥

7 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, XCIII, 7-11. 8 *Kālikā Purāṇa*, LXVII, 5 and 12.

9 *Ibid*, LXVII, 172 and 184-185.

10 *Tantrasāra*, pp. 933-34, Bangabāsi ed. Calcutta, 1334 B.S.

In the late Tāntric nibandha work from Bengal, called *Prāṇatoṣaṇī* written (as we learn from the preamble) by Rāmatoṣaṇa Vidyālaṅkāra in 1743 Śaka (1821 A.D.), we have a quotation from the Matsya-sūkta of *Mahātāntra*. Here we have a comparative list of the merits of different kinds of blood-offerings before the Devī including that of his own blood by the devotee.¹¹ It is a matter of common knowledge that the rule of offering blood nearest the heart before the goddess is very much observed by pious Hindu ladies of Bengal down to our own times.

The offering of one's own blood before the goddess was not approved as a general rule by all the authorities of the Śākta cult. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* forbids a Brāhmaṇa to offer his own blood along with other animals in the passage mentioned below:

सिंहं व्याघ्रं नरञ्चापि स्वगावरुधिरन्तथा
न दद्याद् ब्राह्मणो मयं महादेव्यै कदाचन ।

... ..

स्वगावरुधिरं दद्याच्चात्मवधमवाप्नुयात्¹² ।

To the same effect runs a text quoted in the *Tantrasāra*:—

मयं दत्त्वा महादेव्यै ब्राह्मणो नरकं व्रजेत्
स्वगावरुधिरं दत्त्वा आत्महत्यामवाप्नुयात्¹³ ।

On the other hand the *Haratattvadibhūti*^{13a} while quoting similar inhibitory texts from the *Gāyātritantra*, reproduces and explains away a text of the *Yoginītantra* expressly enjoining a Brāhmaṇa to offer his own blood to the Devī:—

यन्मु एव विप्रो देवतायै स्वगावरुधिरं ददेदिति योगिनीतन्त्रपट्टलवचनं तन्नाशान्धिकारि-
परम् । पृथैवचने स्वगावरुधिरदानस्य मद्यनुन्यनिन्दाश्रवणात् ।

It is interesting to observe that the conflict of authorities is reflected in the literature of folk-lore which as might be expected contains a number of references to such a peculiar rite as the head-offering ceremony. In Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* (11th century)

11. *Prāṇatoṣaṇī*, Basumatī edition, Calcutta, p. 285.

12. *Kālikā Purāṇa*, LXVII, 50 and 52.

13. *Tantrasāra*, p. 934.

13a. *Haratattvadibhūti*, p. 329 Calcutta ed., 1907.

we have in two slightly different versions (LIII, 86-193 and LXXV, 5-120) the story of the Brāhmaṇa Viravara who to save his royal master from his impending doom actually or nearly cut off his own head as an offering to the goddess Caṇḍikā, when the deity struck by this extraordinary act of devotion granted all his desires. In the other versions of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, such as those of Śivadāsa, Kṣemendra (in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*), and of Jambhaladatta, Viravara is more properly described as a rājaputra and kṣatriya.¹⁴ The *Hitopadeśa* (III, 8), which also gives the story of Viravara, similarly characterises the same as a rājaputra.

Apart from these references, we have mention of head-offering before the goddess as a familiar *motif* in some other well-known tales of Sanskrit literature. Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* (LXXX, 4-51), Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* (IX, 405-415) as well as Śivadāsa's version of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* contains the story of the washerman Dhavala and his brother-in-law (or friend) who cut off their own heads for presentation to the goddess Gaurī in a fit of excessive devotion. When the grief-stricken wife of Dhavala prepared to follow suit, the goddess restored the dead persons to life. The same story is told in Jambhaladatta's version of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* with this difference that Dhavala there figures as a prince and is said to have won his bride by similarly offering to cut off his own head so as to propitiate the goddess.¹⁵ Above all, the *Dvātriṃśatputtalikā* has a number of stories of King Vikramāditya the paragon of royalty who performs the same extraordinary act of sacrifice. In most of these stories (Nos. II, VII, VIII, XXVIII) the king interceding in favour of some suffering mortal prepares to strike at his own neck with his sword and thus successfully propitiates the goddess Ambikā or Bhuvaneśvarī or an un-named deity said to be fond of human

14 M. B. Emeneau, *Jambhaladatta's version of the Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, American Oriental Series, Vol. IV, p. 43.

15 M. B. Emeneau, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-63, and notes.

flesh. Only in one story (XXVII) the act of devotion is performed before a Bhairava or attendant of Śiva.¹⁶

The classical Tamil literature also refers to this dread rite which was known as *talai-bali*. Thus in the newly published work, the *Silappadikāram*, translated by Mr. V. R. Ramacandra Diksitar (Oxford University Press 1939)¹⁷ we are told of warriors who 'cut off their dark-haired heads containing such fierce red eyes as seemed to burn those upon whom they looked and willingly offered them upon the sacrificial altar (of the guardian deity) with the prayer that the conquering king might be ever victorious.'

The popularity of the head-offering motif is shown by the fact that it finds mention not only in ancient Sanskrit and Tamil but also in modern vernacular literature of folk-tales. We have thus the pathetic story of Hamir the valiant Cauhan chieftain of Ranthambhor who had the audacity to defy the mighty Alauddin Khalji Sultan of Delhi and at last ended his life by cutting off his own head as an offering to the God Rudra. This story is told in four Hindi poems of the first half of the 19th century and is illustrated by at least three series of paintings of Kangra school belonging to that period.¹⁸

It thus appears that the religious rite of head-offering had an extensive vogue in Indian art and literature going back at least to Gupta times. Its motives are various, involving persuasion by the devotee to confer material favours upon himself or upon others. It is most often associated with the Śākta cult, though some examples of its connection with the cult of Śiva and other deities also occur. Examples of devotees cutting their necks in the famous centre of

16 Franklin Edgerton, *Vikrama's Adventures, the Thirty-two tales of the Throne*, Part I, trans. pp. 50, 52, 94, 215, 220.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 113, and the author's note, p. 113, n.

18 Hirananda Sastri, 'The Hamir-Hath,' *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, October, 1915, pp. 35-40. I owe this reference to Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee of the Calcutta University.

Śākta cult in Bengal, the temple of Kālī at Kālighat, occurred as late as 1855.¹⁹ The religious literature of the Śāktas though it does not directly sanction this rite at least encourages the same by recognising offering of one's own blood to the goddess as an act of merit. From this point of view our present plaque possesses a unique historical significance. If our argument is accepted as correct, the Paharpur plaque would be the oldest known representation of the Śākta cult in Bengal. Of its date we can speak only in very general terms. It has been shown in recent times²⁰ that the Paharpur sculptures belong to three distinct chronological groups of which the first and second may be assigned to the Gupta tradition of Eastern India in the 7th century and the third to the indigenous tradition in the century following. The Paharpur terracotta, to which category our present specimen belongs, may be assigned to this later chronological stratum.

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19 See the article in the Bengali monthly magazine, *Bhāratavarṣa*, Śrāvaṇ, 1347, quoting two letters dated 17.6.1854 and 21.1.1855, deposited in the Imperial Records Office, Delhi.


20 S. K. Sarasvati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal* in *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, Vol. XXX, pp 40-41.

Devices on some Tribal Coins

The symbols appearing on the Tribal coins of India have not been so far satisfactorily explained; the explanations that have been given by scholars are mostly conjectural. We may instance the different interpretations of the female figure bathed by two elephants on the Kosam coins and on some foreign ones. Except on the issues of the Kushan rulers Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva, no attempt has been made to indicate the identity of the figures appearing on them. Our difficulties are enhanced in the case of symbolic devices and theriomorphic figures.

An obvious line of approach to the problem of identification of the symbols is to trace in them the rites, practices and beliefs of the people for whose use these coins were current. Sometimes it may also be possible to refer to the monumental representations of figures or devices closely resembling those appearing on the coins. On the other hand any attempt to explain symbols with the help of texts of a later date, dealing with the rites and practices of people removed by centuries from the period of the coins, would be open to the most serious objection.

With regard to the significance of the symbols appearing on the punch-marked coins, although Allan regards them as having no religious significance, either Buddhist or Hindu. Walsh has shown that some at least viz. the bull and the trident, of the symbols appearing on the older class of the punch-marked coins, are certainly Śaivite in character. In the case of many of the symbols (*rūpas*) appearing on the tribal coins we shall be similarly justified in recognising their religious character. As regards the significance of the individual figures especially theriomorphic ones, it may be noted that one and the same explanation would not necessarily hold good for all

periods and localities. Thus, for example, a bull shown within a shrine or inside an enclosure may probably represent or symbolise a deity (most likely Śiva) in his theriomorphic form; but the same bull shown standing before a *Yūpa* or sacrificial post should necessarily be taken as the animal ready for sacrifice. We can refer to the symbol  and its variants which were differently described by earlier numismatists as a *Caitya* or a *Stūpa* (Cunningham) and very rarely as a particular mountain or hill (Bhagwanlal—*Sumera*) and now almost unanimously identified as a mountain (Coomaraswamy identifies it as typifying Śiva, described as a three-peaked hill with crescent at the top, *O.Z.*, 1927; this interpretation is challenged by C.C. Dasgupta in *JAOS.*, 1934). The late Mr. Jayaswal sometimes interpreted it as a partially pictographic manner of writing the name of the Maurya emperor Candragupta. But the symbol admits of different explanations in different settings. A glance at plate II of Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient India* (Taxila single-die coins) would enable us to test our hypothesis; coin no. 6 bears this particular symbol with an upright post to the left, which is described by Cunningham as a monolith standing beside the *Caitya*; single-die coins no. 9 and 11 show it flanked on the right by a peculiar device which consists of a pyramidal arrangement of nine balls (wrongly described by Cunningham as 'Pile of bales') and having a zigzag line below; on no. 14, a human figure stands just in front of the shrine with its right hand upraised and left hand on hip (a very characteristic attitude in early anthropomorphic representations of deities) and on the left field is the pile of balls; on no. 17 (inscribed with the name of *Vatasvaka* in early Brāhmī script on the left field), the symbol in question is super-posed on the so-called pile of balls and the human figure in that characteristic attitude stands on a taurine placed sideways. If we assume any close relationship among the individual symbols in the different arrangements noted above, we may throw out the suggestion that the main three-arched

crescent-topped device should be taken to stand for some sort of a shrine while the human figure, the pile of balls and the curved line below should be taken to stand for either the presiding deity of the local shrine or his votary, the mountain and river respectively. In some cases, the first device is flanked by a tree within railing and we shall not be far wrong if we find here the representation of the *sthala-urkṣa*, so frequently associated with Indian shrines (it should not necessarily be always identified and described as a Bodhi-tree, as Cunningham does). Yet there cannot be any doubt as regards the hill significance of the numerous other representations of this three-arched symbol on other coins, e.g. those of Besnagar, and those issued by the Śātavāhanas.

On some of the oldest types of the Yaudheya coins, we find a bull standing facing an upright slender pillar like object with a perceptible rounded curve at the top, placed on a basement (railing). A similar device is also to be found on some Ārjunāyana coins. Smith in his *Indian Museum Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 166 (Ārjunāyana, no. 2) describes the obverse of the coin as a railing with a curved object rising from it (he omits to note that the bull is in front of it which is distinctly to be seen in the Plate XX, 10, of his book). Allan in his *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 121, (Ārjunāyana, var. B. No. 2) describes the same device on the similar type of coins as 'Bull r. before liṅgam.'¹ In the case of an exactly similar type of Yaudheya coins, V. A. Smith describes the obverse type as 'Bull standing r., facing a railing with curved object ('pillar with pendent garlands'—Cunningham) rising from it,'² Allan remarks about the same type 'The obverse type is a bull before \triangle , a sacrificial post? (*Yūpa*) in

1 The side designated by Smith as the obverse is mentioned as the reverse by Allan; but the other side according to V. A. Smith contains an elephant before a tree, while according to Allan it is a bull before a tree; the latter description is doubtful.

2 *IMC.*, vol. I, p. 180, pl. xxi, nos. 1, 13, 14 etc.

a railing.....The type is probably the same as that of the coins of the Ārjunāyanas who are regularly associated with the Yaudheyas in literature.³ With regard to the Ārjunāyana type Allan remarks in the introduction of his book (p. lxxxii) that 'the reverse type is certainly a bull before a liṅgam, as in var. a.' So, we see, that Allan is not definite about his explanation of this device. It seems that his suggestion that the object before the bull is a sacrificial post is perfectly supportable and the bull 'before liṅgam' explanation is unsupportable. The bull is the sacrificial bull and the symbol before it is the *Yūpa*. We cannot fail to recognise the latter in the Aśva-medha type coins of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I, in which pennons are attached to it and in front of it the horse stands. A part of this symbol in these early coins of the Yaudheyas and Ārjunāyanas may also stand for pennons or streamers to which some times auspicious symbols are attached. The discovery of stone *Yūpas*, containing the inscriptions of some early Maukharī rulers, by Altekar (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXIII, p. 42 ff. and plate) leave very little doubt that the coin device represents an identical object, as we find the same curvature at the top in both the cases. The stone *Yūpa*, containing the inscription of the Kushan king Vasīshka (year 28), also bears a family likeness to the *Yūpas* noticed above. Reference can also be made to the Vijaygadh stone pillar, the dated inscription on which describes it as a *Yūpa* erected by Vārika Viṣṇu-vardhana, in probability a feudatory of Samudragupta. The extreme top of the pillar is broken, but it has a metal spike projecting from it (Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 252 ff.). There are several references in literary and epigraphic records with regard to the erection of *Yūpas* by persons of importance to commemorate the celebration of different sacrifices offered by them. We may go a step further and suggest the

3 *CAL.*, pl. cxlvii-cxlviii. 267-270; pl. xxxix, 11-19; sometimes, the symbol before the bull is reversed.

probability of finding in this device on early coins a laconic representation of the *Śulagava* sacrifice, so elaborately described in the *Āśvalāyana Gr̥hyasūtra*, IV, 8. In sūtra 14 (or 15 acc. to the translator in SBE., Series) we are told :

वैद्यं चरित्वन्तं ब्रह्माणमुपवेश्य, सपलाशामार्द्रशाखाम्
यूपं निखाय व्रतत्यां कुशरज्जु वा रशने अन्यतरया यूपं
परिवीयान्यतरयार्द्धशिरमि पशुं बद्धा यूपे रशनाया वा
नियुनक्ति 'यस्मै नमस्तस्मै त्वा जुष्टं' नियुनज्मीति' ॥

This passage has been translated by Oldenberg thus :—

'Having caused a Brāhmaṇa who is versed in learning and knows the practice (of this sacrifice) to sit down, having driven a fresh branch with leaves into the ground as a sacrificial post, (having taken) two creeping plants or two Kuśa ropes as two girdles, and having wound the one round the sacrificial post, and tied the other round the middle of the animal's head he binds it to the sacrificial post or to the girdle (which he had tied to that post) with (the formula), 'Agreeable to him to whom adoration (is brought), I bind thee.' It may be noticed that the implanted branch of the tree serves the purpose of the *Yūpa* and we also find in the *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra* (vi) a full description of how the selection of the suitable branch is to be made. But in later times, the *Yūpas* were apparently made of stone, as indicated by extant examples. In the device "Bull before a tree within railing," one of the commonest symbols in the indigenous tribal coins, we are tempted to find a hidden reference to the *Śulagava* ceremony. It is not difficult to see why this particular rite should be adopted as a device on coins. Like the figure of Lakṣmi recognisable on so many indigenous coins, (which was also borrowed by some foreign rulers like Rajuvula and Azilises), it had some special reason for being reproduced on coins. The same *Gr̥hyasūtra* informs us (iv. 8, 36); य एष शूलगवो धन्यो-लोक्यः पुण्यः पुत्रः पशव्य आयुष्यो यशस्यः i.e. 'This spit-ox sacrifice procures wealth, (open) space, purity, sons, cattle, long life, splendour'. The

Yaudheyas had certainly special reason to associate their early coins with this particular rite. In these types of coins the name of the tribe is accompanied by an epithet which is correctly read by Rapson and Jayaswal as *Babudhāñake* (*Babudhānyaka*). The *Mahābhārata* (Sahbāparva, 35, 5—Bombay edition) while referring to Nakula's conquest in the west says :

ततो बहुधनं रम्यं गवाय धनधान्यवत् ।

कांतिकेयस्य दयितं रोहितकुमुपाद्रवत् ॥

तत्र युद्धं महात्वासीत् सुरैर्मतमायूरकैः ।

मरुभूमिं सकातस्तेन तथैव बहुधान्यकम् ॥

Babudhānyaka came to denote a Sanskrit geographical term which was based on the enormous wealth and prosperity of the Yaudheyas.⁴

JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA

4 Dr. Birbal Sahni has discovered a large number of seals and seal impressions at Rhotak, the Rohitaka of the *Mahābhārata*, which were elaborately noticed by late Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, in the *Journal of the Bihar Orissā Research Society*.

COINS OF SĀTAVĀHANA KINGS



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11

1 (Gautamiputra) Sātakarṇi (III); 2 (Vāsīṣṭhiputra) Puṣumāvi (II); 3 Sātakarṇi (IV); 4 Śiva-śrī-Puṣumāvi (III); 5 Skanda Sātakarṇi; 6 Yajña Sātakarṇi; 7 Vijaya Sātakarṇi; 8 Kumbha Sātakarṇi; 9 Karṇa Sātakarṇi; 10 Śaka Sātakarṇi; 11 Puṣa-hāmavi (Puṣumāvi IV).

A large Hoard of Sātavāhana Coins

A large hoard of Sātavāhana coins numbering more than 1500 has been discovered recently at Tarhālā, a village about 7 miles north by west of Mangrul, the chief town of the Mangrul *tāluka* in the Akola District of Berar. The coins were sent to the Nagpur Museum in October 1939. They have been thoroughly cleaned by the Coin Expert of the Museum, Mr. M. A. Suboor, who kindly placed them at my disposal for publication.

The coins are of several kings of the Sātavāhana dynasty. They are struck in an alloy of copper, tin and lead to which numismatists have given the name of potin. All of them have the figure of an elephant with the trunk upraised and the name of the reigning king in Prakrit and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. This is the second hoard of Sātavāhana coins to be discovered in the Central Provinces and Berar. The first one was found more than fifty years ago, in 1888, at a village in the Brahmapurī *tabasil* of the Chāndā District and is known to numismatists as the Chāndā hoard. The coins of that hoard which numbered only 183, were sent to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, where they were examined by Dr. Hoernle. His report on them is published in the *Proceedings* of the Society for 1893, pp. 116-17. He found therein the coins of four kings, viz., Sātakarṇi, Puṣumāvi, Yajña Sātakarṇi and Kaṇu (Karṇa?) Sātakarṇi. He also noticed imperfect legends of three other kings whom he could not identify. The present hoard, which is much larger—perhaps the largest hoard of Sātavāhana coins discovered so far—is very important, as it contains the coins of several other kings and affords numerous specimens for study and identification.

This hoard contains the coins of the following kings, viz., Sātakarṇi, Puṣumāvi, Śivaśrī-Puṣumāvi, Skanda Sātakarṇi, Yajña

Sātakarṇi, Vijaya Sātakarṇi, Kumbha Sātakarṇi, Karṇa Sātakarṇi and Śaka Sātakarṇi. The legends on these coins contain the name of the reigning king with the title rājan in the genitive case prefixed to it such as *Raṇo Siri-Sātakanisa*. As in the case of the Chāṇḍā coins, metronymics are altogether absent on these coins.

The first of the kings named above is plainly identical with Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi III who is known from the inscriptions at Nāsik and Kārle. Some of the coins exhibit the royal name as Sātakani with the dental *n* and that too with a curved base. These coins may, therefore, have been issued by another Sātakarṇi, perhaps Sātakarṇi IV (No. 24a in Pargiter's list).¹

In the Chāṇḍā hoard there was no coin which clearly exhibited the name of Śiva-Śrī-Puṣumāvi. Rapson was therefore doubtful if this king was represented at all in that hoard.² The name of Śiva-Śrī-Puṣumāvi was not known from any other coins. Recently Mr. M. F. C. Martin has stated that among the coins which he purchased from Mr. P. Thorburn, there is one from the Chāṇḍā hoard which has the legend *Śiva-Srī-Puṣumā [visa]* quite clear.³ The present hoard has as many as 32 coins of Śiva-Śrī-Puṣumāvi, on which the royal name is unmistakable.

Skanda Sātakarṇi is mentioned in the Purāṇas as the son and successor of Śiva-Śrī-Puṣumāvi. His coins were found in the Chāṇḍā hoard, but his name was wrongly read as *Ruḍa* by Rapson⁴ and *Caḍa* by Vincent Smith.⁵ The present hoard has more than twenty coins on which the name *Khada Sātakanī* (Sanskrit, *Skanda Sātakarṇi*) can be clearly read.

Yajña Sātakarṇi is of course the same as Gautamīputra Yajña-Śrī-Sātakarṇi known from inscriptions and coins. The coins of his

¹ *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 36.

² *IRAS.*, 1903, p. 306.

³ *JASB.*, 1934, Numismatic Supplement, Art. 318.

⁴ *Coins of the Andhras* etc., p. 46, Pl. VII, 179.

⁵ V. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, p. 213, and Pl. XXIII, 24 (? 22).

son and successor, Vijaya, have not been reported before. In the Chāndā hoard, Hoernle found two coins with the fragmentary legend -jño Va or rājno Va.⁶ They also probably belonged to this very king.

The names of Kumbha Sātakarṇi, Karṇa (Prakrit, *Kaṇa*) Sātakarṇi and Śaka Sātakarṇi do not occur even in the Purāṇas and are not known from any other source, inscriptional or numismatic. It is now plain that certain Chāndā coins which Rapson ascribed to Kaṇha or Kṛṣṇa Sātakarṇi,⁷ belong really to Karṇa Sātakarṇi.

Finally, some coins in the present hoard have the legend —*Puḷahāmaviṣa*. This king Puḷahāmavi seems to be different from both Puḷumāvi and Śiva-Śrī-Puḷumāvi. He is perhaps identical with the last Puḷumāvi with whom, according to the Purāṇas,⁸ the Āndhra dynasty came to an end.

V. V. MIRASHI

⁶ *IASB.*, 1893, p. 117.

⁷ See his *Coins of the Āndhras* etc., p. 48; *IRAS.*, 1903, p. 306.

⁸ *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 43.

Symbols in Early Indian Jewellery

Jewellery is worn to adorn human body, and tastefulness forms the key-note in jewellery designs. Not unoften, however, such designs are met with in jewellery forms which neither convey any pleasing note nor display any artistic quality. In case of some of these, however, which are mostly stereotyped objects, a tendency towards making them adaptable in ornaments by characteristics such as polish, inlaying etc. is evident, but instances are not rare where ornaments are found to be grossly wanting in any such quality.

In the history of jewellery forms these designs have got a place of their own. They are traced in ornaments, almost all over the world from a very early age. The Cross in the west-Asiatic and European countries is a specific example of such use, and in India a number of such others can be traced. Most of these designs are associated with some common belief, magic or religious ideas and many have got deeply significant meanings.

Human belief in magic symbols contained in geometric or other designs is a very old one. In course of time probably, these designs came to be incorporated in portable charms and amulets so that the portents in them could be easily carried on persons. This gave rise to their coming into jewellery and forming parts of it.

In India such mysterious symbols are found to have been worn as jewellery from as early as the chalcolithic age. It is difficult to afford explanation for each and every symbolic design found in early Indian jewellery but a pursuit of the forms in themselves is an interesting one.

Symbols found in jewellery of the chalcolithic age are few and far between. Nothing being known about the religion of the chalcolithic people in India it is extremely difficult to associate any of the symbols found in chalcolithic sites with the popular belief.

But there are some symbols whose connection with some other well-known symbols found in other parts of the world can be easily established.

Jewellery of the chalcolithic age comes mainly from the excavated sites of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Of the symbols met with on these jewellery the most noteworthy are (i) a Maltese cross occurring on the bezel of a silver ring,¹ (ii) a heart shaped object made of gold and inlaid with faience² and (iii) two linear designs found on two ends of a band of gold.³ The ring and the band hail from Mohenjo-daro, while the heart-shaped object was traced in a hoard containing various other jewellery in Harappa.

The Maltese cross is extensively met with in the Mediterranean countries and was also widely used in the early Indian cast and punch-marked coins. The purpose of its occurring on the bezel of the ring is not clear. It is known that in ancient world designs on rings were widely used for the purpose of putting impressions on documents, but the cross, which was nevertheless a very common design, could not probably serve such a purpose and might have been used as a charm. The heart, hailing from Harappa is a neat little thing and might have in all probability served the purpose of a pendant in a string. The heart symbol was widely used in Mohenjo-daro as a decorative motif. The heart is one of the earliest symbols invented by man and its association with the common belief as a symbol of life comes down probably from the earliest days of human existence. In Mohenjo-daro it is seen to occur on animals represented on the seals evidently to mean life as was used by the cave dwelling people of Spain.⁴ This shape of object is widely used in Bengal as necklace pendants even at the present age.

1 Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro etc.*, p. 520, pl. cxlviii, fig. 13.

2 *ASI., AR.*, 1928-29, p. 76, pl. xxx, d

3 Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro*, p. 527, pl. cxviii, 14.

4 Von Herbert Kuhn, *Die Malerei Derzeit*, p. 42.

The symbols seen on the two ends of the band of gold, which was like other plain bands, worn as a fillet, closely resemble the object met with in almost all the seals, placed as an altar in front of the animals. Some have described it as a sacrificial altar, others as an incense burner. Sir John Marshall pointed out that it might be a cult object and in all probability, it may be said, the fillet with the cult object impressed on it, had some sacred bearing.⁵

Symbolic objects abound in Indian jewellery of early historic age. Here, some of the ornaments occurring on the earliest monuments will be noticed. Actual jewellery of the early historic period is rare, but there are ample evidences to prove that the Indians of this period had a great predilection for charms, amulets and jewellery with symbolic designs. The monuments of the early historic age, being mostly Buddhistic, they acquaint us with objects liked and venerated by the Buddhists. Buddhism, from its very beginning, brought several symbols and designs into close touch with the current social life. Many of these symbols were, however, existing in this country from an earlier age and the newly evolving religious faiths like Buddhism and Jainism adopted these to serve their purpose without any scruple. But Buddhism secured a most vital lease of life at this time and the zealous Buddhist devotees made an extensive use of the mysterious signs and symbols so much associated with their religious belief. It is no wonder that many of these symbols caught the fancy of the jeweller and ornaments having the shapes of various such designs found a ready appreciation among the devout Buddhists. The most venerated symbol of the Buddhists was the 'Triratna,' the symbol of the Buddhist trinity, Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha. It was, however, not an exclusive property of the Buddhists and is often found to occur in Jaina objects also.

This symbol was readily incorporated in jewellery; it is found to have been used as ear-ornaments as is seen in Barhut and as neck-

lace pendants, it occurs in Barhut, Sanchi and Mathura. The human figures of these monuments are found to wear various other curious symbols in their jewellery most of which surely had close connection with religious beliefs but the meaning of many of these cannot be brought out with any amount of certainty at present.

In some of these monuments there are figures which wear curiously composed ornaments exclusively from mysterious symbols. In the Buddhistic monument of Barhut the figure of Sirimā-devatā wears a curious necklace composed of two *pippal* tree leaves, two miniature elephant goads and a miniature 'triratna'. (Fig. 1). The symbolic meaning of the *pippal* tree leaves and the elephant goad is not clear. But the Buddhistic fervour of the whole monument leaves no doubt regarding a thorough Buddhistic association of the whole ornament which is further substantiated by the existence of the 'triratna' in it. The *pippal* tree reminds one of the great attainment of the Bodhi, and the elephant goad, as pointed out by Maisey, might have some connection with the white elephant and the dream of Māyā. The elephant goad and the *pippal* tree leaves are not infrequent in jewellery of this age but the 'triratna' had the fortune of coming into the most extensive use. The devoted jeweller tried his best to make it quite adaptable to the most artistic taste by putting various ingenious decorations on it. From the Barhut railings it appears that the 'triratnas' were used to be made of metal tubes and were profusely encrusted with small jewel-stones."

How far the zeal for symbolic ornaments can carry an artist, is evidenced by a pair of strings represented on the outer face of the north gateway, stūpa no. I at Sanchi.⁷ These two strings occur as decorative devices on the face of the gateway along with a number of floral and jewellery strings, several of which again can be seen as worn by some of the human figures represented on the same

6 Cunningham, *The Stupa of Barhut*, pl. ix, fig. 11.

7 Maisey, *Sanchi and its remains*, pl. v, left.

monument. It may not be unreasonable to suggest that actual strings representing these curious ones had also been in use. One of these has got as many as eleven symbolic pendants while the other has thirteen, eleven of which are common to both. Besides the 'triratna' and elephant goad already met with at Barhut, the pendants include spoked wheels, floral discs, battle axes, pairs of fish, round flat objects having necks which look more as miniature mirrors than as vases as suggested by Maisey, triangles with necks and projections, clusters of fruits or jewels etc.* (Fig. 2). There is apparently no attempt towards making the objects really attractive for wear. But instances of wearing extremely odd and inartistic objects are not rare among people having religious frenzy.

It is difficult to explain the inner significances of these symbols. Spoked wheels, pairs of fish, and triangles with necks and projections are quite common in early Indian cast and punch-marked coins." The floral shaped disc may have some connection with the Sun and bears resemblance with discs used in similar symbolic necklaces in ancient Iran. General Maisey, who made a strenuous effort to explain each and every symbol of these strings opined that these represented symbolic ornaments worn by the local monarch who made an offering of those to the deity worshipped"⁹ But I beg leave to point out here that the only object of worship of the people interested in the monuments of Sanchi was the Buddha. Maisey's suggestions are vague but nothing further can be said in this respect. The ornaments, however, hold a very curious position in the history of early Indian jewellery, and they deserve to be the subject of study with earnest attention and more weighty concern.

KALYAN KUMAR GANGULI

8 Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, pls. xxxix, figs. 16 & 17.

9 *Ibid.*, pl. xxxix.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

SYMBOLS IN EARLY INDIAN JEWELLERY

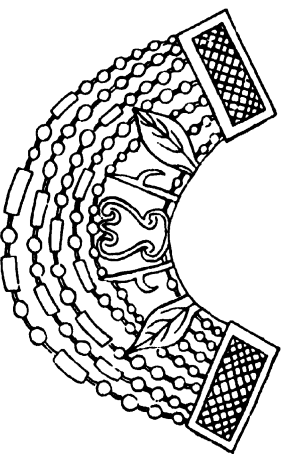


Fig. 1.

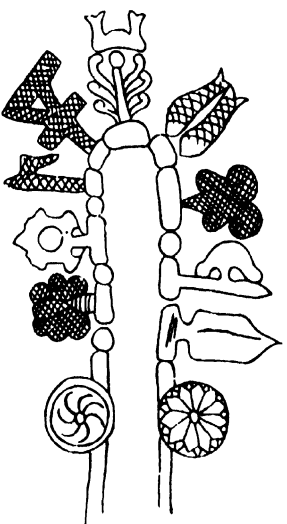


Fig. 2.

Proto-Indian Ceramics

The great importance for the study of proto-history of ceramics has been realised in the west, and, as is well known, the reconstruction of the story of pre-historic civilisations has been made possible by the scientific principles enunciated by Sir Flinders Petrie and Sir Arthur Evans. In India the excavations conducted hitherto (rather haphazard), have brought to light much material, but due to the lack of continuity, and local variations on account of many stages of culture in this vast country, a scientific classification has not yet been attempted. The excavations at Chanhudaro prove, according to Mackay,¹ the existence of three stages of culture on that site and since he has made an attempt to fix the chronology of the Harappa, Jhukar and Jhangar cultures, it is necessary to examine by a comparative study of pottery, whether his system of chronology can be taken as proved.

As a rough criterion of the evolution of the art of ceramics, the shape of pottery advances from the primitive ball of clay with a slight depression to models based upon basketry, gourds, leather vessels, chalices, beakers, ladles, spouted and handled vases, theriomorphic forms, tabular stands, twin-vases, wickerstands, stoppers, figurines etc. As regards colour, the earliest pottery sun-baked is generally brown and grey; pale, black, red, black and red, dark-grey, monochrome, polychrome and finally glazed. Of course this cannot be the invariable rule because of accidental colouring due to the composition of the clay; thus in Egypt, the Tasian ware is grey or black, due to uneven firing but blackened inside. At Merimde, it is generally black-faced and Badari pottery is brown or red and the rim and insides are blackened. The Nubian ware is black and incised, or white

¹ *Bulletin of the School of Indic Studies*, Boston.

and incised following basketry and gourd models.² In Mesopotamia, the Al-Ubaid ware is grey with a fine slip of rich black and Uruk pottery is highly polished.³ In Iran, seventy-feet below the temple of Manish-tushu (2450 B.C.) pale unpainted, hand-made and a few black, sherds have been found.⁴ At Tell-Halaf, earlier than the famous polychrome pottery, a few monochrome black or dark faced and burnished black sherds have been discovered. Thus in Egypt pottery of the earliest period begins grey-black and later red; in Asia with pale, often painted; in Anatolia the earliest was black or red monochrome and pale and painted as in Nineveh III.⁵

The red ware occurs in Badari, Nubia, Al-Ubaid, Musyan, Susa I.c., Halaf, I, Nineveh IV and Dabarkot (where fired red pottery occurs along with grey). Similarly Anau II ware has a red-mottled surface slip, occurring along with grey and black-ware. In Anatolia red or black monochrome is the earliest, whereas in Egypt red is later than black.

The mixture of black and red occurs in Tasian, Badari, Nubian, Amratian, Gerzean and Anatolic. The grey ware of Al-Ubaid has a black polish. At Fara, grey ware survives in the drab pottery of the Uruk period. Nineveh III, Hissar II and III, Anau II and Minyan ware of Anatolia have grey ware, probably intruding after the Halaf period. The pale ware at Al-Ubaid, Jemdet-Nasr, Nineveh I, Billah VI is often painted; but Asia continued the use of pale wares, often painted and not monochrome red or black as in Egypt.

Complicated patterns may generally be said to have begun with pale painted pottery, though a few simple geometrical designs occur

2 Childe, *New light on the Most Ancient East*.

3 Seton Lloyd, *Mesopotamia*.

4 *Ill. London News*, March 26th, Nov. 1932; Jan. 28th 1933.

5 Nöldeke—*Uruk-Warka*; Childe, *New Light* etc.

in the earlier types also. In Egypt, the Gerzean red ware has white cross lines but in the late pre-Dynastic period painting dies out and only red and drab colours survive. At Al-Ubaid the earliest painted ware has black geometrical designs, especially the sigma as at Nal. Susa I has the colours applied directly on warm black and not on a slip and has the Svastika design. But Susa II and Musyan have red or dull-black designs on an yellowish slip. The designs include double-axes as at Jemdet Nasr and the Indian humped bull. Nineveh II has black or brownish red on unslipped surface. Halaf ware is painted warm-black, bright orange or red on a cream or buff slip; glazed as at Mycenæ. Tepe-Gawra and Billah, contemporaneous with Al-Ubaid and Samarra, have a warm purple or black colour on a green, buff, or creamy slip. The painted ware of Central Greece, the Black-Earth lands and the Danubian region is derived from Asiatic types.⁶

As regards polychrome pottery, Jemdet Nasr pots are painted plum-red on a heavy white slip, in broad bands, outlined in black. The registers are filled with red and the designs are chequers, lozenges, triangles, double-axes etc. On the Amri ware (supposed to be earlier than Harappa), warm-black or plum-red colours are painted on a pale pink slip as at Jemdet Nasr. The designs include chequers, triangles, double axes, lozenges, sigma figures as at Al-Ubaid. In technique, polychrome and designs, Amri ware resembles Jemdet Nasr. Susa II and Musyan have dull black applied on a yellow slip and the designs are semi-circles, wavy-lines, triangles, double-axes as at Jemdet Nasr. At Tepe Ali Abad birds, eagles, goats and Indian humped bull also occur. The Halaf poly-chrome ware is painted warm black, bright orange-red, sometimes white over black, with a genuine glaze paint. In the Indian and trans-Indian sites at Kulli and Mehri, the sigma, double-axe, and goats (as at Musyan, Elam,

and Nineveh V), the humped bull and tigers, the sigma at Nal as at Amri are painted and the poly-chromy resembles Jemdet Nasr.

This rapid and brief review of the ceramic technique may be concluded by a stratigraphical diagram of the principal Mesopotamian sites.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Site</i>	<i>Pottery</i>
Al-Ubaid ware 4500 to 4000 B.C.	Susa I Samarra Al-Ubaid (Painted)	Plain incised ware—Nineveh and Arpachiya
Uruk ware 4000-3500 B.C.	Tell-Halat Ur-red or grey (Khafaje)	Halat (painted) Grey or black
Jemdet Nasr ware 3500-3000 B.C.	painted	painted
Early Dynastic ware	Reserved slip ware painted pottery, with animals	Nippur Telloh Susa II Fara

Coming to the pottery of the Indian and trans-Indian sites, some peculiarities of the Indus ware should be noted.⁸ In spite of the vast distance between the sites of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, no local variations have been observed. But the pottery of the smaller sites shows affinity with the more primitive cultures of the hill and lake dwellers near the Manchar lake. Wheel-turned pottery is the general rule and there are very few hand-made specimens. Controlled firing is seen, and circular kilns with under-ground heating arrangement and provided with flues have been found. It is assumed that the red slip is due to ochre imported probably from Ormuz. Another remarkable feature is the entire absence of handled pottery, so prevalent in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Again in the designs there is no human figure or human organ. The knobbed ware has parallel at Tell Asmar and Khafaje, the fast wheel was employed and pale or pinkish red colours were common. But controlled firing

8 K. N. Dikshit, *Prehistoric Civilisation of the Indus Valley*.

was employed sometimes to produce grey Uruk types. Possibly the earlier stage is represented by dark or dark-grey ware, sometimes with red or cream slips. Stoppers as at Jeindet Nasr occur and spouts are found only in the shallow feeding bowls. Narrow necked jars and bottles with long necks or flaring mouths are conspicuously absent. In decorations, imprints of cord on a creamy slip as in Sumner and knobs, painted black over dark-red as at Tell Asmar and Khafaje are observed.⁹

In the late M. D. poly-chrome ware, the black outlined patterns on a creamy ground are filled in with red, green or yellow. The Indus ware is unique in having black or red. The pale ware of M. D. has a comb design, probably a conventionalised bull.

Dr. Mackay after a study of the finds at Chanhü-Daro, has concluded that the dark-grey pottery, incised, and with a smooth and polished surface and no paint, belongs to the Jhangar type, probably belonging to a gipsy-like tribe. A triple cruet-like vessel has an analogy in South Beluchistan. Earlier than the Jhangar culture, the Jhukar culture with its painted pottery has no affinity with the still earlier Harappa culture. The colours employed by the Jhukar people were purplish-brown or purplish-black on a cherry-red or cream slip, the registers separated by broad bands of light or dark-red, edged by darker colour. Red and black on a cream slip between horizontal bands of red was also frequently employed as at Zayak and Tell Halaf. Dr. Mackay thinks that the Jhukar seals, with no legends but with designs of antelopes, flowers, stars etc. suggest Syro-Cappadocian influence but is inclined to dismiss the resemblance as fortuitous. In the Harappa levels, two of the uppermost were separated from the earlier (at least three) levels by sterile soil. Even these two levels are earlier than the uppermost levels of Mohenjo Daro—the pottery of which again is markedly different

from Jhukar pottery. "Jhukar pottery resembles,—only in the designs and use of colours, not in the shape—those found at Tell Halaf in northern Assyria and Tell Chagar-Bazar.....There seems no doubt that the pottery of the Jhukar culture has been influenced by the wares of Tell Halaf culture, and we must look to the Iranian Highlands for the region whence it was brought to India."¹⁰

Granting for the moment that Tell-Halaf influenced Jhukar culture and not *vice-versa*, the fourth and fifth cities of Chagar Bazar (3000-2700 B.C.) and Halaf maintained a close contact with Sumer and with Assyria.¹¹ The painted pottery (as at Nineveh-Tell Billah) becomes obsolete after 2700 B.C. in Assyria, because the artisans of painted pottery were driven away eastwards into Iran and continued to work in Iran upto 2500 B.C. as at Hissar.¹² Hissar I (c. 3500 B.C.) has painted pottery—buff, hand-made, painted with geometrical and animal designs, allied to Elam and Susa I b. and in Hissar II as at Asterabad striped pottery occurs and in Hissar III (2000 to 1500 B.C.) painted ware completely disappears and is succeeded by grey ware, with lattice-like patterns. The offering-stand of the Harappa cemetery type is paralleled by Hissar. The lowermost layer in the cemetery at Harappa, where complete skeletons had been buried had flasks, water-bottles with narrow necks and trumpet mouths and in the upper level, where bones were preserved in jars, the large jars had flanges. Though the colour of pottery in both levels was pinkish or red and painted with black designs as on the earlier Indus ware, the forms and designs—stars, stylized peacocks and humped bulls, are different, and therefore may be assigned to the Jhukar style, (where also the devices are painted in black and red on a cream or pink slip) contemporaneous with or influenced by Tell-Halaf. Baron von Oppenheim is of the opinion that Tell Halaf culture cannot be

¹⁰ *Ill. L. News*, November 21, 1936.

¹¹ Mallowan: Brak and Chagar Bazar. *Ill. L. News*, 1935-38.

¹² *Ill. L. News* March 26, Nov. 12, 1932; January 28th 1933.

later than 3000 B.C. and is due to Šubaraic-Hittite people.¹³ The fair-haired Šubaraeans were the earliest settlers in Assyria and the Šubartu culture in the North Syrian sites as at Tell-Halaf, is distinguished by its poly-chrome pottery as at Carchemish, and Kafaje Genji of 4000 B.C., with funnel shaped necks, bulging jars, orange-red or black paint on a thick creamy slip, animal and bird designs and older than Jemdet Nasr pottery, and therefore the painted Uruk type was due to the Šubaraeans, who succeeded the earlier Al-Ubaid people in Mesopotamia and long before the black-headed Sumerians proper, came possibly from Elam or Arabia.¹⁴ A dialect of Šubaraean was Hurri or Indo-Hittite spoken by the later Hittites, though it is said that the name of the original Hittite language was unknown. Hrozny¹⁵ has read the pictographs of the original Hittites (or Šubartu) and finds some proper names:—Da-a-na-a-na-ś (Tyana); Gur-gu-m; A-ma-too (Hamath); Ir-hu-li-na (Irhuilna), God Ku-pa-pa (Cybebe) mŠa-ga-e^r-s (Sagaris); Ta-pa-sa-la-ā.¹⁶

Seton Lloyd notes the existence of three races, the Martu or Amurru, a Semitic (?) people who colonised Akkad upto Šippar; the blond race from the north-east, the Šubaraeans who settled in Assyria upto the Persian Gulf; and the Bedawins from the deserts who already found in the land the black headed Sumerians, who had probably come from the hilly region of Elam.¹⁷ Frankfort however, because of the continuity of culture at Al-Ubaid, Uruk and Jemdet Nasr thinks that there was only a single race—the Sumerians. Sydney Smith connects the Šubartu with the fair-complexioned Caucasian people who had migrated from the hills to the north and

13 Oppenheim, *Tell-Halaf*. 14 Sydney Smith, *History of Assyria*.

15 Hrozny, *Les Inscription Hittites Hieroglyphique decifrement*, 1933. Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphies*.

16 Hrozny gives the following names from the Carchemish Stele: Katuvas, son of Luhas and grandson of Astu Vatumajas; Aerars, Kamanes, Malia Tesupas, Asta Santajas, Vena Tesupas, Sagaris.

17 Seton Lloyd, *Mesopotamia*.



north-west of Assyria and came into conflict with the Sumerian black-heads, so that in the early Sumerian period, the population was predominantly Šubaraean, though the civilisation was Sumerian in character.¹⁸ Hence the Šubartu people had already obtained a considerable degree of ascendancy in Mesopotamia, before the Sumerians came from the East. They were also an eastern people of the Iranian and Caucasian high-lands and since Susa I (c. 3500 B.C.) and Halaf in Syria (c. 3500 B.C.) are Šubaraean, whereas Susa II shows Sumerian influence, it can be asserted that the Šubartu people migrated to Syria and Macedonia in the fourth millennium. If Syro-Cappadocian influence is seen in the Jhukar culture and if the polychrome pottery of the Jhukar period has analogy with Halaf, it is doing less violence to facts if we assume that in the fourth millennium B.C. a branch of these Šubartu folk was responsible for the Jhukar culture.

Regarding Frankfort's arguments as to the dating of the Indus finds in Mesopotamia, let us take first the two fragments of a cylindrical vase of green steatite on which a Sumerian is represented as seated before a building, in which a humped bull is standing near a manger. In a purely Mesopotamian setting, it is the rendering of an Indian cult of animal worship which was alien to the Sumerians themselves. It is clear that by about 3000 B.C. the Sumerians had adopted Indian cults but already the connection with India was difficult, because no Indian craftsman could have turned out such a clumsy figure of the bull and the Sumerian craftsman had to rely on crude copies whose original had long been lost. Similarly, at Khafaje, and at Tell Asmar, the cylindrical seal depicting a procession of elephant, rhinoceros, *ghariyal*, the carnelian beads, pottery with barbotine ornament, bone inlays of kidney shape, pottery drains, etc. are assigned to the period of Gimil Sin and his subordinate

at Eshnunna, in c. 2600 B.C. From this "precise" date it is argued that the Indus civilisation could not have existed earlier than 2700 B.C. It is acknowledged however that the Tell Asmar finds are crude imitations and artistically far inferior to the Indus specimens and on these copies (as on the Bull-vase of Tell Agrab) the Indian script is remarkable for its absence. If these cult objects were preserved in the Sumerian temples and worshipped as relics, without a proper understanding of the Indian religion, it is clear that the Sumerians of 2700 B.C. had already lost contact with India for a long time. Chanhudaro, the great bead producing centre has its parallel in Brak, where a vast hoard of at least 40,000 beads of faience, carnelian and rock-crystal were found in the foundation of a building of 3100 B.C. It is proved that it was customary to sow the site with beads before a temple was erected.¹⁹ Since at Chanhudaro, in the Harappa levels few complete beads were found, it is assumed that all were exported probably to Mesopotamia. The kidney-shaped objects at Brak in black serpentine resemble those of Mohenjo Daro but the undersides are carved with antelopes and other designs, probably for divination. Similarly, Frankfort, discussing the pottery of the Jemdet Nasr period at Tell Asmar, Khafaje and Ishchali, notices a pottery vase with geometrical designs, on a shining red slip. The designs are painted on panels prepared with a special creamy white slip in black and red. "The actual age can only be guessed and should fall somewhere about 3500 B.C. according to the lowest reckoning."²⁰

Other evidence as to the ante-dating of the Jhukar and Harappa cultures can be found in the pottery head-rest of Chanhudaro and the "Sumerian" pottery head with deep-set eyes, small mouth and shaven hair of the Jhukar period, the coiled copper hair-pins, copper horse-shoe shaped razors etc.²¹

19 *Ill. L. News*, October 22, 1938.

20 *Ill. L. News*, September 14, 1935.

21 *Bulletin of the Boston Museum*

The priority of the Amri culture²² with its thin pottery painted with designs in black and chocolate or plum-red on a matt surface of pink or creamy pale is proved by the analogy of Al-Ubaid which is not Sumerian but "Elamite" according to Campbell-Thomson, Japhetite or Šubaraean according to Speiser.²³ Similar thin and fragile pottery with designs (including Svastika, battle-axes, bulls and even the horse-stylised into mere decorations) is found in Susa I. a. which according to Frankfort is the parent of Susa I. Nal and Nundara culture is derived directly from the Amri and is distinct from the Harappa type. Peake inclines to the diffusionist theory and thinks that the idea of decorating pots with a coloured slip was disseminated from a common source. The provenance of painted pottery from North Syria to Susa, Anau, Iran, Beluchistan, Sindh, Punjab and China shows a continuity of culture with perhaps India as the original home. The excavations at Buxar²⁴ and near Gauhati seem to promise that the Gangetic and the Brahmaputra Valley might indeed prove to be the original home of this widespread culture. As far as South India is concerned the excavations at Paithān,²⁵ Candravalli and other sites show no poly-chrome pottery, though there are some vessels with a few simple designs. This is in accordance with the lack of evidence of a copper age. At Paithān copper, bronze, brass and glass articles are found along with iron and the argument from the terra-cotta figurines can have no validity.

To summarise the arguments from ceramics, it is safe to conjecture that the Amri culture was the parent of the Nal and Nundara cultures in India and of Susa I which was the parent in its turn of the Al-Ubaid culture, the earliest in Sumer. The discovery of the stylised horse in Susa I and of the horse-saddles in some of the lowest

22 Childe, *New Light*.

23 Speiser, *Tepe Gawrah Excavations*.

24 Bannerji-Sastri, in *Pāṭhak Comm. vol.*

25 *Indian Arts and Letters*, xii, no. 2.

levels of Mohenjo Daro shows that the horse must have migrated westwards from north-western India. As said above the smaller sites in the Indus Valley have been influenced by Nal and Nundara, whereas Harappa culture follows a slightly different tradition. Above the five or seven layers of Harappa culture and separated from it, there is the Jhukar culture which influenced the Tell-Halaf culture in far away Northern Syria as early as 3500 B.C. This culture is probably Subaraean. Casson has proved that Troy cannot any longer be considered to be a western out-post of the Minoan civilisation but is probably Hurrian or proto-Hittite.²⁶ The excavations at Cyprus and Crete have shown that the red polished bronze-age pottery assigned to c. 3500 B. C. has close resemblance to that of North Syria and Mesopotamia, according to Dr. Gjerstad. Therefore the almost static civilisation of Harappa must be dated at a conservative estimate as the fifth millennium B.C. and the Jhangar culture may be placed after the Jhukar culture had disappeared in c. 2700 B.C.

To these arguments from ceramics may be added some other considerations about the originators of this culture. I have long ago expressed the view that the arguments put forward by Marshall and others as to the non-Aryan authorship are baseless and that the culture might be Aryan.²⁸ The argument of some of the protagonists of the theory of the priority of R̥gveda to Harappa culture²⁹ is invalid because as I have shown, the expressions "ś a h a s r a m m ē d a d a t ō á ṣ ṭ a k a r ṇ y a h" "a ṣ ṭ a k a r ṇ i g a u h" and "Akṣara" in R̥gveda I.164.94 and IX.13.3. The symbol of

26 Casson, *Archæology upto now*.

27 Pendlebury, Excavations in Crete, *Ill. L. News*, March 5 1938, Excavations in Cyprus, *Ill. L. News*, 1935-36.

28 And not necessarily of Alpine Caucasian or Nordic race *QIMS.*, 1931, *Journal of the Kannada Academy*, 1933; *Vichāra Vāhini*, 1938; *Prabuddha Kārnātaka*, 1938.

29 L. Sarup: *Gaṅgā*, 1933. *Ind. Cul.*, October, 1937.

m i t h u n a in the Atharvaveda (IX. 141) and in the *Maitrāyaṇīsamhitā* (VIII. 2. 6) clearly imply the existence of symbols for numerals and sounds. Prof. S. V. Venkatesvara has shown that R̥gvedic culture is of the neolithic times because of the use of bone, stone, and wooden implements in sacrifices and that copper was a late intruder in the period of the *Taittirīya Śamhitā* whose culture was chalco-lithic.³⁰ E. J. Thomas mentions the necessity for a chronological foot-hold, possibly to be found in the Boghaz Kaya and Mitanni records of about 1500 B.C. But we can tentatively say that the references to the Martu or Amarru and Šubartu as the earliest colonisers of Syria, Assyria and Sumer and to the black-headed Sumerians who are said to have gone to Mesopotamia from Elam or Arabia can be corroborated from the R̥gveda. The v i ś ā h a ś i k n i h of the Vedas are the black or black-headed and brown-complexioned so-called Sumerians, though scholars have hitherto blindly accepted the suggestion that they are the aboriginal Dravidians. Both the Sumerians and the Dravidians can in no sense be called a n ā s a but *anāsa* may be taken to mean either 'shameless' speaking the nasals indistinctly (m ṛ d h ṛ v ā c i). But the Dravidian theory of Heras is unconvincing and opposed to the laws of Dravidian philology.³² No connection has been proved between the phallic cult and Rudra-Śiva worship in the Vedic period. Therefore the so-called Sumerians might really be an Indian people who migrated to Elam and from the plains of Assyria to Mesopotamia, because Susa I is the parent of Al-Ubaid culture according to Frankfort. But even before their colonisation of Mesopotamia there were two other elements that had preceded them viz. the Šubaracans and the Martu. It is tempting to identify the Šubaracans with the Sōbharis or Saubharis and the Martu with the Marut people. Max

30 *Ramakṛṣṇa Com. Vol., Aryan Path* 1930-31.

31 *I.H.Q.*, Winternitz Memorial No. 1938.

32 Alan S. C. Ross, Numerals of M.D. *Memoirs Ar. S. I.* no. 57.

Müller³³ collected all the imporant hymns about the Maruts and showed how at first they were mortals who first resisted the Indra cult. They were people of the mountains, their chariots were drawn by horses, the bridle passing through the nose; they are called the sons of Sindhu or of Rudra and Pṛṣṇi. They crossed many mountains and rivers also, the Śarayanāvat, Susomā, Ārjikiya and Pastyāvat countries; they were clothed in flounced or speckled woollen cloths. Rasā, Amitabhā, Kubhā, Krumu, Saranyu and Sindhu could not delay their chariots. They had knives or daggers of metal (v ā ś i, a r a) and carried K o ś a s in their chariots, the axle of the chariots was one with the solid wheels, so that it also revolved along with the wheels. The Maruts deserted Indra in the fight with Ahi, and Indra disputed the rights of the Maruts for divine honours. They were also at first the enemies of the Sobharis. The Sobharis shot arrows from their bow-strings at the golden chests (K o ś a) in the war chariots of the Maruts. Later the Saubharas are themselves called Maruts. The Maruts are dwellers in the mountains (g i r i ṣ ṭ h a) and in the a ś v a t t h a which implies also horse-stables and the western country. By these references it is clear that the Maruts and Sobharis were early adventurous tribes who migrated westward from India crossing many rivers and mountains and they were followed by the black-headed so-called Sumerians (V i ś ā h A ś i k n i) whose original home might have been near the river Aśikni and the northern mountains.

These considerations therefore force us to conclude that the Harappa culture cannot be brought down to such a late date as 2700 B.C., when the Jhukar culture itself has to be assigned to the Tell-Halaf period (3000 B.C.).

S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI

Rūpamaṇḍana and the uncommon Forms of Viṣṇu

Abnormal in Indian Art

To the average uninitiate of the West, Indian art, particularly the figures of gods and goddesses like Viṣṇu, Śiva, Hari-Hara, Trimūrti, Ardhanārīśvara, Kārtikeya and Durgā in their numerous poses and functionings with their activities and qualities symbolised as hands, heads, weapons and *mudrās* appear a little out of the common if not uncanny or monstrous and do not yield that pleasant feeling of intellectual repose which they derive by gazing at a figure of Apollo or Venus d'Medici: whereas in the case of an Indian, their importance as religious objects for adoration and devotion is intensified by this very fact of extra limbs and weapons, and serves to focus his mind better as a preliminary to his enraptured ideal of silent contemplation. The uncommon or the out of way images of Viṣṇu such as Vaikuṇṭha, Ananta, Trailokyamohana and Viśvarūpa are the instances in point, not to mention the twenty-four varieties of the four-armed Viṣṇu.

Varieties of Hindu Icons in Rūpamaṇḍana

The text of "Rūpamaṇḍana" by Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana (15th century A.D.) records many varieties of Brahmanical images—such as these of Viṣṇu, Gaurī, Hari-Hara and others and they deserve to be studied thoroughly with the help of actual images that are very likely to be met with scattered over Western India, which ranges from Mt. Ābu in the north to the Elephanta Caves in the south covering the rich and extensive tracts of river-valleys—those of Sarasvatī, Sābarmatī, Mahī, Narmadā and Tāptī which fostered civilization and culture of the mediaeval Hindu India.

Latitude to sculptors and local varieties

The remarkable feature of Indian art that strikes even a casual student is the unchanging continuity of its traditions throughout

the course of centuries. Whether it be architecture, sculpture, painting or music the age-long traditions continue to exercise their dominating influence. The tradition in Hindu iconography is established and scrupulously guarded by the various compilations of the *Śilpa Śāstra*, the only latitude allowed being local varieties of the standard forms. The abnormal varieties in the forms of Viṣṇu in Gujarāt introduced through this paper are mainly due to this latitude and deserves attention of the students of Hindu iconography.

Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana: author of the Rūpamaṇḍana

Both Maṇḍana and his father Śrīkṣetra were under the patronage of Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarṇa, the celebrated king of Medapāṭa (Mewār), and an outstanding personality of the middle of the 15th century (reigned 1419-1469 A.D.). Rāṇā Kumbha was a distinguished hero, a man of letters and a noted builder of monuments. His *Kumbha-meru-prāsāda* at Chīṭor is well-known. It therefore stands to reason that Mahārāṇā Kumbha should be a patron of architects and sculptors just like king Bhoja of Dhārā to whom goes the credit of the compilation of the *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtra-dhāra*, a work on mediaeval architecture, and like king Someśvaradeva who compiled his *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*, an encyclopaedia on useful topics.

Maṇḍana's handbooks on Architecture and Sculpture

Thus it is evident that Maṇḍana's handbook on architecture and sculpture enjoyed considerable popularity with artists and craftsmen. Maṇḍana seems to have been a prolific writer of treatises on architecture and sculpture. The following is a list of works ascribed to him, the title ending with his name, viz: *Vāstu-maṇḍana*, *Prāsāda-maṇḍana*, *Rājavallabha-maṇḍana*, *Rūpa-maṇḍana* and others like the *Rūpāvatāra* and the *Devatāmūrti-prakarṇa*.

Popularity of his works

Maṇḍana's works seem to have enjoyed wide popularity throughout the length and breadth of India. In the unique library of Kavindrācārya, (a Deccani Brahmin, and a very learned man, the head of the Paṇḍit community of Benares of his time, 17th century, who, however, ultimately took saṁnyāsa), copies of Maṇḍana's works were deposited (vide *Kavindrācārya Grantha Sūci*, G.O. Series, No. 17). Thus within two centuries after compilation, we find copies of Maṇḍana's text deposited in Benares, the great centre of Indian culture. From Benares Maṇḍana's works were probably taken to other places, westwards as well as eastwards. Numerous ms. copies of his works are met with both in public and in private collections in Gujarāt, sometimes embellished with running translations in Gujarātī archaic prose. The abnormal forms of Viṣṇu (vide illustrations) are mentioned in his work *Rūpamaṇḍana* alone and in no other text extant on Hindu Iconography in India.

Seated Viṣṇu images with hands more than four

The groups of seated images of Viṣṇu with either eight, ten, twelve, fourteen, sixteen or twenty hands is peculiar to Western India sculpture only. The formula and description of these images are found in the Śilpa-texts of Maṇḍana—the *Rūpamaṇḍana* and the *Devatāmūrti-prakaraṇa*—and nowhere else.

It appears, however, that the *dhyānas* of such rare and unusual forms of images were subsequently modified or amplified in consideration of novel creations of their age. Hence no specimen of twelve-armed Viṣṇu has so far been traced by me; whereas specimens of ten-armed and fourteen-armed images—not noticed in any text,—are found to be not so rare.

Increase of hands from two to twenty.

One is led to think that from the original form of two-armed Viṣṇu developed many other icons, mostly according to the indi-

vidual tastes and conception of the authors and sculptors or the donors of such images. When the worshipper thought that his god did not look powerful enough, he thought of him in terms of innumerable hands, and thus came into vogue the variety of forms of the same god Viṣṇu. Varieties peculiar to the *Rūpamaṇḍana* alone —the twenty-four forms of four-armed Viṣṇu, the six-armed Hari-hara-pitāmaha or Dattātreyā, the eight-armed Vaikuṇṭha, the ten-armed un-named form, the twelve-armed Ananta, the fourteen-armed variety probably of Ananta (however unnamed in the texts), the sixteen-armed Trailokyamohana and the twenty-armed Viśvarūpa,—show the gradual growth in the complexity of the idea about the image of Viṣṇu.

Śilpa-texts and stereotyped forms

Whether the texts induced the different types of images, or the types of images created the texts is difficult to ascertain. The former is however more probable in the case of Hindu gods and goddesses; for we find, that after a few centuries of remarkable growth and artistic spontaneity Hindu icons seem to be stultified and stereotyped through the disposition of the Śilpa-texts. This phase is marked by the appearance of a vast amount of Śilpa Śāstra works starting with the *Brhat Sambitā* of Varāhamihira (4th century A.D.).

Decadence in Art

Just as Hindu Kāvya (poetry) degenerated with the appearance of the formal Alaṅkāra literature (*Ars Poetica*) from *Kāvyaadarśa* to *Sāhityadarpaṇa* and *Rasagaṅgādhara*, so the appearance of *Śilpa-ratna* and *Śilpasāra*, *Śilpasamgraha* and *Mānasāra*, *Aparājita-pricchā* and *Rūpamaṇḍana*, signalled the stereotypization of Hindu iconography. It came to be more a matter of definition and faithful execution than of spontaneous creation, hence a lack of artistic urge in later copies of beautiful originals.

Artistic peculiarities of Gujarāṭi Sculptures

The artistic peculiarities of Gujarāṭi sculptures bear a close resemblance to the specimens of Bengali and Orissan sculpture. The delicate ornamentation, artistic expression, boldness of outline, definiteness of detail, and the pleasing effect produced on the mind of every onlooker make the images of this mediæval period the product of the best days of Hindu art, particularly in Gujarāt.

From the Viṣṇu images introduced through this paper one will be able to see for himself that they are beautifully and yet delicately ornamented, and the expression of the face is natural, serene and peaceful (*saumya*). The form of the body, the garments, the various objects, symbols and ornaments are found depicted faithfully according to the texts; yet the hand of the artist is always there.

Times fostering Fine Arts

This was possible because Gujarāt enjoyed political tranquility during the reign of the Solaṅki kings—Mūlarāja, Bhimadeva, Siddharāja, Kumārapāla, and kings of the Vāghelā branch: Viradhavala, Viśala-deva and Sāraṅga-deva; though occasionally it was disturbed by the inroads of Muslim iconoclasts. Accordingly art, literature, trade, etc. could flourish well in the province. On casting a glance at the contemporary currents of Mediæval Art in India, we find, that its best period ranged from the 9th century onwards to the 13th century before the general conquest of the various provinces by the Mahomedans, when the Hindu artistic talent got a set back and soon degenerated into a decadent art. This is the same period when the Pāla and Sena schools of art flourished in Bengal and the Utkala and Kalinga schools in Orissa.

Materials for Western School of Sculpture.

Hence we find that Gujarāt is veritably a rich mine of archaeological remains and deserves to be studied as an art-province which

has a dialect of its own, although it is not unrelated to that of the contemporary currents in the other branches of the so-called "Western School of Indian Sculpture". From the beautiful specimens of sculpture that are coming to light, one is led to believe that Gujarāt of the palmiest days of rule by the Solāṅkis and the Vāghelās—say from the 10th century to the end of the 13th and a few centuries later,—had fostered the growth of a remarkable provincial school of sculpture.

Living tradition of Sculpture in Gujarāt

That the technique of sculpture in Western India, as found enunciated in the *śilpa*-texts of Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana was a living art and the tradition was handed down to posterity even upto the beginning of the 19th century as a guide to actual execution is corroborated by the find of an omnibus volume of Ms. from the Ms. collection of Śrī Dāhilaṁmi Pustakālaya, Nāḍiād. The volume contains Gujarāṭi prose-renderings of the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, *Rūpāvatāra*, *Devatāmūrti-prakaraṇa*, *Vāstusāra* and *Vāstumañjarī*, with original Sanskrit texts of some of them. The following relevant extract is given to convey an idea as to the nature of these "notes" meant for guidance in actual sculptures:—

“वैकुण्ठमूर्तिः | गरुडासन करवा | अष्ट बाहु करवा | गदा खड्ग बाण चक्र जिमणी हाथि करवा | आगाले जिमणी पुरुषाकार नृसिंह करवा | बीजी पासा भीमूषा करवी | ...”

“कृष्णशंकर मूर्तिः | कृष्ण शंकर एक अंग करवा | दक्षिणांगे रुद्र | वामांगे कृष्ण | दक्षिणे जटाभार | वामे मुकुट | दक्षिणे कुण्डल | वामे मकरकुण्डल | दक्षिणे अक्षमाला विशूल | वामे शंख चक्र करवा | ”

Six-armed variety of Viṣṇu: Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha

The *Rūpamaṇḍana* describes¹ Dattātreyā under the name of Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha. According to this authority, this image should

have four faces, six hands and a single body made to stand on a *piṭha*. The right hands should carry the *akṣamālā*, the *trīśūla* and the *gadā*, while the left hands should be made to hold the *kamaṇḍalu*, the *khaṭvāṅga*, and the *cakra*. We can easily recognise in these six articles carried in the hands of Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha that the *akṣamālā* and the *kamaṇḍalu* are emblematic of Brahmā, the *cakra* and the *gadā* of Viṣṇu and the *trīśūla* and the *khaṭvāṅga* of Śiva. This variety has been noticed by T. Gopinath Rao in his *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 255-56; but has not been able to illustrate it. (Plate I).

Plate I—illustrates an image of Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha from a temple in Pāṭan (North Gujarāt).

Tendency to add a set of two hands noticeable

The idea evidently is that Datrātreya is an incarnation of all the three deities of the Hindu Trinity; although in a special sense he is an incarnation of Viṣṇu in particular. However, it should be noticed that this composite form has been described in the chapter—not on Viṣṇu-images but on Śiva-images, along with other composite forms like Hari-Hara, Umā-Maheśvara and the like. The forward march in the addition of hands from the two of Viṣṇu-Sūrya to the four in the twenty-four varieties of four-armed Viṣṇu has shown a tendency to go on adding a further set of two hands in the composite form of the Trinity—I mean the Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha. The same tendency to go on adding a new set of two hands to the six-armed variety will be noticed while describing the form of eight-armed Vaiṣṇuṭha.

अक्षमालां त्रिशूलं च गदां कुर्याच्च दक्षिणे ।

कमण्डलुं च खट्वाङ्गं चक्रं वामभुजे तथा ॥

—रूपमण्डने, अध्याय ४, श्लो. ३२, ३३.



Plate I
(6-armed Viṣṇu)
Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha



Plate II
(8 armed Viṣṇu)
Vaiṣṇuṭha



Plate III
(10-armed Viṣṇu)

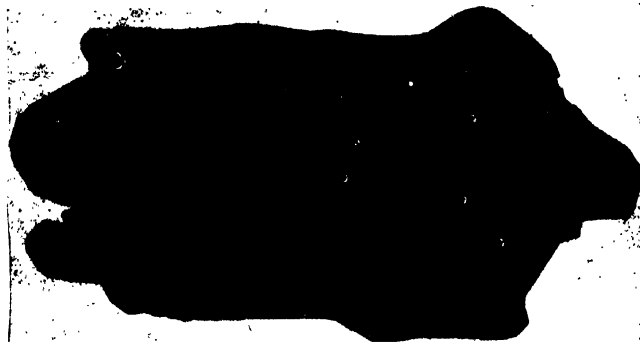


Plate IV
(10-armed Vishnu)



Plate V
14-armed Vishnu
(A form of Ananta)



Plate VI
14-armed Vishnu
(A form of Ananta)

Dhyāna of Vaikuṇṭha

The description of Vaikuṇṭha in the *Rūpamaṇḍana* (Adh. III, Śls. 52, 53) is as under:—“Vaikuṇṭha I shall now describe, who is eight-armed and very powerful, rides on Garuḍa and is four-faced and should be made by those who desire peace. In the four right-hands should be placed the *gadā*, sword, arrow and *cakra*; and in the four left hands, the *śaṅkha*, *kheṭa* (stick), bow and lotus.”²

Actual sculptures of 8-armed Viṣṇu

In the actual sculptures of Vaikuṇṭha, (illustrated here from an image in North Gujarāt), however, some change either in the order of the hands or in the nature of objects held by them is found. In *Plate II*, the fourth lower right-hand holds *śaṅkha* instead of *cakra*, as in the text, with a similar change of *cakra* in place of *śaṅkha*. The two faces on two sides of the face are not quite visible through the photograph, though they do exist. Viṣṇu is seated on Garuḍa. The round face of the image with a negligible chin is remarkable in this as well as in many of such images.

Actual Sculptures of 10-armed Viṣṇu

Goddess Pārvatī is commonly known as *daśa-bhujā*, purporting to hold sway over the ten directions. Similarly a kindred variety of Viṣṇu with 10 hands appears to have been conceived by sculptors and donors; and two specimens are located in the collection of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, having been acquired from Taibpur, a village near Kapaḍvañj in Kairā Dist., (Central Gujarāt).

2

वैकुण्ठं च प्रवक्ष्यामि सोऽष्टबाहुर्महाबलः ।
ताक्ष्यासनधतुर्यन्त्र कर्तव्यः शान्तिमिच्छता ॥
गदा खड्गं शरं चक्रं दक्षिणे च चतुष्टयम् ।
शंख खेट धनुं पद्मं नामे दद्याच्चतुष्टयम् ॥”

— रूपमण्डने, अ० ३, श्लो० ५२, ५३.

The two sculptures illustrated here (*Plates III & IV*) are almost identical in style, although there is a remarkable variety in the execution of the *mukuta*. The size of the image, which forms a part of a long panel is about 2 feet. They appear to belong to a period not later than the 14th century.

Palpable addition of two hands representing Yoga-mudrā

In this form, two front hands are in *Yoga-mudrā*, as in the case of 12-armed, 16-armed and 20-armed icons. Addition of two hands in *Yoga-mudrā* is the connecting link between the *Vaikuṇṭha*-variety on the one hand and the *Ananta*, *Trailokya-mohana* and *Viśvarūpa* on the other. Of the rest, the four hands on the right, beginning with the lower right are respectively in *varada-mudrā*, holding sword and wheel, and in *abhaya-mudrā*; those on the left have respectively a *kamaṇḍalu*, a citron, *gadā* and *abhaya-mudrā*. It appears to be a development of *Vaikuṇṭha*-form, as we find a similar development of *Ananta* in the 14-armed specimens,

Dhyāna of Ananta

Ananta has several forms and is conceived to be endowed with almost all the divine powers (*Śaktis*). "The image of this deity should have twelve hands and four faces, and should be seated on *Garuḍa*. One of the right hands should be in the *varada* pose, and the remaining five should carry the *gadā*, *khaḍga*, *cakra*, *vajra* and *aṅkuśa*, in the left hands should be held the *śaṅkha*, *khetaka*, *dhanus*, *padma*, *daṇḍa* and *pāśa*." *Rūpamaṇḍana* (*Adhyāya III*, verses 58, 59).

No specimen of 12-armed Viṣṇu

In spite of the injunction of the text for designing twelve hands for *Ananta-mūrti*, not a single specimen has so far come to my notice. We have instead an addition of two hands, one on each side in this type of image, with profuse variation in the

order of the objects and the side of the hands holding them. May be the protector of the 14 worlds (*loka*) might have been conceived to have an equal number of hands!

Actual Sculptures of 14-armed Viṣṇu

Plate V—illustrates a very beautiful piece of Gujarātī sculpture. found from the valley formed at the confluence of Sābarmatī with Hāthmatī in north-east Gujarāt, and is one of the finest of sculptures both from the aesthetic and the artistic points of view. It is now lying in a niche in the newly built temple of Kotyārka in Khadāt-Mahudī village in Vijāpur Tāluka. The serenity of the face and the exquisite workmanship of the sculptor compels admiration for this skill. The three-fourths profile instead of the flat frontal pose so common in sculptures of gods and goddesses and even of Tirthaṅkaras and of Buddha, makes it a piece of genuine art. It has two other faces on either side, the fourth being imagined at the back. Viṣṇu is seated at ease on Garuḍa, who is represented here in human form.

Stylistic differences and the quality of Art.

Plate VI—gives another specimen of a 14-armed Viṣṇu, with almost identical objects and symbols. The three-facedness of the image is clearly visible from the photograph. Even though this image is identical to the one described above, its aesthetic value and the quality of art and craftsmanship differ a great deal. The second specimen is a formal execution of the sculptor, without any emotion. Even though it is actually in worship in a temple in Pāṭan (N. Gujarāt.) there is no expression on the face, and the whole execution is a tame affair. This suggests how the decadence in sculptural art had affected the level of craftsmanship, and thus given rise to stylistic differences in two works, representing the same idea. The history of indigenous miniature-painting in Gujarāt affords a parallel to the art of sculpture in this respect.

Fourteen-armed variety of Viṣṇu

The 14-armed image of Viṣṇu, one is inclined to believe, is a very popular variety of the Ananta-form, which however has not been described in any text on iconography, uptil now known to us. Another, rather a conventional image of a 14-armed Viṣṇu from Ajmer Museum has been published by Mahāmahopādhyāya Gauriśaṅkar Ojha (Lectures on 'Mediaeval Hindu Culture' 1929). The progress from twelve hands to fourteen has a precedent in the ten-armed variety discussed above.

The third specimen from Sanḍera, (Plate VII) a village in Siddhapur Tāluka, Baroda State Territory is a beautiful piece of sculpture. Viṣṇu is seating at ease on Garuḍa, with the left leg bent.

Miniature Viṣṇu-figure on the Head

The noteworthy feature of this icon is a miniature-figure of Viṣṇu on the top of the principal deity, and this shows the Vaiṣṇava origin of the deity. This suggests the influence of the Buddhist idea of the parental Dhyāni Buddha being placed at the top of the main deity, showing the origin of the deity or family to which the deity originally belonged. Thus in Buddhist images the miniature-figures of Akṣobhya, Amitābha, Ratnasambhava, Amoghasiddhi and Vairocana on the crown show that the main deity is an emanation of one or the other of the Dhyāni Buddhas and belongs to his family. We shall note this fact again later on while describing the sixteen-armed image of Trailokya-mohana.

Dhyāna of Trailokya-mohaṇa

"The figure of Trailokya-mohana has double the number of hands that Vaikuṇṭhanāth has, i.e., sixteen. In six of the right hands are to be placed respectively the *gadā*, *cakra*, *aṅkuśa*, *bāṇa*, *śakti*, and *cakra* (?); the seventh right hand is to be in the *varada* pose; in seven of the left hands should be placed similarly the *mudgara*, *pāśa*, *dhanus*, *śaṅkha*, *padma*, *kamaṇḍalu* and



Plate VII
14-armed Vishnu
(A form of Ananta)



Plate VIII
(16-armed Vishnu)
Iraṭṭokyaṃohana



Plate IX
(16-armed Vishnu)
Iraṭṭokyaṃohana



Plate X
(20-armed Visnu)
Viśvarūpa



Plate XI
(20-armed Visnu)
Viśvarūpa

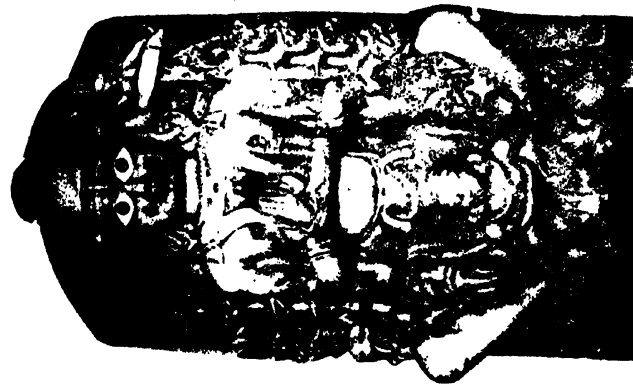


Plate XII
(20-armed Visnu)
Viśvarūpa

sr̥ṅga (a horn); the remaining right hand and left hand are to be held in the *yoga-mudrā* pose.”³

Actual Sculptures of 16-armed Viṣṇu

The two varieties of Trailokyamohana very well illustrate the *dhyaṇa* given in the text, however, with a few variations. *Plate VIII* is from the Viṣṇu temple at Vālam, Vijāpur Tāluka (North Gujarāt). It has three visible faces, the front one looking like that of Nṛsiṃha. Some of the hands are broken. It is riding on Garuḍa as distinguished from the sitting-at-ease posture in the 14-armed variety discussed above.

The other specimens of the same Trailokyamohana variety (*Plate IX*) is from Sanderā village, Siddhapur Tāluka. It was first illustrated in my paper on “Gujarātī or the Western School of Mediaeval Indian Sculpture”, in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for September 1938. It also has a miniature figure of Viṣṇu on the *mukuta*.

Dhyaṇa of Viśvarūpa, the 20-Armed Viṣṇu

The image of Viśvarūpa is remarkable for its iconographic peculiarities and its rarity. “It is four-faced and is endowed with twenty hands. He shows the *patākāmudrā*, ploughshare, *śaṅkha*, *vajra*, *aṅkuśa*, arrow, *cakra*, citron and the *varadamudrā*. In the left hands are shown the *patākā* (flag), *daṇḍa*, *pāśa*, *gadā*, sword, lotus, horn, *mūṣala* and rosary. Two other hands show the *yoga-mudrā*.”

- 3 “... ..अत्र त्रैलोक्यमोहनः ।
य षोडशभुजस्तार्क्ष्यासुतः प्राग्वच्चतुर्मुखः ॥
गदाचक्राङ्कुशा वारणं शङ्खश्चक्रं वरः कमाव ।
दक्षेष्टे मुद्गरः पाशः शार्ङ्गशंखाच्चक्रकुण्डिकाः ॥
शङ्खो वामेष्टे हस्तेष्टे योगमुद्रा करद्वयम् ।
नरश्च नारमिहश्च शूकरं कपिलाननम् ॥”

— रूपमण्डने अ० ३, श्लो० ६०, ६१, ६२.

- 4 “विशल्या हस्तकैर्युक्तो विश्वरूपश्चतुर्मुखः ।
पताका हलशंखौ च वज्राङ्कुशशरौस्तथा ॥

Actual Sculptures of 20-Armed Viṣṇu

Out of the three specimens given here to illustrate the Viśvarūpa form of Viṣṇu, the sculpture (*Plate X*) is now at the temple of Koṭyarka, newly built in Khaḍāta-Mahuḍi village, Vijāpur Tāluka. It has three faces: and the position of the objects answers well the description quoted above.

The second specimen (*Plate XI*) is from Mehsānā, the headquarters for Mehsānā Dist. two of whose principal hands holding *yoga-mudrā* are broken. The remarkable thing about this image is the third face to the left, which has a similarity to the face of man-lion.

Third specimen (*Plate XII*) is the image worshipped even to-day in the Nārāyaṇji temple at Pāṭan, the awkward new enamel eyes, mustaches and the *tilaka* are easily marked out from the genuine workmanship in marble. The seated image is about 3.5 feet high.

Iconographic peculiarities

The Viśvarūpa image of Viṣṇu is remarkable for its iconographic peculiarities and its rarity in Indian sculpture. These images are made of marble which admits of fine workmanship; and hence occasional varieties in the position of objects in the various hands are met with. These iconographic peculiarities are the result of the stone material used by the sculptor, who fashions the objects according to his convenience. The Viśvarūpa image reminds us of the Viśvarūpa-darśana given by Lord Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna. It may

चक्रं च बीजपूरं च वरो दक्षिणाबाहुषु ।
पताका दण्डपाशौ च गदाशाटोत्पलानि च ॥
शृंगो मूषलमर्जनं च क्रमात् स्युर्वामबाहुषु ।
हस्तद्वयं योगमुद्रा वैनतेयोपरि स्थितः ॥
कमलत्र-वृत्तिह-स्त्री-वराहमुखवन्मुखः ।”

—रूपमण्डने अ० ३, श्लो० ५५, ५६, ५७.

be that this variety might have had its suggestion from such references to the All-mighty form of Viṣṇu.

Viṣṇu images with four faces.

Two types of Viṣṇu images according to the number of faces have been noticed. First type is a one-headed smiling figure with either two or four or even twenty arms. The second type represents him as having four faces as in the special forms of Viṣṇu: viz. Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha, Vaikunṭha, Ananta, Trailokyamohana and Viśvarūpa. These are faces of a man, a man-lion, a woman and a boar. (See plates mentioned above).

*Order in the varying number of hands not suggested
in the Rūpamaṇḍana*

I have tried above to evolve and formulate a sort of an underlying order possibly at work in the development of the special forms of Viṣṇu, with the gradual addition of a set of two hands to every subsequent form. The order in which Maṇḍana describes them in chapter III on Viṣṇu Images is as under: Firstly, 8-armed Vaikunṭha (verses 52, 53, 54), then 20-armed Viśvarūpa (verses 55, 56, 57) then 12-armed Ananta (verses 58, 59) and then lastly 16-armed Trailokyamohana (verses 60, 61, 62).

Naturally we have no text to justify the order suggested by me above on the strength of actual sculptures; but it may be taken as highly probable.⁵

M. R. MAJUMDAR

5 It may be remarked, however, that all the icons illustrated in this paper are exclusively from North Gujarāt. Extensive tours, therefore, in ancient sites extending over the whole of Gujarāt, Kāthiāwād and Cutch are bound to furnish numerous finds, rich in artistic value as well. I am indebted to the University of Bombay, whose sympathy and financial help enabled me to undertake a preliminary study of rare Hindu sculptures in Gujarāt.

Alexander's Invasion of India: a revised Study¹

Alexander's cautious Advance eastward

After the collapse of the Achaemenian power in the battle of Gaugamela or Arbela in the spring of 331 B.C. and the burning of the magnificent palace at Persepolis in 330 B.C., Alexander formed plans to realise his ambition of conquering India, and thus outrivaling Herakles and Dionysos whose achievements were the subject of many a popular song and legend. Accordingly, unmindful of the rigours of climate and of the numerous other obstacles, Alexander set himself with his habitual foresight to the task of subjugating the lands that lay on his route in order to maintain free and uninterrupted communication with his distant base. He first occupied Seistan, and then emerged into the regions of southern Afghanistan, where "at a point commanding the roads" he founded a city called 'Alexandria-among-the-Arachosians', now represented by Kandahar. The following year, he appeared in the Kabul valley with his invincible hosts, but before he could direct his energies towards India he had to subdue Bactria and other adjacent territories, which upheld the Persian cause under a prince of the blood royal. Alexander found no difficulty in subduing them, and when all opposition was laid low, he recrossed the Hindu-Kush in ten days and arrived at the strategic outpost of 'Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus', which he had founded in 329 B.C., two years before his hurricane campaign beyond the mountains. He then advanced towards Nikaia, situated "between Alexandria and the Kabul river;"² here or somewhere "on the way to the river Kabul"³ Alexander divided his army into two sections.

1 A paper submitted to the *Third Indian History Congress*, Calcutta.

2 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 348. Smith locates Nikaia to the west of modern Jalalabad (*Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 53), whereas Holdich puts it at Kabul.

3 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 348, note 3.

One was placed under the command of his trusted generals, Hephaestion and Perdiccas, with instructions to go ahead and construct a bridge over the Indus for the safe passage of his forces; and the other was led by Alexander himself against the warlike tribes and recalcitrant chiefs of the frontier.

The Aspasioi routed

The Aspasioi (cf. Iranian *Aspa* or Sanskrit *Āśva* = horse) of the Alisang-Kunar valley were the first to be subdued by Alexander, who captured 40,000 men and 2,30,000 oxen, transporting the choicest among the latter to Macedonia for being employed in agriculture. Arrian (IV, 25), however, deposes that with these people "the conflict was sharp, not only from the difficult nature of the ground, but also because the Indians were.....by far the stoutest warriors in that neighbourhood."

Nysa

Alexander next attacked the hill-state of Nysa, which probably occupied a site on the lower spurs and valleys of the Koh-i-Mor.⁴ It was governed by a body of aristocracy consisting of 300 members, Akouphis being their chief. The Nysaens readily submitted to Alexander, and placed at his disposal a contingent of 300 cavalry. They claimed descent from Dionysos, and in proof of it pointed out that the ivy grew in their country and the mountain near the city was the same as Mêtros. This gratified the vanity of Alexander, and he, therefore, allowed his weary troops to enjoy rest and Bacchanalian revels for a few days with their alleged distant kinsmen.

Defeat of the Assakenoi

Continuing his advance, Alexander defeated the Assakenoi (Sanskrit *Āśvakas* or *Āśmakas*, perhaps a branch of, or allied to, the

4 M'crindle, *Ancient India, Its Invasion by Alexander the Great*, p. 65.

5 *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 57, note.

Aspasioi), who opposed him with an army of 20,000 cavalry and more than 30,000 infantry,⁶ besides 30 elephants.⁷ Their main stronghold Massaga⁸ was considered almost impregnable, being protected on the east by "an impetuous mountain stream with steep banks", while to the south and west nature had "piled up gigantic rocks, at the base of which lay sloughs and yawning chasms."⁹ These natural fortifications were re-inforced by a deep ditch and a thick wall. The citadel appeared to baffle the military ingenuity of Alexander, but it could not hold out long after its chief Assakenos had been killed by a chance shot.¹⁰ Thinking further resistance useless, his wife Kleophis¹¹ surrendered herself to Alexander, and it is said that as a result of their romance she subsequently gave birth to a son bearing the name of the great conqueror.¹² It is interesting to note here the part played by nearly 7,000 Indian mercenary soldiers in the defence of Massaga. We learn that Alexander guaranteed them safe passage if they evacuated the city, but when they had actually retired to a distance he suddenly fell upon them and made "a great slaughter of their ranks." Diodoros says that the Indian mercenaries at first "loudly protested that they were attacked in violation of sworn obligations, and invoked the gods whom he had desecrated by taking false oaths in their name."¹³ To this, Alexander retorted that "his covenant merely bound him to

6 38,000 infantry, according to Curtius (VIII, 10; M'crindle, *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 194).

7 Arrian, IV, 26; *Ibid.*, p. 66. The siege of Massaga is put before the capitulation of Nysa by Arrian, and after it by Curtius.

8 Identification uncertain. Was it the same as Sanskrit Maśakāvati? Vincent Smith places it "not very far to the north of the Malakand Pass (*E.H.I.*, 4th ed., p. 57).

9 Curtius, VIII, 10; M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 195.

10 Arrian, IV, 27; *Ibid.*, p. 68.

11 Curtius, however, calls Kleophis the mother of Assakanus, who is said to have died before Alexander invested Massaga (VIII, 10, *Ibid.*, p. 194).

12 Justin, XII, 7; *Ibid.*, p. 322.

13 Diodoros, XVII, 84; M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 269.

let them depart from the city, and was by no means a league of perpetual amity between them and the Macedonians."¹⁴ Undaunted by this unexpected danger, the Indian mercenaries fought with great tenacity and "by their audacity and feats of valour made the conflict, in which they closed, hot work for the enemy."¹⁵ When many of them had been killed, or were in the grips of deadly wounds, the women took the arms of the fallen and heroically defended the citadel along with the men. After fighting desperately they were at last over-powered by superior numbers, and in the words of Diodoros "met a glorious death which they would have disdained to exchange for a life with dishonour."¹⁶ The episode, no doubt, reveals to us that India had her own Joans of Arc in those bygone times, but it does not speak well of Alexander's chivalry and sense of respecting agreements, and Plutarch rightly observes that it "rests as a foul blot on his martial fame."¹⁷ After the fall of Massaga, Alexander advanced further, and in the course of a few months' hard fighting captured the important and strategic fortresses of Ora, Bazira, Aornos, Peukelaotis (Skt. Puṣkarāvati, modern Charsadda in the Yusufzai territory), Embolima and Dyrta.¹⁸

Situation in North-Western India

Thus having subjugated the frontier regions and posted adequate Greek garrisons to maintain his authority there,¹⁹ Alexander felt himself free to press onward to India. The odds were undoubtedly in his favour. The Panjab and Sind, which were to bear the brunt of his arms, presented the sorry spectacle of a disunited house.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Plutarch, Ch. LIX; M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 306.

¹⁸ The identification of these places is not quite certain. Minor towns of the lower Kophen (Kabul) valley were occupied with the help of local chiefs named Kophaios and Assagetes (Aśvajit?)—Arrian, IV, 28; *Ibid.*, p. 72.

¹⁹ For instance, Nikanor was appointed satrap of the country to the west of the Indus, and Philippos was put in command of a garrison at Peukelaotis (*Ibid.*).

There was no towering personality of the type of Candragupta Maurya, who successfully repelled the invasion of Seleukos Nikator two decades afterwards, but on the other hand north-western India was parcelled out into a number of states, monarchies as well as clan oligarchies, engaged in petty internecine feuds and jealousies, due to which some of them found their chance in seeking alliance with an alien aggressor. Indeed, the gates of India were, so to say, unbarred by the Rājā of Taxila, who lost no time in proffering allegiance to Alexander, and who also rendered every assistance to the advance body of the Macedonians under Perdikkas in bridging the Indus and securing the submission of the tribes and chieftains, like Astes (Hasti or Aṣṭakarāja?),²⁰ whose territories lay on their route.

Taxila and Abhisāra

About the beginning of spring 326 B.C. after offering the customary sacrifices and allowing his tired troops a short respite, Alexander crossed the Indus safely somewhere near Ohind (modern Und, a few miles above Attock), and was welcomed at Taxila by Omphis or Āmbhi,²¹ son of the deceased Taxiles, with rich and attractive presents consisting of silver and sheep and oxen of good breed.²² Gratified at these gifts, Alexander returned them, adding his own, and thus won not only the loyalty of the ruler of Taxila but also a contingent of 5,000 soldiers from him.²³ Similarly, Abhisares, the astute king of Abhisāra (Poonch and Nowshera districts), and other neighbouring princes like Doxares²⁴ surrendered to Alexander of their own accord, thinking resistance would be of no avail.²⁵

20. The capital of Astes was stormed by Hephaestion in thirty days, and his principality was given to one Sang-gaios (Skt. Sañjaya)—Arrian, IV, 22; *Ibid.*, p. 60.

21. Sylvain Lèvi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1890, p. 234.

22. Arrian, V, 3, M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 83; Curtius, VIII, 12; *Ibid.*, p. 202.

23. Arrian, V, 8; *Ibid.*, p. 93.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

25. Diodoros would, however, have us believe that Embisaros (Abhisares) had

Poros

However, when the latter reached the Hydaspes (Jhelum) he found the great Poros (Paurava?) on the other side of the river ready, no doubt, to meet him in response to his summons from Taxila, but at the head of a vast army eager for the fray.²⁶ Alexander finds it difficult to cross the stream, and there ensues a battle of wits between the two august opponents. Ultimately, the invader decided "to steal a passage" (Arrian), which he did with about 11,000 of his picked men near a sharp bend several miles up the river from his camp in the dead of night when a severe storm accompanied by rain and thunder had lulled the vigilance of Poros. Further, Alexander camouflaged his intentions and movements by leaving a strong force under Krateros in his camp and another with Meleager midway between it and the place where the river was crossed.²⁷ Detecting that he had been foiled in his attempt not to allow Alexander to land his troops on the eastern side of the Hydaspes, Poros despatched his son "at the head of 2,000 men and 120 chariots"²⁸ to obstruct the advance of his audacious adversary. The young Poros was, however, easily routed and killed by Alexander.

Alexander and Poros face each other

At last, Poros himself moved and put against Alexander 50,000 foot, 3,000 horse, above 1,000 chariots, and 130 elephants. In the centre, the elephants formed a sort of front wall, and behind them stood the foot-soldiers. The cavalry protected both flanks and in front of the horsemen were the chariots. As Alexander viewed the equipment of the Indian forces and their disposition in the Karri

made an alliance with Poros and was preparing to oppose Alexander (XVII, 87 *Ibid.*, p. 274).

²⁶ Curtius, VIII, 13; *Ibid.*, p. 203.

²⁷ Guards were also posted all the way to ensure free communication.

²⁸ Arrian, V, 14; *Ibid.*, p. 101. According to Curtius, the detachment was commanded by Poros' brother, Hages (VIII, 14; *Ibid.*, p. 207).

plain,²⁹ he was constrained to remark: "I see at last a danger that matches my courage. It is at once with wild beasts and men of uncommon mettle that the contest now lies."³⁰ In the engagement which opened with the furious charges of the Macedonian horsemen, the Indians fought with great vigour, and, as Plutarch says, "obstinately maintained" their ground till the eighth hour of the day,³¹ but eventually the fates went against them.

Causes of Poros' Defeat

The main strength of Poros lay in the chariots, "each of which was drawn by four horses and carried six men, of whom two were shield-bearers, two, archers posted on each side of the chariot, and the other two, charioteers, as well as men-at-arms, for when the fighting was at close-quarters they dropped the reins and hurled dart after dart against the enemy."³² On this particular day, however, these chariots were of no use at all, for the violent storm of rain "had made the ground slippery, and unfit for horses to ride over, while the chariots kept sticking in the muddy sloughs formed by the rain, and proved almost immovable from their great weight."³³ Besides, owing to the slippery condition of the ground it became difficult for the archers to rest their long and heavy bows on it and discharge arrows quickly and with effect.³⁴ Furthermore, the Indian army was far too unwieldy to withstand the masterful manoeuvres of the mobile Macedonian cavalry, or the attacks of the disciplined phalanx.

29 *E.H.I.*, pp. 69, 88.

30 Curtius, VIII, 14; M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 209.

31 Plutarch, Ch. LX; *Ibid.*, p. 308.

32 Curtius, VIII, 14; *Ibid.*, p. 207.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 208.

34 Arrian deposes that the bow "is made of equal length with the man who bears it. This they rest upon the ground, and pressing against it with their left foot thus discharge the arrow having drawn the string far backwards: for the shaft they use is little short of being three yards long....." (*Indika*, Ch. XVI; M'crindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 225).

es. And lastly, the elephants, on whom Poros had put so much reliance, got frightened when the Macedonians began to hack their feet and trunks with axes and choppers. Thus the beasts fled from the field of battle "like a flock of sheep" and they spread havoc among their own ranks and threw their drivers to the ground, who were then trampled to death.³⁵ Whatever may have been the causes of this disaster, Poros, a magnificent giant of over six feet in height, did not shrink from the stress of battle, or abandon the field like Darius Kodomannos of Persia, but true to the injunction of Manu 'संग्रामेष्वनिवर्तित्वं' (vii, 88) he stuck to his post in spite of the "nine wounds" that he had received, and continued hurling darts against the enemy with dogged tenacity, perhaps thinking to himself:

"With fame though I die, I am content,
Let fame be mine, though life be spent".

When Poros was ultimately captured and brought before Alexander, he was not at all "broken and abashed in spirit"³⁶ but boldly met him as one brave man would meet another brave man after a trial of strength, and he made the proud demand, "Treat me, O Alexander! as befits a king."³⁷

35 Curtius, VIII, 14; M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 211.

36 Arrian, V, 19; *Ibid.*; p. 109.

37 *Ibid.* In a recent paper (*Proceedings of the second Indian History Congress*, Allahabad, 1938, pp. 85-91), Dr. H. C. Seth of the Nagpur University has tried to show on the basis of a dubious passage occurring in the Ethiopic version of the *Life and Exploits of Alexander* (E. A. W. Budge's Translation, p. 123) that the great invader received his first set-back in the battle of Jhelum and he sought peace with Poros. It is difficult to appreciate the force of the learned Professor's observations, for firstly we do not know with certainty the date of the Ethiopic Text. Secondly, it utterly goes against the uniform testimony of all the five classical authors, and there is no reason to believe that they deliberately conspired to record what was untrue. Thirdly, if Poros was the victor, as Dr. Seth would have us understand, how could Alexander then advance right upto the bank of the Hyphasis. A consummate general like him would never have done so, if at the very gate of India he had to bow to the arms of Poros.

Re-instatement of Poros

Justin informs us that Alexander "out of respect for his valour restored him (Poros) in safety to his sovereignty".³⁸ Perhaps the chivalrous instincts of Alexander were to some extent responsible for the generous treatment he accorded to Poros, but there must have been stronger reasons as well, for politics hardly knows of any such magnanimity. In the first place, the stout resistance of Poros, which is further apparent from the high casualty list,³⁹ must have conveyed its own lesson to Alexander. The latter also knew that as he was hailing from distant Greece it was impossible for him in the very nature of things to compel all the conquered lands to continue rendering him obedience without enlisting local loyalty, assistance and co-operation. Then again, his ambition to found a permanent empire in the east largely remained unfulfilled, and it was, therefore, necessary for him to pursue a policy of conciliation, to adopt—so to say—the method of capturing wild elephants by means of tame ones. Accordingly, Alexander extended to Poros the olive branch of peace and friendship by re-instating him in his former dignity and sovereignty. And in doing so, Alexander was not only acting in consonance with the dictates of diplomacy and statecraft, but strangely enough he was also following the traditional policy of Hindu conquerors, advocated by Manu⁴⁰ and Kauṭilya,⁴¹ of placing either the vanquished monarch or some scion of his family upon the throne instead of resorting to direct annexation.

38 Justin, XII, 8; M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 323.

39 Diodoros says that 12,000 men were killed and 9,000 captured (XVII, 89; *Ibid.*, p. 276). According to Arrian, however, the loss in killed was 20,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry and all the chariots were broken to pieces (V, 18; *Ibid.*, p. 107).

40 Cf. Manu, सर्वेषां तु विदित्वैषां समासेन चिकीर्षितम् ।

स्थापयेत्तत्तत्तद्वंश्यं कुर्याच्च समयक्रियाम् ॥ (VII, 202).

41 Book VII, Ch. XVI, p. 313.

Foundation of two Towns

Alexander then founded two towns; one was called Boukephala after the name of his faithful charger which died in India,¹² and the other, Nikaia, meant to commemorate his victory, in the battle with Poros.

Defeat of the Glausai and younger Poros

Next, having propitiated the Greek gods, Alexander marched into the territory of a nation called the Glausai or Glaukanikai (← Sanskrit Glaucukāyanakas of the *Kāśikā*), taking thirty-seven of their cities "the smallest of which contained not fewer than 5,000 inhabitants, while many contained upwards of 10,000."¹³ At this stage Alexander heard of revolts against him; Nikanor, the satrap of "India-West-of the Indus", was assassinated and Sisikottos i.e. Śaśigupta, who held the citadel at Aornos on behalf of Alexander, too sent urgent messages for help. The neighbouring satrap Tyriaspes and Philip, the 'Resident' in the Kingdom of Taxila promptly responded and thus averted any immediate danger to Macedonian authority. After the arrival of Thracian re-inforcements and the re-submission of the ruler of Abhisāra, Alexander crossed the Akesines (Skt. Asikni or Chenab) and subdued the younger Poros, nephew of the great Poros. His territory, known as Gandaris,¹⁴ as also that of the Glausai was added by Alexander to the kingdom of his quondam enemy—the senior Poros (Paurava).

Capture of Pimprama

By August 326 B.C. the Macedonian arms penetrated beyond the Hydroates (Paruṣṇi or Irāvati i.e. modern Ravi), and Alexander won fresh laurels by capturing Pimprama belonging to the Adraistai (Aristas of Pāṇini ?).

42 Boukephala stood on the Hydaspes at a point where it was crossed

43 Arrian, V, 20, M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 112

44 Cf. Strabo, M'crindle's *Ancient India*, p. 37

Sangala stormed

Soon afterwards Alexander invested Sangala, the stronghold of the Kathaians (Skt. Kāthas), who "enjoyed the highest reputation for courage and skill in the art of war."⁴⁵ Strabo, quoting Onesikritos, informs us that among the Kathaians beauty was highly valued and "the handsomest man was chosen as king."⁴⁶ Every child was examined by public authority two months after its birth to determine "whether it has the beauty of form prescribed by law and whether it deserves to live or not."⁴⁷ Men and women among them chose their own partners, and the wives burnt themselves along with their deceased husbands.⁴⁸ These Kathaians fought with great dash and stubbornness, so much so that even Poros came to the aid of Alexander with "a force of 5,000 Indians."⁴⁹ At last when the fortress fell no less than 17,000 of the defenders gave up their lives and more than 70,000 were captured together with 300 waggons and 500 horsemen.⁵⁰ This resolute resistance of the Kathaians incensed Alexander to such an extent that he razed Sangala to the ground. Then with a view to guard the rear he sent Greek garrisons to the conquered cities, and himself marched towards the Hyphasis (Beas) to realise his cherished dreams of planting the Hellenic standards in the easternmost ends of India.

The Greek army refuses to advance

But when Alexander reached the river, his ever-victorious troops, which had braved many a danger and privation so far, suddenly laid down arms and refused to go further for the sake of fame or plunder.⁵¹

45 Arrian, V, 22; M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 115.

46 Cf. Strabo, M'crindle's *Ancient India*, p. 38. 47 *Ibid.* 48 *Ibid.*

49 Arrian, V, 24; M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 119. 50 *Ibid.*

51 Plutarch, Ch. LXII; M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 310; Arrian, V 28; *Ibid.*, p. 127.

The Greek soldiers were war-worn, home-sick, disease-stricken, and destitute;⁵² and many of them were ill-equipped, for it was now increasingly difficult to transport and supply garments from Greece, and not a few were depressed because their friends had perished by disease or fallen victims to sanguinary battles. But was there any other ground for their conduct which doubtless savoured of mutiny? Plutarch gives us some clue to this mystery, for he indicates that even after the contest with Poros the Macedonian forces were considerably dispirited, and it was with reluctance that they had advanced as far as the Hyphasis at Alexander's bidding. He says: "The battle with Poros depressed the spirits of the Macedonians, and made them very unwilling to advance farther into India. For as it was with the utmost difficulty they had beaten him when the army he led amounted only to 20,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry they now most resolutely opposed Alexander when he insisted that they should cross the Ganges."⁵³ The Greeks had been impressed by the heroism and skill of the Indian soldiers. Indeed, according to Arrian, "in the art of war they were far superior to the other nations by which Asia was at that time inhabited."⁵⁴ That is perhaps why the Greeks showed even after fighting against Poros that they had "no stomach for further toils in India." But when Alexander egged them on to march onward it was like putting the proverbial last straw on the camel's back. During their progress towards the Hyphasis Alexander's troops had heard all sorts of alarming rumours that beyond it there were extensive deserts, impetuous and unfathomable rivers, and what was more disquieting, powerful and wealthy nations maintain-

52 Cf. Koinos. "We have conquered all the world, but are ourselves destitute of all things"—Curtius, IX, 3; *Ibid.*, p. 229.

53 Plutarch, LXII: *Ibid.*, p. 310. Plutarch has here under-estimated the strength of the army, and instead of the Hyphasis he has mentioned the Ganges.

54 Arrian, V, 4; *Ibid.*, p. 85.

ing huge armies. Curtius represents Phegeus (Phegelis?).⁵⁵ identified with Bhagala,⁵⁶ as giving the following information to Alexander: "The farther bank of the Ganges was inhabited by two nations, the Gangaridae, and the Prasii, whose king Agrammes kept in the field for guarding the approaches to his country 20,000 cavalry and 2,00,000 infantry besides 2,000 four-horsed chariots, and what was most formidable force of all, a troop of elephants, which ran upto the number of 3,000."⁵⁷ Similarly, Plutarch says that "the kings of the Gangaritai and Praisiai were reported to be waiting for him with an army of 80,000 horse and 200,000 foot, 8,000 war-chariots and 6,000 fighting elephants. Nor was this any exaggeration, for not long afterwards Androkottos who had by that time mounted the throne, presented Seleukos with 500 elephants and overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000 men."⁵⁸ The substantial truth of these statements is also borne out by indigenous sources, which tell us of the enormous riches and power of the Nanda monarch holding sway over the Gangaridai and Praisiai nations.⁵⁹ Arrian's deposition, too, is much to the same effect, but he seems to refer to the country immediately beyond the Hyphasis. He observes. "It was exceedingly fertile, and the inhabitants were good agriculturists, brave in war, and living under an excellent system of internal government; for the multitude was governed by the aristocracy, who exercised their authority with justice and moderation. It was also reported that the people there had a greater number of elephants than the other Indians, and that those were of superior size and courage."⁶⁰ These details spurred the indomitable spirit of Alexander and made him all the more keen to

55 Curtius, IX, 2: *Ibid.*, p. 221.

56 *Cam. Hist. of India*, vol. I, p. 372.

57 Curtius, IX, 2: M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, pp. 221-22.

58 Plutarch, LXII; *Ibid.*, p. 310.

59 Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. of Anc. Ind.*, 4th ed., pp. 188-91.

60 Arrian, V, 25; M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 121.

advance into the heart of India. The Macedonians, on the other hand as affirmed by Arrian, "now began to lose heart when they saw the king raising up without end toils upon toils and dangers upon dangers."⁶¹ Indeed, the army held conferences "at which the more moderate men bewailed their condition, while others positively asserted that they would follow no farther though Alexander himself should lead the way."⁶²

Alexander's Appeal

Alexander made a fervent appeal to his comrades to divest their minds of these false rumours and follow him with "alacrity and confidence." He declared: "I am not ignorant, soldiers, that during these last days the natives of this country have been spreading all sorts of rumours *designed expressly to work upon your fears*, but the falsehood of those who invent such lies is nothing new in your experience."⁶³ This assurance was, however, of no avail. The troops persisted in their refusal to enter into further contests with the Indians beyond the Beas, "whose numbers," so answered Koinós, "though purposely exaggerated by the barbarians, must yet, as I can gather from the lying report itself, be very considerable."⁶⁴ Alexander made his last desperate attempt to rouse the spirits of his forces by threatening to march on even if forsaken by them: "Expose me then to the dangers of rivers, to the rage of elephants, and to those nations *whose very names fill you with terror*. I shall find men that will follow me though I be deserted by you."⁶⁵

No Response

But the Macedonian troops were so struck by the energetic resistance and bravery of the Indians, whom they had met on the

⁶¹ Arrian, V, 25; McCrindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 121.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Curtius, IX, 2; *Ibid.*, p. 223.

⁶⁴ Curtius, IX, 3; *Ibid.*, p. 229.

⁶⁵ Curtius, IX, 2; *Ibid.*, p. 226.

battle-fields, and they were so unnerved and terrified by the reported military strength of the nations beyond the Hyphasis that even this threat, this grim prospect of Alexander plunging headlong into the depths of the enemy's country and may be, losing his life there, was simply met by silent tears. This brought the situation home to Alexander, who exclaimed in utter dismay: "I have all along been knocking at deaf ears. I am trying to rouse hearts that are *disloyal and crushed with craven fears*."⁶⁶ He then gave orders for retracing their steps homewards. Thus the cherished dreams of Alexander to found an eastern empire vanished, and that brilliant military leader and the hero of a hundred fights had to give way to the fears of his troops, although such fears were altogether foreign to his own dashing nature. And when Diodoros Siculus informs us that the greatest nation in India was the Gangaridai, "against whom Alexander did not undertake an expedition, being deterred by the multitude of thier elephants."⁶⁷ we are not to understand that he himself had any misgiving about his strength, or reluctance to embark upon further adventures, but it was chiefly due to the pusillanimous attitude of his troops that his progress was arrested and he was forced to retreat.⁶⁸

Altars

It is said that with a view to marking the extreme point of his advance eastward, Alexander gave directions for the construction of twelve colossal stone altars, dedicated to the chief Greek gods.⁶⁹ When these massive monuments were completed, Alexander offered sacrifices, accompanied by appropriate ceremonies, for a safe return home.

66 Curtius, IX, 2; *Ibid.*, p. 226.

67 *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature* p. 201.

68 *I.A.S.B.*, New Series XIX, 1923, pp. 765-769.

69 These altars must have been on the right bank of the Hyphasis and not on its left side, as Pliny would have us believe (VI, 62).

Retreat: Scheme of Administration

The Macedonian storm having swept over the Panjab receded in September 326 B.C., and probably except hearing its rumblings the peoples of the Gangetic plains knew nothing of its devastating fury. Soon Alexander reached the bank of the Hydaspes (Jhelum), which was the scene of his conflict with Poros. Here Alexander made proper arrangements for keeping the conquered parts of the Panjab under his subjection. He placed his new ally, Poros, in charge of all the tract between the Hydaspes and the Hyphasis, and Omphis or Āmbhi of Taxila was given full jurisdiction over the Indus-Hydaspes Doab. Likewise, the ruler of Abhisāra had his authority extended over Kashmir with Arsakes of Uraśā (Hazara district) as his vassal. And as a counterpoise to the rule of these Indian princes, Alexander stationed adequate Greek garrisons in cities founded by himself on the Indian soil. These Greek settlers were meant to be the sentinels or guardians of his overlordship, so that no enterprising Indian monarch may be able to revolt in order to shake off the alien yoke.

Sophytes

Alexander then made preparations for sailing down the rivers, but before the voyage actually began he cleared the path of all potential enemies by bringing about the submission of Sophytes (Saubhūti?), whose kingdom had "a mountain of fossil salt which could supply all India."⁷⁰ He was thus the chief of the country of the salt range.⁷¹ Incidentally, it may be noted that according to Strabo the land of Sophytes had dogs of "astonishing courage" and mettle, and Alexander even witnessed their fight with a lion.⁷²

70 Strabo, M'crindle's *Ancient India*, p. 38.

71 According to Curtius, however, the kingdom of Sophytes was on the west of the Hyphasis (IX, 1; M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 219).

72 *Ibid.*, p. 220; Strabo, *Ancient India*, p. 38.

Curtius further avers that the people of Sophytes "excelled in wisdom, and lived under good laws and customs."⁷³ Like the Kathaians, they held beauty in great esteem and marriages were contracted not with high birth but by looks. Each infant was medically examined and if they found "anything deformed or defective in the limbs of a child they ordered it to be killed."⁷⁴

Voyage down the River

Towards the close of October the signal for the departure was given with the sound of the trumpet, and the Macedonian boats glided down the river in grand array, protected on both banks by troops under the command of Hephæstion and Krateros respectively, until they reached the confluence of the Akesines and the Hydaspes.

The Siboi and the Agalassians

Here Alexander disembarked to measure swords with the Siboi (Skt. Śivis), who were preparing to oppose him with an army of 40,000 infantry,⁷⁵ and the Agalassians (Agraśrenis), who had mustered an equally great force of 40,000 foot and 3,000 horse.⁷⁶ The Siboi, who "dressed themselves with the skins of wild beasts, and had clubs for their weapons," were routed; but the Agalassians gallantly defended their capital and at first repulsed Alexander with serious losses. Curtius observes that realising their desperate position the defenders "set fire to their houses, and cast themselves along with their wives and children into the flames."⁷⁷ Thus the Agalassians anticipated the mediaeval Rajput custom of *Janbar*.

73 Curtius, IX, 1; M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 219.

74 *Ibid.*

75 Curtius, IX, 4; *Ibid.*, p. 232.

76 Diodoros, XVII, Ch. XCVI; *Ibid.*, p. 285.

77 Curtius, IX, 4; *Ibid.*, p. 232.

The Malloi and the Oxydrakai

Close upon the heels of the Agalassoï operations followed Alexander's campaign against the Malloi (Mālavas) and the Oxydrakai (Kṣudrakas), the "most numerous and warlike of all the Indian tribes in those parts, who were ready to give him a "hostile reception" after "having conveyed their children and their wives for safety into their strongest cities."⁷⁸ Curtius says that these two nations were formerly at enmity, but when the gravity of the peril threatening their liberty dawned upon them, they coalesced together and gathered an army of 90,000 foot soldiers, besides 10,000 cavalry and 900 war-chariots. The Macedonian soldiers, who had begun to think that they had come to an end of all hazardous tasks, were struck with "an unexpected terror" at the prospect of meeting fresh opposition, and in the words of Curtius "began again to upbraid the king in the language of sedition,"⁷⁹ saying that he had not ended war, but only shifted its theatre. Fully determined not to allow a repetition of the story of the Hyphasis, Alexander made a moving appeal to them "to permit him to return from India with honour, and not to escape from it like a fugitive."⁸⁰ This time it had the desired effect; the troops were galvanised into fresh activity and they rose to such a high pitch of war-frenzy that without giving any warning Alexander suddenly swooped down upon the Malloi, when they were working unarmed in the fields.⁸¹ A large number of them were mercilessly slain, but this did not break the backbone of their resistance. Some of the Malloi shut themselves up within the city, but it was stormed and 2,000 persons lost their lives. Others took shelter in a city of the Brachmans or Brahmans, where Alexander hotly pursued them. Arrian remarks: "As they were men of spirit, a few only were taken prisoners" and most of

⁷⁸ Arrian, VI, 4; *Ibid.*, p. 137.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

⁷⁹ Curtius, IX, 4; *Ibid.*, p. 234.

⁸¹ Arrian, VI, 6; *Ibid.*, p. 140.

them perished by the sword.⁸² Next, Alexander assailed the main stronghold of the Malloi, situated somewhere near the boundary of the modern Jhang and Montgomery districts.⁸³ Here Alexander received a dangerous wound,⁸⁴ which spread fury and consternation among his troops, for their safety mostly depended upon his leadership and prowess. Consequently, they perpetrated a ferocious massacre of the Malloi sparing "neither man, woman, nor child."⁸⁵ The indiscriminate slaughter of women and children was undoubtedly an act of wanton cruelty, which casts a slur on the war-code of the Greeks in India. When Alexander recovered, the submission of the Malloi became a *fait accompli*. The confederacy being thus dissolved, the Oxydrakai saw no better alternative than to send ambassadors to negotiate peace with Alexander. They declared that "they were attached more than others to freedom and autonomy,"⁸⁶ and it was due to the will of the gods, and not through fear, that they had bowed to his steel.⁸⁷ Alexander appreciated their dignified bearing and entertained their leading men with marked courtesy and lavishness, which even excited the jealousy of some of his generals. Next, to impress upon these two nations that Greek authority had come to stay, Alexander appointed Philippos⁸⁸ as satrap over them.

Abastanoi defeated

The invader then moved down the rivers until he reached the junction of the Akesines and the Indus, where he waited for Perdikkas, who during the course of his march had subdued the

82 *Ibid.*, VI, 7; *Ibid.*, p. 144.

83 *E.H.I.*, 4th ed., p. 100 and note.

84 Arrian distinctly mentions that the accident befell Alexander among the Malloi, and not the Oxydrakai (Arrian, VI, 11; M'crindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 149.)

85 *Ibid.*

86 Arrian, VI, 14; *Ibid.*, p. 154.

87 Curtius, IX, 7; *Ibid.*, pp. 248-49.

88 The jurisdiction of Philippos was subsequently extended much further southwards.

Abastanoi or Sambastai (Skt. Ambaṣṭhas). Diodoros deposes that they were "inferior to none in India either for numbers or for bravery. They dwelt in cities in which the democratic form of government prevailed."⁸⁹ Like the other tribes, they also collected a large force consisting of 60,000 foot-soldiers, 6,000 horse and 500 chariots to oppose Alexander, but fortune was no more favourable to them.

Subjugation of the lower Indu Valley

Among other communities which submitted to Alexander during his progress to the Indus delta were the Xathroi (Kṣatri of Manu), Ossadioi (= Vasāti of the *Mahābhārata*) Sodrai (Śūdras?) and the Massanoi; unfortunately we do not get any details about their hostilities. Alexander also subjugated a number of kings, viz., Mousikanos (lord of the Mūsikas?), Oxykanos,⁹⁰ and Sambos (Sambhu),⁹¹ who were too proud to acknowledge Alexander's suzerainty, despite their being mutually at war. Mousikanos had his capital at Alor (Sukkur district), and, according to Onesikritos, his people were distinguished for their healthy living and longevity—their term of life extending to 130 years.⁹² Some of their other characteristics have also been noted: "to have a common meal which they eat in public....., their food consisting of the produce of the chase; to use neither gold nor silver though they have mines of those metals; to employ instead of slaves young men in the flower of their age; to study no science with attention except that of medicine; to have no actions at law but for murder and outrage." for if contracts were violated one must pay the penalty for reposing too much trust on the other party."⁹³

⁸⁹ Diodoros, XVII, Ch. cii; *Ibid.*, p. 292.

⁹⁰ Diodoros (*Ibid.*) calls him Portikanos. For the site of his capital, see M'cridle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 158, note 1.

⁹¹ The capital of Sambos was Sindimana or Sihwan.

⁹² Strabo, M'cridle's *Ancient India*, p. 41

⁹³ *Ibid.*

Brāhmanic Opposition

One interesting feature of the political situation in this part of the country was the enormous influence wielded by the Brāhmaṇas and their active participation in politics. For instance, we are told that they instigated Mousikanos and Oxykanos to revolt and shake off the ignominy of foreign thralldom. They followed their advice and lost their heads along with a large number of Brāhmaṇas. The suppression of Brāhmanical opposition must not have been an easy task for Alexander, since they were not only respected throughout the land, but they were themselves, in the words of Arrian. "men of spirit."⁹⁴ The taking up of arms by the meek Brāhmaṇas must not be regarded as a strange phenomenon or a mere figment of Greek imagination. Apart from the epic examples of such Brāhmaṇa warriors as Paraśurāma, Droṇācārya, and Aśvatthāmā, we know that Kauṭilya actually refers to Brāhmaṇa armies which were distinguished for their mildness towards the prostrate enemy.⁹⁵ Besides, the Hindu law-givers explicitly permit them to exchange the *Śāstra* for the *Śastra* in evil times and in defence of their country and Dharma. Thus says Manu:

शस्त्रं द्विजातिभिर्ग्राह्यं धर्मो यद्विप्रकथ्यते ।

द्विजातीनां च वर्णानां विप्रवे कालकारिते ॥⁹⁶

Pattala

Having overcome the opposition of the Brāhmaṇas and kings of the lower Indus valley, Alexander reached Tauala or Pattala, "a city of great note, with a political constitution drawn on the same lines as the Spartan; for in this community the command in war was vested in two hereditary kings of two different houses, while

94 Arrian, VI, 7; M'cridle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 144.

95 Shamashastry, *Arthaśāstra*, 3rd ed., p. 373.

96 *Manusmṛiti*, VIII, 348.

a council of elders ruled the whole state with paramount authority."⁹⁷ According to Curtius, one of its kings was named Moeres.⁹⁸

Homeward Route

About the beginning of September 325 B.C., Alexander finally quitted the scene of his memorable exploits. He divided the army into two sections, one was led by Nearchos by way of sea, and the other marched with Alexander along the southern coast of Gedrosia (Baluchistan). A part of it had, of course, already been sent under the command of Krateros through the Bolan pass. Alexander chose the most difficult and cheerless route for himself through the territories of the Arabitae and the Oritae, and he reached his destination after a good deal of anxiety and suffering.

Conclusion

It would be evident from the foregoing account, which is based entirely on the evidence of the Greek and Roman authors, that the progress of Alexander's arms in India was by no means easy or smooth. No doubt, some of the Indian potentates and autonomous communities "bowed low before the blast." But others fought bravely, and this coupled with the prospect of unending wars in India even created apprehensions in the minds of the Greek veterans, who had blown off the mighty Persian forces almost like chaff. Nor did India "plunge in thought again" after the great meteor had flashed across her political skies, and within a few years of Alexander's departure and death in June 323 B.C. all vestiges of Greek occupation were destroyed and swept away.

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⁹⁷ Diodoros, XVII, Ch. civ; Mcrindle's *Invasion by Alexander*, p. 296. Pattala has been identified with modern Bahmanabad.

⁹⁸ Curtius, IX, 8; *Ibid.*, p. 256.

The Andhras and their Position in Brāhmanical Society

The speakers of Telugu or Tenugu, a member of the Dravidian family of languages, now call themselves Andhra. The *Linguistic Survey of India* (IV, p. 577) reports, "The Telugu country is bounded towards the east by the Bay of Bengal from Barwa in the Ganjam district in the north to near Madras in the south. From Barwa the frontier line goes westwards through Ganjam to the Eastern Ghats and then southwards crosses the Sabari on the border of the Sunkam and Bijji taluks in the state of Bastar, and thence runs along the range of Bela Dila to the Indravati; it follows this river to its confluence with the Godāvari, and then runs through Chanda cutting off the southern part of that district and farther eastwards including the southern border of the district of Wun. It then runs southwards to the Godāvari at its confluence with the Mañjirā, and thence farther south towards Bidar where Telugu meets with Kanarese. The frontier line between the two forms of speech then runs almost due south through the dominions of the Nizam. The Telugu country farther occupies the north-eastern edge of Bellary, the greater eastern part of Anantapur and the eastern corner of Mysore. Through North Arcot and Chingleput the border line then runs back to the sea." According to the report of the *Census of India*, 1931 (I, i, p. 371), the Telugu speaking population numbers 26,374,000.

Andhra as the name of a people is mentioned in the *Aitareya Br.* (VII, 18), together with the Puṇḍras.¹ Śabarās,² Pulin-

1 They are the people who founded the city of Puṇḍravardhana, modern Mahāsthān in the Bogra district, Bengal. They might have originally dwelt in the Vindhyan region.

2 The Śabarās are identified with the Savarās or Saurās of the Vizagapatam Hills and the Savarīs of the Gwalior territory, and with the Suarī of Pliny and the Sabarāe of Ptolemy (*P.H.A.I.*, 4th ed., p. 79).

das³ and Mūtibas,⁴ who became outcastes as a result of the refusal of the fifty elder sons of Viśvāmitra to accept his adoption of Śunaḥśepa. The *Śāṅkhāyana Śr. Śū.* (XV) also mentions the Andhras, but omits the Pulindas from the list and adds Mūcīpas (= Mūtibas). Another interesting fact is that while the *Ait. Br.* calls the tribes *udāntyah* (beyond the border), the *Śāṅkh. Śr. Śū.* has *udañcaḥ* (northern), and scholars think that the latter reading is wrong.⁵ Migration was however a remarkable feature of Indian tribes in early times,⁶ and it is not impossible that originally the Andhras actually dwelt on the northern border of the Aryan occupied portion of India or at least to the north of the land where the *Śāṅkh.* was composed. In any case, the Andhras were recognised as non-Aryans (*dasyu*) in the days of the *Ait.* and the *Śāṅkh.* R. E. XIII of Aśoka mentions the Andhras together with the Palidas (obviously the same as the Pulindas) as a people within the dominions of the Maurya emperor; but says nothing about their habitat or social position. Early classical authors⁷ refer to "the Andarae (= Andhras) as a still more powerful race which possesses numerous villages and thirty towns defended by walls and towers and which supplied an army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 1,000 elephants." If this statement does not prove anything about the original home of the Andhras, it certainly speaks of their great power and prosperity.

Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar⁸ thinks that the Andhras were originally a Vindhyan tribe whose course of migration was from west to east

3 Prof. Raychaudhuri thinks that Pulindanagara (capital city of the Pulindas) lay to the south-east of Daśārṇa i.e. the Vidiśā region (*ibid.*, p. 9).

4 The Mūtibas (= Mūcīpas = Mūvipas) are identified with Pliny's Modobae who are associated with the Uberae (= Śabarās?). The confusion regarding the spelling of the name may suggest that they are the same as the Mrtapas of the *Mahābhāṣya* (*I.H.Q.*, XV, p. 637).

5 *Vedic Index*, I, p. 23.

6 Sircar, *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, 1939, p. 11, note.

7 McCrindle, *Ancient India*, 1926, p. 140. The statement appears to refer to the period before the Maurya conquest.

8 *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 276 ff.

down the valley of the Godāvāri and the Kṛṣṇā. Dr. Bhandarkar⁹ points out that Andhapura (capital city of the Andhras) is placed by the *Serivānija Jātaka* on the Telavāha river which he identifies with the modern Tel or Telingiri. The suggestion that the Andhras at some early period occupied the region about the upper Deccan is possibly supported by the existence of the Śabarās in the Gwalior territory and of the Pulindanagara not very far from the Vidiśā region. Prof. Raychaudhuri however thinks¹⁰ that Andhapura of the *Jātaka* may be identical with Bezwada. Whatever might have been the original habitat of the Andhras, it is certain that the people settled down in the district near the mouths of the Kṛṣṇā long before the time of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman (1st half of 4th cent.) The Epics, Purāṇas, works like the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* and the classical authors place the Andhra people or their country in the southern or south-eastern part of India. The Mayidavolu grant of Śivaskandavarman mentions Andhrāpatha having its headquarters at Dhānyakāṭa (Amarāvati).

The aboriginal tribes of India must have been thought of as alien and antagonistic by the Aryan people when the latter entered India. The bitterness gradually calmed as the two groups lived side by side for centuries and became more or less influenced by one another's culture. The cerebral consonants which are numerous in the *R̥gveda*, but are doubtless borrowed from the Dravidians, offer a definite proof that the Aryans often took their wives from the Dravidian tribes and thereby very soon modified the speech of their descendants.¹¹ With such a state of things, it is only natural that the Aryans very soon could not think of a society without their neighbours. The case was the same with foreign peoples, and Patañjali's reference to the Śakas (Scythians) and Yavanas (Greeks) as "clean"

9 *Ind. Ant.*, 1918, p. 71.

10 *P.H.A.I.*, p. 78.

11 The Brāhmī alphabet appears to be a selection from the alphabet of the Indus Valley people.

Śūdras is not at all unintelligible.¹² But a more or less clear picture of the position of aboriginal and foreign tribes in relation to the orthodox Brahmanical society is first noticed in law-books like the *Manusamhitā*, supplemented by the works of Yājñavalkya and other later law-givers.

The *Manusamhitā* tries to connect all tribes living within or on the borders of India by blood relations, in the same manner as peoples of other parts of the world nourish the theory of a common ancestor for all men. It recognises the four *varṇas* or castes¹³ together with the groups, *Vrātyas* and *Dasyus*.

"The Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya are the three twice-born castes; the fourth is the one caste, Śūdra; there is no fifth (X, 4).

"Among all castes, those only who are produced by fathers on the virgins of their own caste wedded in the natural order are to be regarded as of the same (caste as the fathers) (X, 5).

"The sons that the twice-born men beget on wives of equal caste, but who¹⁴ for not fulfilling their sacred duties become excluded from the *Sāvitrī* should be designated as *Vrātyas* (X, 20).

"All the races of the world which are outside the pale of the people 'born of the mouth, the arms, the thighs and the feet (i.e. Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra) speaking the barbaric (*mleccha*) or the refined (*ārya*) language are called *Dasyu* (X, 45)".

All other castes (*jāti*), i.e., tribes or tribal castes are sprung, according to the *Manusamhitā*, from an intermixture of the

¹² *I.H.Q.*, XV, p. 636 ff.

¹³ The terms *Brāhmaṇa* (priest-class), *Kṣatriya* (a fighting class), and *Vaiśya* (common folk) have derivative meanings. *Śūdra* which has no such meaning appears to have been derived from a particular non-Aryan tribe of that name, living in the Punjab region.

¹⁴ According to another reading, "who are born of unfaithful mothers." Medhātithi says, "The assertion that these peoples have become 'low-born' is based upon the fact that in these countries we do not meet with any clear division of the four *varṇas*." In R. E. XIII of Aśoka the Yavana country is said to have no Brāhmaṇa or Śramaṇa in its population. Cf. also *P.H.A.I.*, p. 198.

above classes. The general rule regarding the social position is that the issues of higher class fathers and lower class mothers are considered purer than those born of lower class fathers and higher class mothers. "If a child is somehow born to a Brāhmaṇa father by a non-Aryan mother, and another to a non-Aryan father by a Brāhmaṇa mother—with which of these would the superiority lie? (X, 66). The decision is that—one born to an Ārya by an Anārya woman may be an Ārya in quality; but one born to an Anārya even by an Ārya woman is always an Anārya (X, 67)." The theory however recognises the elevation of a low caste to a high one as a result of the gradual diminution of "low" blood by the infiltration of "pure" blood. "If the child born of a Sūdra woman and a Brāhmaṇa goes on being wedded to a person of superior caste—the inferior attains the superior caste within the seventh generation (X, 64), and *vice versa*. The Sūdra attains the position of the Brāhmaṇa and the Brāhmaṇa sinks to the position of the Sūdra; the same should be understood to be the case with the offspring of the Kṣatriya and the Vaiśya (X, 65)."¹⁵

The attached table may be useful in showing the inter-connections of the Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Sūdra, Vṛātya and Dasyu producing the numerous tribal castes according to the theory of the *Manusamhitā*.

Of course it is not possible to accept the scheme of the *Manusamhitā* literally. A cursory glance at it convinces anybody that the attempt to connect all Indian tribes to the conventional four *varṇas* is arbitrary and absurd. Of more than fifty names of the so-called mixed or degraded castes, the Malla, Magadhia, Ābhira,

¹⁵ According to Medhātithi, on the principle enunciated here, if a maiden born from a Sūdrā to a Brāhmaṇa is wedded to a Brāhmaṇa, and the girl born of this marriage is again married to a Brāhmaṇa, and this goes on for seven generations, then in the seventh generation the child born is a regular Brāhmaṇa. The child born from Brāhmaṇa and Vaiśya attains the superior caste in the fifth generation, and that from Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriyā in the third generation.

ANDHRA, Āvantya, Kārūṣa, Khasa, Kirāta, Śaka, Pauṇḍra, Ambaṣṭha, Kāmboja, Palhava, Pāraśava, Darada, Drāviḍa, Vāṭadhāna, Sairindhra, Oḍra, Veṇa, Yavana, Cīna, Sāttvata, Meḍa, Nisāda, etc., are known to have been tribes or peoples from the lists furnished by the Epics, Purāṇas, works like the *Brhatsaṃhitā*, and other sources.⁴⁴ The inclusion of such well known names as the Yavana (Greek), Śaka (Scythian), etc. in the list of degraded Kṣatriyas and the Ābhira, Andhra, Ambaṣṭha, etc. in that of the mixed castes makes the spirit of the arbitrary scheme very clear. It must be noticed that particular professions have been assigned to particular mixed castes; this fact and the very names of many of the castes prove that a good many of the list indicate professional castes (cf. Naṭa, Sairindhra, Sūta, Antyāvāsāyin, etc.). Names like Māgadha, Āvantya, Vaideha, etc., appear to refer rather to geographical divisions than to tribes. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that all the mixed or degraded castes represent in fact some early sect or tribe or people. The Andhras, for example, live in a particular region of India and are more than 2½ crores in population. If they were actually offsprings of Brāhmaṇa-Vaiśya-Sūdra, how is it that such admixture was impossible in other parts of India? Their huge population is obviously against the idea of mixed origin.

The position of the castes in the table and the notes regarding their profession are much more important from the historical standpoint than the scheme itself. It will be seen that the Andhras are placed clearly in the lowest grade, and this is echoed in the passage referring to the society as—

प्रतिवासिनो ब्राह्मणोत्तरांश्च महोत्तमोत्तम-कुटुम्ब-पुरोगमेदान्त्र-चण्डाल-पर्यन्तान् यथाहं
मानयति बोधयति समादिशति च

in a number of early medieval inscriptions.⁴⁵ It is really difficult to understand why the Drāviḍas (the Tamil people) are included in the

44 E.g., *Mbb.*, VI, i, § 9; *Mārkaṇḍeya* p., 57-58; *Brhatsaṃhitā*, 14 & 16, etc.

45 E.g., *Gaudalekhamālā*, p. 96.

list of Vṛātya-Kṣatriyas, but the position given to the Andhras (the Telugu people) is no better than that of the Caṇḍāla. The under-noted three factors may be pointed out as the causes for the leaders of the orthodox Brāhmanical society to look down upon the Andhras in the age of law-books, such as the *Manusamhitā*:

First, the Andhra country was in early times one of the greatest strongholds of Buddhism in India. The great stūpas of Dhānya-kāṭaka (Amarāvati) and Vijayapura (in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley), the stūpas at Jaggayyapeta, Ghaṇṭaśāla and other localities of the country, and renowned sects of Ācāryas like the Pūrvaśāliyas, Aparāśāliyas, etc. go to prove the extent of heretical influence over the Andhra country.

Secondly, for many centuries after the Maurya occupation there was no great political power ruling over the whole of the Andhra country which was probably divided into a number of small principalities. It may be noticed that the king of the Andhra is hardly found in the lists of Indian kings found in connection with an Epic or Purāṇic description of such events as a Svayaṃvara, a Rājasūya and the like.⁴⁶ The political condition appears to be the same in the 4th century A.D. when Hariṣeṇa mentions several principalities in the Andhra area and Kālidāsa, the poet of the Gupta age, does not mention the Andhra king either in connection with Raghu's *Digvijaya* or with Indumatī's Svayaṃvara.

Thirdly, the Aryan authors were possibly familiar more with the primitive and backward than with the advanced elements in the population of the Andhra country.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

⁴⁶ This seems to be an additional proof that the *Sātavāhanas* were not Andhras. The Purāṇas call them Andhra (or Andhrabhr̥tya) possibly because, just before their decline (in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.) the Sātavāhanas were ruling in the Andhra country.

A New Light on the History of the Cāhamānas

The country around Ajmer and Rajputana was formerly known as Śākambhari, Sapādalakṣa, or Jāṅgala. The Cāhamānas held sway over it from the eighth to the end of the twelfth century. In the last quarter of the twelfth century the Cāhamāna Prthvirāja III, son of King Someśvara, was on the throne. During his reign Muhammad Ghori invaded Hindustan. The *Tāj-ul-Ma-āsir* of Hasan Nizāmī, *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri* of Minhāj-us-Sirāj, *Ta'rikh-i-Firishta*, and *Hammīra-Mahākāvya* of Nayacandrasūri are utilised here for the reconstruction of the history of the conflict between the Moslems and the Cāhamānas.

Hasan Nizāmī' (A.D. 1205-1229), opens his work "with the transactions of the year 587 H. (1191 A.D.) when Muhammad Ghori undertook his expedition to India to retrieve the dreadful disaster he had a short time before experienced on the field of Tarāin, near Thānesar." He next relates that Pithora Rāc (Prthvirāja) opposed him with three lacs of horse, obtained from the Rājās of Hind. Muhammad Ghori made a proposal for truce. The leaders of the Cāhamāna army minimised the strength of the Moslems, "and without any care or concern, fell into a slumber of remissness." Muhammad Ghori attacked the Cāhamānas, who were quite unprepared, and defeated them. Pithora Rāc was taken prisoner, and killed near Sursuti. After this victory Muhammad Ghori marched towards Ajmer, defeated Kola (natural son) of the Rāi of Ajmīr, and conquered the country. The son of Rāi Pithaura was appointed its governor. Sometime afterwards Kutb-ud-din received an information from Rūh-ud-din Hamza, who was at Rantanbor, that Hirāj, brother of the Rāi of Ajmīr, threat-

1 Elliot, II, 210.

2 *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri*, Raverty, vol. I, p. 466 fn. 1

3 Elliot, II, 214.

ened to siege the fort of Rantanbor, and that the son of Pithaura was in a state of extreme danger. He forthwith marched against Hirāj who without giving any battle fled away. The son of Rāi Pithaura was favoured with a robe of honour.' The *Tāj-ul-Ma-āsir* subsequently states that in 589 H. (A.D. 1193) Kutb-ud-din was informed that Hirāj, the Rāi of Ajmir, became hostile to him, and that Jihtar, attacked the border of Delhi. Kutb-ud-din advanced against Jihtar, who lost courage to meet the Moslem army, withdrew to the fort of Ajmir, and committed suicide. The Moslems easily conquered the fort of Ajmir.

Minhaj," after describing the first battle of Tarāin, which took place in 1191 A.D., states that in the following year in 1192 A.D. Muhammad Ghori again appeared in the battle field of Tarāin. The Caulhans were defeated. Pithaura was taken prisoner in the neighbourhood of Sursuti and was killed. He does not tell us anything about the successors of Prthvirāja.

Firishta⁴ (sixteenth century) reports that Prthvirāja was slain near Soorsutti by the Moslems. Muhammad Ghori captured Ajmir, and delivered the country to Gola, the natural son of Pithow Raj, on the latter's promise to pay tribute. Meanwhile Hemraj, a relation of Pithow Raj, expelled Gola from Ajmir. Kutb-ud-din marched against Hemraj from Delhi in 591 H. (A.D. 1194), defeated and killed him. Kutb-ud-din then appointed a governor of his own faith to control the Raj.

The *Hammira-Mabākāvya*⁵ states that Prthvirāja once took Muhammad Ghori prisoner but released him. After this the Moslem general attacked him seven times without success. On the next occasion Muhammad Ghori captured Delhi. Prthvirāja, who was overconfident of his success, met the enemy with a small army. The Sultan succeeded in seducing secretly to his side Prthvirāja's master

4 Elliot, II, 219

5 *Ibid.*, 225

6 Raverty, I, 457-463, 465 466

7 Briggs, I, 177.

8 *Id.*, VIII, 60, 61.

of horse. When the Sultan attacked the Cāhamānas, the horse styled Nātyārambha, engaged by that master of the horse for the occasion, and on which Pṛthvirāja was mounted, began to dance keeping time with the war music. "The king was diverted with this performance for a time, and forgot the all-important business of the moment." The king was taken prisoner by the Moslems. Udayarāja, the commander-in-chief of the Cāhamānas, was late in reaching the battle field. The Sultan apprehending an attack by Udayarāja retired to the fort of Delhi, and assassinated Pṛthvirāja. Udayarāja fought with the Moslems and lost his life. After this Pṛthvirāja's brother Harirāja ascended the throne. He performed the funeral ceremony of the deceased king. Sometime afterwards Harirāja lost his life in a battle with Muhammad Ghorī. Ajmer was occupied by the Moslems. Govindarāja, grandson of Pṛthvirāja, founded a kingdom in Ranastambhapura (Ranthambhor). There is an inscription⁹ which shows that the village Tanṭūthi (mod. Tantoti, in the Ajmir District) was in the fief of Pratāpadevī, queen of Harirāja, in V.S. 1251 (= A.D. 1194).

The attention of scholars may be drawn to one more source of evidence, which throws some new light on the subject. The colophon of the book *Viruddha-vidhi-vidhvamsa*, dealing with the disputed point of (sacred) law, by Lakṣmidhara, runs as follows :—¹⁰

ब्राह्मणा ब्राह्मणा जाता जाता ये गुणमागराः ।

नागरा नागराजार्हहारोयानर्हयद्वरः (1 or जर्हहारोयोनर्ह) ॥ १ ॥

तदन्वयेऽग्रगोत्राणामग्रगोत्रनिश्रिताम् ।

मयाद्वोत्रेशमंशुद्धे गोत्रेऽजायत काश्यपे ॥ २ ॥

श्रीमदानन्दनगरस्थाने स्थानेश्वराभिधः ।

पंडितो यः स्वविद्याभिश्चतुर्दिग्विदुषोऽजयत ॥ ३ ॥

[In the lineage of the Nāgara Brāhmanas, in the *Kāśyapa Gotra*, in the place Ānandanagara, was born the learned named Sthānēśvara, who conquered the scholars of the four quarters by his own learning (vv. 1-3)]

⁹ *An. Rep. Rajputana Museum*, 1911-1912, 2, 5.

¹⁰ *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* Pt. III p. 490.

श्रीमदानंदनगरे नागरेभ्यो गृह्णाक्ष यः ।
 सप्तविंशतिविभ्रेभ्यः प्रददौ सपरिच्छदान् ॥४॥
 षण्मुखः षट्मुखः तर्केषु चतुर्वेदी चतुर्मुखः ।
 मीमांसामांसलप्रज्ञो योऽभूत्स्वान्वयेऽभवत् ॥५॥
 स्कंद स्कंदपितुः प्रत्तानंदकंदस्वमंदधीः ।
 शाकंभरीशितुः सोमेश्वरदेवस्य भूभृतः ॥६॥
 सांधिविग्रहिकामाल्योऽरात्र्यौषकरिकेसरी ।
 सोढस्तस्य सुतोऽसोढः शत्रुभिस्तत्पदेऽभवत् ॥७॥
 तस्य पुत्रावभृतां द्वौ भृतांतर्भूतकोर्तिता ।
 स्कंदवामननाम्ना तानाम्नाताववनीमतौ ॥८॥
 सर्वामाल्यपदं ताभ्यां पृथ्वीराजोऽददन्मुदा ।
 सेनाधिपत्यं स्कंदाय प्रदाय च सुखी स्थितः ॥९॥
 सेनापतित्वं स्कंदाय प्रदाय धृतशङ्कये ।
 महादेव सुतायाति ह्यग्रपो^१ भूषवत् (?) ॥१०॥
 सांधिविग्रहिकाढ्यं तु पदं संपाद्य वामने ।
 स्कंदो राजेऽर्पितानंदोऽवधीन्रित्यं कुरुष्ककान् ['तुह^०] ॥११॥

[Who made a gift of houses (furnished) with goods and chattels to twenty seven *Nāgara* (Brahmanas) in the prosperous *Ānandanagara* (v. 4).

Who was six-faced (Kārttikeya) in the six members of the science of Logic, and the four-faced (Brahmā) with (his knowledge of) the four Vedas, and whose intellect was developed by (the study of) *Mimāṃsā*. In his lineage was born (v. 5) Skanda, who, of sharp intellect, gave extreme delight to his father, was a minister of peace and war to the king *Someśvara*, lord of *Sakambhari*, and was a lion to the elephants in the form of the host of enemies. His son was Soḍha, who was unbearable to the enemies, succeeded to his post (vv. 6-7).

He (Soḍha) had two sons named Skanda and Vāmana, who were praised by those living within elements, were learned in the Vedas, and were praised by the (people) of the earth. (v. 8).

Pṛthvirāja gave them with delight the posts of the chief councillors, and became happy by making over the command of the army to Śkanda. (v. 9), just as the lord (of gods, whose form is not visible) rested at ease after giving the post of the commander of the army to Skanda (Kārttikeya), the son of Mahādeva, and the bearer of (the missile named) *Śakti* (v. 10).

After conferring the post of the minister of peace and war etc., on Vāmana, Skanda, who gave delight to the king, killed the *Turuṣkas* continually. (v. 11)].

a The metre is incomplete: so the reading ह्यग्रभूषवत् is suggested

सदा स दानानि ददौ द्विजेभ्यो दंडनायकः ।
 या काष्णपरिणीतायात् तस्य [I] वैवाहिकं त्वदात् ॥१२॥
 स्कंद^b स्कंदेति वर्णेषु वर्ण्यमानेऽल नागरः ।
 ब्राह्मणं^c कोऽपि कोपेन कंप्तिताधरमुक्त्वान् ॥१३॥
 स्कंद स्कंदेति वदथ किं विप्राः प्रतिवासरम् ।
 मदीयहृदये नायमप्यर्थस्कंदखंडिका ॥१४॥
 इत्येते नागराः प्रोचुर्यत्त्वं यात्वा तदंतिके ।
 वद द्विजैवं वचनं यद्यस्ति तव योग्यता ॥१५॥
 कोपात्सपादलक्षे द्वादशे शाकंभरीं पुरीम् ।
 प्राप्य विप्रो राजकुलाद्ययातं^d (!) दंडनायकं ॥१६॥ २२॥
 गतेऽन्यसंगरे स्कंदे निद्राव्यसनसन्नधीः ।
 व्यापादितस्तुरुष्कैः स राजा जीवन्मृतो युधि ॥२३॥
 हरिराजमथो राज्ये शाकंभर्या निवेश्य सः ।
 स्कंदस्तत्र कियत्कालं स्थित्वा तुर्याश्रमं श्रितः ॥२४॥
 ब्रह्माणं लक्षविंशत्या विंशत्यथ (' त्या च) शतैः समं ।
 वामनः सकुटुम्बो (S) ण्हिल्लपाटकमाट तु ॥२५॥

[He (Skanda), the leader of the army, always made donations to the twice born, and celebrated the marriage of those virgin girls, who approached him (for the purpose). (v. 12).

When he was being extolled here with the words 'Skanda is (really) Skanda (Kārttikeya)' among the castes, a certain Nāgara Brāhmaṇa said with his lips trembling with rage (v. 13).

'Why, oh Brāhmaṇas, do you say every day 'Skanda is (really) Skanda'; in my heart he is not even half of a part of Skanda (Kārttikeya) (v. 14).

The Nāgaras replied. "If you have the fitness, oh twice born, then go to his presence and say this.' (v. 15).

Out of rage that Brāhmaṇa reached the city of Śākambhari, in Sapādalakṣa Twelve, and from the royal palace went to that leader of the army (v. 16).

When Skanda went to another battle, the king, whose intellect was shrouded by the vice of sleep (for vice and sleep), who, though alive, was as good as dead in battle, was slaughtered by the *Turuṣkas* (v. 23).

Then Skanda placing *Hanirāja* over the kingdom of Śākambhari, lived there for a while, (and then) took to the fourth stage (of life). (v. 24).

And then Vāmana with twenty lacs and twenty hundred Drammas went to Anahillapātaka. (v. 25)].

मल्लदेवोऽभवत्तस्य पुत्रः पुत्रवतां वरः ।
 शुभाषितावलीकर्ता भर्ता भूतलवर्तिनाम् ॥२६॥
 सहस्रसंख्या साहित्ये लक्ष्यलक्षणसंख्यया ।
 कौटिल्याद्यर्थशास्त्रेषु कोटिशो यन्मतिर्मता ॥२७॥
 स श्रीदेवीति नाम्नात्मनाम्ना तां परिणीतवान् ।
 लक्ष्मीशवत्ततो लक्ष्मीधरोऽभूद्भरधीधरः ॥२८॥
 भगवद्भोधभारत्याख्यश्रीपादप्रसादतः ।
 आसादितसदानंदद्वैतज्ञानानुभावकः ॥२९॥
 श्रीमति श्रीशवदणहिल्लपाटकपत्तने ।
 मल्लदेवः सहामाल्यसभ्यः स्मृत्यादिनिर्णये ॥३०॥
 वेदांतस्मृतिसिद्धांतध्रांतः स्वांतः (? । क्रांतः) कवेः पथि ।
 पांथोऽप्रतिमरामाख्यं महाकाव्यं चकार यः ॥३१॥
 प्रत्यक्षीभूतभारत्येवितः (?) स्मार्तमहत्तमः ।
 विरुद्धविधिबिध्वंसं व्यवधानमुग्धबुद्धये ॥३२॥¹¹

[His son was Malladeva, the best of those having sons, the author of the *Subhāṣitāvalī*, and the supporter of the inhabitants of the earth. (v. 26).

Whose (Malladeva's) many sided erudition in literature, divided according to the number of *lakṣya* and *lakṣana*, as well as in the works on the science of politics of *Kautilya* and others, was established. (v. 27).

He married (a girl), celebrated by herself with the name Śrīdevī, and from him, who was like the lord of Lakṣmī was born *Lakṣmidhara*, the possessor of the best intellect (v. 28).

(Malladeva) was the expositor of the ever blissful knowledge of Advaita, which he received through the mercy of the holy feet of the revered Bodha bhārati. (v. 29).

Like the lord of Śrī, Malladeva (continued to live) in that prosperous city of Anahillapāṭaka, and being tired with the conclusions of *Vedānta* and *Smṛti* in determining laws etc. passed over as a traveller to the path of a poet and composed the *Mahākāvya* named *Apratimānāna* (vv. 30-31).

With speech brought to sight (?), the greatest of the *Smārtas* (Lakṣmidhara) accomplished the *Viruddha-vidhi-vidhvamsa* for enlightening the dullards (v. 32)].

11 The manuscript was copied in Samvat 1388 A.D. 1525. I am indebted to Mr. S. C. Banerji, M.A. of the MSS. Dept. Dacca University for drawing my attention to these passages. I am also thankful to Dr. R. C. Hazra, MA. Ph.D. for helping me in writing this paper.

The *Viruddha-vidhi-vidhvamsa* is obviously a nearly contemporary work on the subject. Lakṣmidhara had every means of knowing the correct information on the conflict between Muhammad Ghori and the Cāhamānas. So the work is of great historical value. We know from it the existence of a family of ministers under the Cāhamānas. If it is studied with the report of the Moslem historians, it will appear that Pṛthvīrāja's success in the first battle of Tarāin was due to the military skill of his general Skanda. Skanda's absence in the second battle of Tarāin and Pṛthvīrāja's indolence were responsible for the defeat and death of the king at the hand of the Moslems. It has been made clear that Pṛthvīrāja's habit of sleeping untimely marred his political career. It seems that when the news of Pṛthvīrāja's death reached Ajmir, Skanda declared Harirāja as the king of the country. So long Skanda was the leader of the Cāhamāna army the Moslems could not conquer Ajmir. But after the retirement of the valiant general, Muhammad Ghori took possession of the country by defeating Harirāja.

The work also supplies some valuable information regarding the history of Sanskrit literature of the ancient period. It is important to note that keen interest was taken by the scholars in the study of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* even in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. Baudha Bhārati was the author of *Sāṅkhyavācaspativyākhyā*.¹² It cannot be said definitely whether he was identical with Bodha-bhārati, mentioned in v. 29 above.

D. C. GANGULY

Nilkanṭha the Śaiva

Nilakantha the Śaiva, who is different from his more famous name-sake whose fame rests on his commentary on the *Mahābhārata*,¹ was the author of a number of Purāṇa and Tantra works, not so well-known. He has given but meagre information about himself in his works. We are told² that he was born in a family of Śaivas. Mayūreśvara of this family, the great grandfather of our author, earned for the family the surname Śaiva. The son of Mayūreśvara was Nilakanṭha whose son, the father of our author was Raṅganātha, the poet. Raṅganātha had his son Nilakanṭha by his wife Lakṣmī. Both the parents are referred to by name in the colophons as well as in the introductory and concluding verses of his works. He also refers to his preceptors Kāśinātha and Śrīdhara,³ as well as to one Ratnaji at whose instance he is stated to have composed his commentary on the *Devībhāgavata*.⁴ He seems to have hailed from the Marhatta country as he refers to a number of dialectic words of the place in this commentary (VIII. 24. 25-7).

Nilakantha does not mention his date but an approximate idea may be formed of his time on the basis of the references he makes

1 He is also different from Nilakanṭha, author of the *Śrikanṭhabhāṣya*, a commentary on the *Brahmasūtra*, though this Nilakanṭha is also called a Śaiva.

2 श्रीमच्छैवकुले शिवार्चनरतो जातो मयूरेश्वरः
श्रीशम्भोर्वरदानतो यमलभच्छैवोपनामोत्तमम् ।
सुनुस्तस्य शिवार्चकः समभवच्छ्रीनीलकण्ठभिध-
स्ततःसुनुः कविराजराजमुकुटः श्रीरत्ननाथाभिधः ॥१४॥
ततःसुनुः खलु नीलकण्ठ इति यो नाम्नास्ति लक्ष्मीसुतः ।

—Concluding verses of the *Devībhāgavatatīkā*

3 श्रीलक्ष्मीं मातरं रत्ननाथाख्यं पितरं गुरुम् ।
काशीनाथश्रीधराख्यौ गुरु नत्वा यथामति ।

—Introductory verse of *Saptaśatyāṅgaśaṭkavyākhyāna*.

4 रत्नजीप्ते रितेनैव पुराणान्यवलोक्य च ।

—Introductory verse of the *Devībhāgavatatīkā*.

to authors and works. He mentions in his commentary on the *Devībhāgavata*, among others, to the *Mantramahodadhi* (of Mahidhara, composed in 1589 A.D.), the *Guptavati* (of Bhāskararāya, composed in 1741 A.D.) and to Nāgojibhaṭṭa (17th-18th century). It would therefore appear that Nilakaṇṭha flourished at a time not earlier than the middle of the 18th century.

Of works and authors referred to by Nilakaṇṭha mention may be made of the following noticed in the commentary on the *Devībhāgavata*:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>Ācāraṇika</i> , XI. 16. 24. | <i>Bhuvaneśvarīyupaniṣad</i> , III. 3. 44. |
| <i>Ācāradarpaṇa</i> , XI. 22. 43. | <i>Mantramahodadhi</i> , III. 26. 26. |
| <i>Kālotara</i> , Introduction to the commen-
tary (p. 31, 38 of the Calcutta edi-
tion). | Mādhava's commentary on the <i>Sūta-
saṃhitā</i> , III. 10. 14. |
| <i>Kṛtyatattva</i> , IX. 9. 36. | " commentary on the <i>Rudra-
bhāṣya</i> , VII. 13. 31. |
| <i>Guptavati</i> of Bhāskararāya, IX. 50. 85. | " commentary on the <i>Sūta-
gitā</i> , VII. 33. 11. |
| <i>Cidvalītantra</i> , XII. 7. 20. | <i>Rasāloka</i> , IX. 19. 5. |
| <i>Durgātaraṅgiṇī</i> , III. 26. 16. | <i>Sivarahasya</i> , III. 3. 35, IX. 1. 1, XII. 10.
3, VIII. 8. 19-20. |
| <i>Durgāpradīpa</i> of Mahesa Ṭhakkura, In-
troduction, p. 10, III. 26. 33. | <i>Sivasūtra</i> , V. 16. 35. |
| <i>Nityāṇika</i> , XI. 17. 1. | <i>Srikrāmadīpikā</i> , Introduction, p. 25. |
| <i>Prthvidharācārya</i> , III. 11. 45. | <i>Siddhāntaśekhara</i> , XI. 24. 42. |
| <i>Bhuvaneśvaripārijāta</i> , VII. 31. 24, III. 3.
40, 44. | <i>Saṃbhāgyakalpalatā</i> , Introduction, p. 26. |
| <i>Bhuvaneśvarīrahasya</i> , III. 3. 44, VII.
38. 3. | <i>Saurasaṃhitā</i> , V. 1. 27, IX. 2. 26. |
| <i>Bhuvaneśvarisaṃhitā</i> , XII. 11. 106. | <i>Haṭhāpradīpikā</i> , XI. 16. 64. |
| <i>Bhuvaneśvarībhāṣya</i> , III. 3. 44. | <i>Hemādri</i> , Introduction, p. 10, 20. |

About half a dozen works of Nilakaṇṭha are known or have been mentioned. A list of these is given below:

1. Commentary on the *Kātyāyanītantra*, *Mantravyākhyāprakāśikā* by name. A manuscript of Paṭalas 20-23 of the work is noticed by Stein (*Descr. Cat. Sans. Mss. Raghunath Temple Library*, Jammu, Kashmir, No. 228).

2. Commentary on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. Referred to in the commentary on the *Devībhāgavata* (III. 30. 28, XI. 18. 28). The only known manuscript of the work belongs to the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Paṇḍit.⁵

5 *Descr. Cat. Sans. Mss. Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Paṇḍit*, p. 17.

3. Commentary on the six accessories of the Devīmāhātmya Section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, called *Saptaśatyāṅgaṣaṭkavyākhyāna*. Referred to in the commentary on the *Devibhāgavata* (Introduction, p. 38, V. 8. 33, V. 33. 57-9) But it seems to be rather curious that the latter commentary is also referred to in the present work. Only one incomplete manuscript of the work, comprising the *kavaca* portion, is recorded in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* (II. 166). The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses two manuscripts of the work one complete and the other incomplete.⁶

4. *Saktitattvavimarśinī*. Referred to in the commentary of the *Devibhāgavata* (Introduction, p. 38) and the *Saptaśatyāṅgaṣaṭkavyākhyāna*.

5. Commentary on the *Kenopaniṣad*, called *Candrikā*. Referred to in the commentary of the *Devibhāgavata* (IV. 19. 15).

6. Commentary on the *Kāmakalārahasya*. Referred to in the commentary on the *Devibhāgavata* (IV. 15. 12).

7. Commentary on the *Devigitā*. Referred to in the commentary on the *Devibhāgavata* (VII. 34. 50, VII. 35. 46, 62, VII. 40. 40-6).

8. *Devibhāgavatasthiti* or simply *Bhāgavatasthiti* which seeks to demonstrate the authenticity of the *Devibhāgavata*. It is referred to towards the end of the introduction (p. 38) of the commentary of the *Devibhāgavata*. This introduction which also deals with the same topic is referred to at the end of the present work. A manuscript of the work is found in the collections of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

9. *Devibhāgavataṭikā*. Two manuscripts of the work are referred to in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* (I. 261, II. 56). Two editions of the work are known: one, published in Bombay (1789 S.E.=1867 A.D.), the other, published in three volumes by Haricaran Vasu (Sah-lakalpadrum office, 71, Pathuriaghata Street, Calcutta, 1809 S.E.=1887 A.D.). This latter edition has been referred to in these pages.

Of these works the commentary on the *Devibhāgavata* appears to be the only work that has so far been printed. It also seems to be one of the latest, as references to almost all the other works are traceable in it. It is not possible however, at this stage to suggest a strictly chronological arrangement of the other works, especially because in the case of some of his works mutual references between two works are noticeable. Thus, as has already been pointed out, the *Saptaśatyāṅgaṣaṭkavyākhyāna* and the *Devibhāgavatasthiti* both refer to and are referred to by the *Devibhāgavataṭikā*.

The value of this commentary lies in the fact that incidentally it seeks to elucidate the real nature and the supreme importance of the worship of the Divine Mother who is sought to be identified with the Brahman.⁷ We have here an interesting discussion regarding the propriety of sacrificing animals in connection with the worship of Śakti. It is stated that Śakti is the presiding deity of Brahmayidyā which aims at an annihilation of this mundane existence; so it is that Śakti prefers the sacrifice of animals.⁸ Nilakaṇṭha gives an ingenious explanation of the inconsistencies in the cosmogonical accounts as given in various systems of philosophy. It is pointed out that the world is but an illusion for which there is scant regard of spiritual aspirants and hence the description of the process of creation is nothing but an eye-wash meant for the satisfaction of the ignorant mass.⁹ Some of the views expressed in the work may

7 देवी सर्ववेदान्ततात्पर्यभूमिः—*Devibhāgavatāṭikā*, III. 9. 33.

देव्या मायाविशिष्टब्रह्मरूपत्वात् कचिन्मायोपसर्जनब्रह्मरूपत्वेन वर्णनं कचिद्ब्रह्मोपसर्जन-
मायारूपत्वेन वर्णनम् ।—*Op. cit.*, III. 18. 37-42.

सर्वथापि ब्रह्मोपासना शक्तिसहितब्रह्मण एव यथा तथा शक्त्युपासनापि ब्रह्मविशिष्टशक्तेरेव ।
—*Op. cit.*, IV. 19. 7.

Elsewhere Nilakaṇṭha thus elucidates his views on the point:

केचिद् भ्रान्ता वदन्ति मायारूपाया भगवत्या उपासना शास्त्रेषूक्ता । तथा च मायाया मिथ्या-
त्वान्मुक्तौ तस्या अनन्वयाच्चाच्छब्दे येयमुपासनेति.....श्रुतिमिस्तथा स्मृतिमिश्च ब्रह्मरूपिण्या
भगवत्या एवोपासनाकथनात् ।.....किमर्थं मायादिशब्दैर्व्यवहारो भगवत्याः शास्त्रेषु कियते
लक्षणादिदोषाभावाय स्पष्टप्रतिपत्तये ब्रह्मादिशब्दैरेव कुतो न व्यवहारः कियते इति तेच्छ्रुणु ।
चतुर्व्यूहात्मकं हि ब्रह्मणो रूपं विराड्द्विरण्यगर्भाव्याकृतब्रह्मरूपम् । तत्र देव्युपासना
व्यूहान्तर्गतस्य कस्य पदार्थस्येति शङ्कायां विराड्द्विरण्यगर्भाव्याकृतानां तदधिप्रातृणां
ब्रह्मविष्णुशङ्कराणां च मैत्रायणीयश्रुतौ एकैकगुणमयत्वकर्तेतान् गुणलयासम्भावस्थाया मायाया
प्रकृत्यादिशब्दवाच्यत्वेन तदेव मायाविशिष्टं तुरीयं ब्रह्मैव भगवत्युपासनायां ग्राह्यमिति बृहदर्थ-
प्रकाशनार्थं तथा मायादिशब्दैर्व्यवहारस्य करणात् ।

—Introductory portion of the *Saptasatyaṅgaśaṭkavyākhyāna*.

8 यतः कारणाद्देवी ब्रह्मविद्याधिप्राप्ती भवति ब्रह्मविद्यायाश्च स्वभावो जीवदशा नाशयित-
व्येति तस्मादेव्याः प्रियो वलिर्भवति ।—*Devibhāgavatāṭikā* III. 26. 33.

9 अत्रेन्द्रियसृष्टिविषये च शैवसांख्यवेदान्तिनां परस्परं बहुविरोधो दृश्यते तथापि
सृष्टेर्मौलिकत्वेन मिथ्यात्वात्तादराभावेन यथाकथञ्चिदिन्द्रजालवद्दृश्यमानस्य निरुक्तिर्भूजजनबुद्धि-
शङ्कानिवारणार्थं काश्चिदपि प्रक्रियामाश्रित्य कर्तव्या ।—*Devibhāgavatāṭikā* III. 7. 38.

not unlikely have been based on one or other of the different systems of Tantra philosophy of which Nilakanṭha refers to five belonging to five principal schools of Tantra¹⁰ According to the Śākta system the world is stated to consist of ten categories.¹¹

Nilakanṭha has taken pains in the introduction of the commentary to demonstrate the authenticity of the *Devibhāgavata*.¹² But he is not a blind admirer and he has been careful in examining the relative value of the different recensions¹³ as well as variants found in different manuscripts.

Nilakanṭha follows the Bengal recension of the work in preference to the Southern recension, distinctive features of which are still unknown.¹⁴ He rejects the first eleven ślokas of chapter II of Book III found in the Southern recension but missing in the Bengal

10 शैवशाक्तसौरगायेशवैष्णवनास्तिकमतप्रतिपादकानि षड्दर्शनानि सन्ति ।

—*Op. cit.*, IV. 15. 12.

11 तल शक्तिदर्शनमते श्रीमुबनेश्वर्या दश तत्त्वानि सन्ति । कचिन्नव तत्त्वान्यपि ।.....

तत्त्वशब्देन सर्वप्रपञ्चस्य यत्नान्तर्भावस्तत् तत्त्वमुच्यते ।—*loc. cit.*

12 A number of independent treatises on the topic including one, already referred to, by Nilakanṭha himself are known. One of these e.g., the *Durjana-mukhacapeṭikā* by Kāśinātha Bhaṭṭa Bhaṭṭa was translated into French by Burnouf (*Le Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Preface, p. lxxxv).

13 References to peculiarities of various recensions and older manuscripts evidently go to disprove the Vaiṣṇavite theory about the spuriousness of the version of the work as known at present, which is stated to have been the composition of one Rāmacandra Ghule (19th century) of Benares who manufactured it, as the genuine work was alleged to be not available. (*Bhāgavatānukramanīkā*, a Bengali work of Janamejay Mitra, *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, vol. 34, pp. 15-16). If Ghule was really responsible for a version, it must be different from the one commented on by Nilakanṭha, which enjoys popularity to an extent scarcely to be expected for so late a version as that of Ghule. Further, the chronological relation between Ghule and Nilakanṭha being unknown it is difficult to suppose that the version of the former was accessible to the latter.

14 तलैतस्य सप्रमाणस्य देवीभागवतस्य कचिद् द्राविडगौडसम्प्रदायपाठभेदेन द्वैविध्येपि गौडपाठस्य समञ्जसत्वात् तमालम्ब्यैव यथामति व्याख्यायते । (*Calcutta edition*, vol. I, p. 26).

recension as well as in old manuscripts.¹⁵ Similarly he omits to comment on eight whole chapters after XII. 6 which are not found in old manuscripts, are deemed irrelevant and are suspected to have been interpolated from Vaiṣṇava works¹⁶ He was evidently of the opinion that he was the first to comment on the work.¹⁷ But two more commentaries, the dates of which are not known, have been referred to in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* (I. 261).

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15 अल व्यास उवाचेत्यत उत्तरं यत् त्वया चेत्यतः पूर्वमेकादश श्लोका दाक्षिणात्यपाठे सन्ति । परन्तु सोऽपपाठः सङ्गत्यग्रहात् पुनरुक्तिदोषाच्च गौडपाठे प्राचीनपुस्तकेषु तेषामनुपलम्भाच्च ।—III, 2, 1.

16 अत्राधुनिकपुस्तकेषु अष्टावध्याया वैष्णवतन्त्रस्थाः केनचित् प्रक्षिप्ता दृश्यन्ते । तत्र शक्तिदीक्षाप्रकरणे तत्कथनस्यासङ्गतेः प्राचीनपुस्तकेषु तेषामदर्शनाच्च सोऽपपाठः । ततः प्राचीनपुस्तकपाठमनुरूपैव व्याख्यायते ।—XII, 7, 1.

Nilakanṭha refers to variants in several other cases also, e.g., IX, 1, 92, XII, 6, 90.

17 देवीभागवतस्यास्य व्याख्यानरहितस्य च ।

व्याख्यानं क्रियते सम्यक् तिलकाख्यं महत्तरम् ॥

—Last introductory verse of the commentary.

देवीभागवतस्यास्य व्याख्यानरहितस्य च ।

तिलकाख्यां महाव्याख्यां सम्यग् यः कृतवान् शुभाम् ॥

—Concluding verse at the end of the *ṭīkā* of each Book.

The Authoress Binabāyī

Binabāyī is the only woman whose contribution to Paurāṇic literature is extant to-day. Her only work that is known to-day is the *Dvārakā-pattala*. The work has not been published as yet; the only MS. of it that is known to exist belongs to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. It furnishes us with a fairly good account of the personal history of the authoress.

It is stated at the beginning of the MS. that the work belongs to the Rāmānuja school.¹ It is dated 1518.² So Binabāyī must have flourished after Rāmānuja (12th century) and before 1518.

The authoress states that her father was king Maṇḍalika who flourished in the Yadu race and excelled all others in royal qualities.³ It is likely that this Maṇḍalika was one of the Cūḍāsama Maṇḍalika kings of Girnar, Kathiawar. Maṇḍalika I flourished at the beginning of the 11th century⁴ and Rāmānuja was born a few years later. So Maṇḍalika I cannot be Binabāyī's father. King Maṇḍalika, father of Binabāyī, is, probably, one of the other four Cūḍāsama Maṇḍalikas known to us.⁵

1 रामानुज-मतस्यायं ग्रन्थः cp. also श्यामं रामानुजं कान्तं...नमामि, etc.

2 संवत् १५१८ वर्षे भाद्रपद-शुक्ले १३ सोमे लिखितम् ।

3 See the beginning of the work *Dvārakā-pattala*.

4 C. Mabel Duff's *Chronology of India*, London, 1899, pp. 283-284; *A.S.W.I.*, ii, 164 (given in appendix).

5 Maṇḍalika III, IV and V ruled at the beginning of the thirteenth, end of the fourteenth and middle of the fifteenth century; Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 284. For various inscriptions referring to the different rulers of the family and their lineage, see also *Ep. Ind.* vol. xx, p. 105, Inscription no. 751, (dated Vikrama 1473), no. 805, p. 112, (Vikrama 1507: Maṇḍalika III); no. 867 (Vikrama 1554: Maṇḍalika III); no. 1719, p. 243 (undated: Maṇḍalika II); also no. 1865, p. 243 (undated). See also *Rev. Lists of Ant. Rem. of the Bombay Presidency*, p. 347.

The SMV. quotes a verse by one king Maṇḍalika (Mahipati Maṇḍalika), p. 64 of the appendix, G. O. S., vol. LXXXII.

There are two interesting MSS. called Maṇḍalika-nṛpa-carita about the Maṇḍalika kings in the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (see *Descriptive Cata-*

Further we know from the same work that Binabāyī was the chief queen of Harasiṃha, son of Vīraṣiṃha, grandson of king Pratāpa, a Vaiṣṇava by religion, who ruled in Pāṭalipura situated on the Ganges. The only information we get about him in the work is that he was a descendant of Cāhuvāna and under the circumstances it is difficult to identify him.

Thus it may be concluded that Binabāyī flourished probably at Girnar, Kathiawar, between the 12th and the 15th century.

Though highly learned, Binabāyī displays admirable womanly modesty while speaking about herself and disclaims of any great scholarship or genius on her own part. She describes herself as a humble student of scriptures, not an erudite scholar. Of course, this is disproved by the work itself which indubitably testifies to the deep erudition of the authoress and her great mastery over scriptures, Smṛtis and Purāṇas. Binabāyī, further, declares herself an humble devotee of Kṛṣṇa to whose service she has dedicated her whole life and fortune. Her sole object in undertaking to summarise the Dvārakā-māhātmya, forming a part of the Prabhāsakhaṇḍa of the *Skanda-purāṇa*, in the form of the present work *Dvārakā-pattala*, is, she points out, to render some religious service to humanity.

Binabāyī seems to have made extensive tours all over India. According to her own statement, she visited many holy places and practised extensive charity.⁶

For all these reasons, she was held in high reverence by her subjects and by all those with whom she came in contact. She has

logue of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS. in the library of the Bombay Branch of R. Asiatic Society, compiled by H. D. Velankar, vol. II, Hindu Literature, pp. 339-340). But they contain no reference to our authoress Binabāyī.

6 See the end of chapter I called तीर्थ-यात्रा-विवेक, “विहितानेकमतीर्थ-यात्रयाऽति-पवित्रया” etc.; end of 2nd chap. called प्रणामादिविवेक, “कन्यया भगवलीकृत्य दृष्ट-संस्पृष्ट-तीर्थया”, etc.; and also end of 3rd chap. called अर्घ-दान विवेक, “विहितानेक-सतीर्थ-ज्ञानया बहुमानया”, etc.

been eulogised as the Kalpa-taru or the celestial wish-fulfilling tree, and as the Ganges,—purity and holiness incarnate.⁷

The work is divided into four chapters. At the beginning of the work, as we have seen, the authoress gives us some personal informations. The first chapter begins with quotations from the *Skanda-purāṇa* showing the importance of the holy place Dvārakā and deals with the acquirement of religious merit by the pilgrim who visits Dvārakā or by his helpers. In this connection it is stated that the pilgrim acquires at his every step towards Dvārakā from home the same religious merit as accrues from the performance of the horse-sacrifice. The helpers too acquire various sorts of religious merit. Thus one inducing some other person to go on pilgrimage to Dvārakā goes to the realm of Viṣṇu. One speaking sweetly to such a pilgrim acquires the merit of playing at Nandana. One offering a conveyance to a tired pilgrim on his way to Dvārakā goes to Heaven in an aeroplane with swans. One supplying food to a hungry pilgrim on his way to Dvārakā acquires the merit of satisfying the manes with food and drink for ever and so on.

The 2nd chapter deals with the ritualistic directions in connection with bowing down to various deities, etc., while paying visit to them at Dvārakā. On reaching Dvārakā one pays homage to Gaṇeśa, then to Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa in succession. After that he visits the river Gomatī. On the eighth, ninth or fourteenth day of the moon he visits Rukmiṇī with the object of getting all desired objects. Then he visits Cakratirtha, the Dvārakā-Gaṅgā, and Śaṅkhoddhāra, finally he bathes in the Gomatī with the object of getting rid of all sins committed during the previous births.

The third chapter is connected with the offerings of rice, dūrvā grass, flowers, water, etc., and baths at various shrines. The appropriate formulae to be uttered and the ritualistic directions to be observed while offering or bathing are given here.

7 Cp. the last three verses of the *Dvārakā-pattala*.

On reaching the Gomatī the pilgrim prostrates himself straight on the shore. He then washes his hands and feet and takes hold of kuśa grass, touches the auspicious objects mixed with unhusked barley-corns and with his face towards the east he makes the offering along with the utterance of the appropriate formulas. In the Cakra-tīrtha, he makes an offering of the five auspicious things, mixed with flowers, unhusked rice and sandal paste with his face towards it, uttering the prescribed formula. He pays homage to Varuṇa and the Gomatī with one half of the materials mixed up. The offerings to Viṣṇu should consist of fruits, flowers, unhusked barley-corn and sandal paste. The pilgrim makes an offering to Gaṅgābdhi as well, as prescribed.

Next the pilgrim bathes in the Gomatī with the object of getting Hari. He walks down to naval-deep water, makes a circle of four cubits, invokes the Ganges with the prescribed mantras, takes some water in his folded palms, purifies it by mantras and sprinkles it on his head four, five or seven times. Then taking some mud in his hand, he similarly purifies it, rubs the same on his forehead thrice and plunges into water three times. After that he sips water twice, comes back to the shore and pays homage to Yakṣman with a view to atone for the sin committed by him in defiling the water. Now he dresses himself, washes his knees, hands and feet three times with mud and water, sips the water thrice and seats himself for making offerings to the deities. Then he announces the various sorts of religious merits he wants to acquire by bathing in the Gomatī.

The wishes (*samkalpas*) uttered by the pilgrim during the bath at the confluence of the Gomatī and the sea are very interesting, as they furnish a list of the religious merits he wishes to acquire and as he prays here for the salvation of not only himself but also of his kith and kin by birth or matrimony as well as of friends of any description. One is enjoined to make these wishes on the sixth day of the moon called Kapilā or the 12th lunar day. The

wishes to be made during bath at the Cakratīrtha, Rukmiṇī lake, Maya tank, Gopikā tank, Varadāna and Śaikhoddhāra are also prescribed here in a neat and clear-cut way.

At the end of the chapter the pilgrim is instructed how to offer oblations of water at the Gomatī, and at the Nṛga well after bath.

The fourth chapter deals with the worship of Kṛṣṇa. The pilgrim is enjoined to worship Kṛṣṇa with saffron mixed with camphor, musk, sandal and aloe, along with incense burning. Then the deity is presented with lights, *naivedya*, and betel.* The devotee then goes round the image of Kṛṣṇa and prostrates himself straight. He puts on the garland of Tulaṣī beads and wood with the prescribed mantras.

Then the authoress gives ritualistic directions for making various gifts. Here she does not follow the *Skanda-purāṇa* but refers to other Purāṇas. She describes the procedure of worship etc., while making gifts of a cow, a bull, a bull with diamond, an ox and a horse. She lays special stress on the gifts of diamond; in giving directions for this, she follows *Śiva-purāṇa* as well as *Viṣṇu-dharma-purāṇa*. Then she prescribes the regulations for the gift of silver, jewels, paddy, cotton garments and for the offer of food to mendicants.

After this, the authoress speaks of the *śrāddha* to be performed in the Gomatī as well as at the confluence of the Gomatī and the sea.

Finally, she dwells on the procedure of Viṣṇu's worship, how to bathe Him, to offer Him ordinary garments, incensed garments, ornaments, etc. Here the book ends. But we have three more verses eulogising the authoress which do not seem to be the composition of Binabāyī herself, as the modesty displayed by her at the beginning and other parts of the work goes ill with any self-eulogy at the end. These verses seem, rather, to be a homage of the scribe to the laudable qualities of the queen.

The work though professedly* based on the Rāmānuja school of the Vedānta, contains no reference to any of the philosophical

doctrines of the school. It is purely ritualistic and probably tries to develop the ritualistic and practical side of the school by laying down rules for various devotional ceremonies.

The authoress has, no doubt, written the work on the basis of the *Dvārakā-māhātmya*, but her originality lies in the fact that the ritualistic development of the work and the modes and procedures enunciated are characteristically her own. As a matter of fact, the arrangement of the whole work is her own. She has quoted at places the *Dvārakā-māhātmya* verbatim, but in the choice of the Mantras she has displayed much cleverness. Also the ritualistic wishes (*saṃkalpavākya*s) and the procedures of worship, etc., appear to be the productions of an eminent ritualistic authority. The work is very short; nevertheless, it contains in a nutshell all the essential informations given in the *Dvārakā-māhātmya*. Being a ritualistic work, it naturally omits legends related in the *Dvārakā-māhātmya*. At times, the authoress has brought in materials from other *Purāṇas* which much enhance the value of her own work. The diction of Binabāyī is simple and graceful and the few verses at the beginning and the end of the work amply testify to her great poetic genius.

In religion, Indian women have always held a prominent place. Their opinions are of great weight and have been quoted by eminent authorities." Specially they have always been accepted as authorities in the sphere of customary rites (*ācāras*).¹⁰ It is a matter of great social and religious importance that a woman should write a ritualistic work the procedure, directions, formulas, etc., which are to be followed during religious observances.

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9 E. g. the *Aitareya* (v. 29) and *Kaṇṣṭhiki* (II. 9) quote the authoritative opinions of a venerable learned maiden (*Kumārī Gandharva-gṛhītā*) that the Agni-hotra ritual which was once performed on both days is now to be performed on alternate days only.

10 E. g. *ĀpGs.*, 2.15; here he recommends that the ceremonies that are required by custom should be learnt from women; cp. *ĀpDhs.*, II. 6. 15.9. II. 11. 29. 11. 12; *ĀcGs.*, 1. 14. 8; etc

On the Identity of the two Patañjalis

The belief in the identities of the author of *Mahābhāṣya* (*Bh.*) and that of the *Yogasūtra* (*Ys.*), has never ceased to maintain itself vividly enough among the Indologists in the West as well as in the East, although it was refuted on several occasions and particularly in a very well reasoned way by H. Jacobi (*JAOS.*, XXXI, p. 25). We have seen since then, a trustworthy scholar, B. Liebich (S. B. Heid 1919, 4, p. 7, 1921, 7, p. 57) collecting in support of this identity new arguments, whilst the great translator of the texts on Yoga, J. H. Woods (*Yoga system*, p. xv., Cf. Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p. 27) bringing into evidence the divergent conceptions which the two works attest, in regard to the question of "substance" (*dravya*) and "quality" (*guṇa*).

Jacobi p. 26, had brought into account certain compounds of *Ys.* which violate the rule of precedence defined by *Pāṇ.* II. 2. 54. It is true that Liebich (S. B. Heid, 1919, p. 8) remarks that this precedence is not without exceptions. In fact, the grammatical vṛttis point out on several occasions to the inconstant (*anitya*) character of the rule *alpācṭaram* or of its vārttika, and we know that Pāṇini himself goes against this rule in the text of several of his sūtras. But it remains that *Bh.* is strict as to the application of the precedence in the dvandva, and it is doubtful that the author of the *Bh.* should have allowed compounds such as *pracchardanavidhāraṇa* or *grahitṛgrahāṇa-grāhya*, which are found in the *Ys.*

Liebich brings also to account that the grammatical theory of *spṛṣṭa* is admitted by the Yoga philosophy. But the argument has no weight in deciding the identity of Patañjali, for on the one hand the term does not appear in the *Ys.*, and on the other hand it is only employed incidentally in the *Bh.* and does not enable us to

ascertain if the complex notion attached to it by the theorists of grammatical philosophy, is found already implied therein.

Let us try and see if a more complete examination of the vocabulary confirms the general impressions which are derived from the discussions summarised above.

It is certain that the contents of a collection of aphorisms on the principles of a technique has the chance of being far enough from that of a treatise of grammatical criticism, that on the other hand, the composition in *sūtra* implies other stylistic requirements than the composition in *bhāṣya*.

This alone could justify the difference between the two texts, if one forgot that the *Bh.* carries a very strong philosophical imprint, and that, from the formal point of view, it tends towards an axiomatic expression which brings it near the style of *sūtra*. One knows besides that the *Bh.* follows verbally and comments on the *vārtika* of Kātyāyana, the language and style of which are obviously related to those of the philosophical *sūtra*. Thus the two works could and should meet on the plan of lexicography.

In fact there are a few common terms: how could it be otherwise? This is because both the things are either one or contain commonplace terms such as every theoretical exposition contains from one end to the other of Sanskrit literature. Let us take the most important, *svarūpa*, *ānantarya*, *viśeṣa* (the *Ys.* do not utilise the opposition *sāmānya*/*viśeṣa* without which the use of *viśeṣa* is hardly conceived in the *Bh.*), the opposition *bāhya*/*abhyantara*, the expression *tatparatiṣedhārtham* or *anīṣṭaprasaṅgāt*.

Or one finds that the words are employed in entirely different senses in the two works. Without speaking of the word *yoga* itself, we have thus the term of grammar *dvandva* which appears in *Ys.* in the sense of "contrasted notions" (such as "hot and cold," Vyāsa). This use does not appear to be older than the *Mahābhārata*. In the same way, one has a series of words of the grammatical terminology

(*pratyāhāra*, *upasarga*, *pratyaya*, *vikaraṇa* etc.) which appear in the *Ys.* with quite different values. Among the more general terms, let us note also the case of words like *liṅga*, *sādhana*, *saṁskāra*, *vikalpa*, *atiprasaṅga*. Liebhich (*loc. cit.*) recalls that *Ys.* use the words *antar* and *bahir-aṅga*, which are well known in grammatical argumentation. But the meaning which these words are given in the *ṛtti* and in the *Bh.*, "(operation of which) the cause is situated in the interior relatively: in the exterior i.e. in front or behind the complementary operation, and which takes its place before or after the latter, when the two operations work for the formation of the same word)" is as removed as possible from that which *Ys.* assigns to it "(means) immediate or direct (relatively indirect or accessory, for attaining the Yoga)": "indirect," says Vyāsa, because even without them Yoga is possible. There is not in the *antaraṅga*/*bahiraṅga* of grammarians any plan of relative preponderance; only that question arises as to which of the two operations should be effected in the first place.

It is remarkable in this connection, that nowhere the author of *Ys.* utilises the pregnant values of *ca*, *vā*, *iti* etc. that the grammatical commentators following *Bh.*, always bring out from the Pāṇinian *Sūtra*.

Number of terms which the grammatical comments and the *Vākyapadīya* largely use are not found in the *Bh.*, (where one expects to find them legitimately) whilst they are attested in the *Ys.*: e.g. *pratiprasava*, *yogyatā*, *dharmin*, *vastu*, *pratiyogin*, *abhiniyeśā*, *vāsanā*, *svasvāmin*, *vinīyoga*. The language of *Ys.* attests to a development in the sense of analysis and abstraction which rests assuredly on a long evolution. *Bh.* has *smaraṇa* or *smṛta*, the *Ys.* *smṛti*; *Bh.* *anukarana*, the *Ys.* *anukāra*. A word as important as *saṁādhi* is lacking in *Bh.* which knows *saṁādhāna*, as it has *antardhi* or *-dhā* in respect of *antardhāna* of the *Ys.* One will note still in the *Bh.* the absence of important terms *śakti*, *bhāvana* (°*nā*), as also the use of °*bbūmi*

as the last member of the compound, characteristic of *Ys.* One would expect that the designation of the texts revealed by *ānuśravika* (*Ys.*) might appear at least once in the *Bh.* which, on the other hand does not contain the commonplace use like *tajja*, *tatstha*, etc. The expression *etena vyākhyātāḥ* of the *Ys.*, which one notes in certain Kalpasūtras, and in the sūtras which the bhāṣya of Kautilya has absorbed, is lacking in the *Bh.*, as also a phrase like *tadā kim syāt*. The list of familiar uses in the *Bh.* of which the *Ys.* do not contain any trace is almost without limit.

From a strictly grammatical point of view, it must be remembered that the *Ys.* are a finished model of the nominal style, with what this linguistic expression carries along: that is to say a usage much developed in the nominal composition, the use abounding in the suffix *-tvā-* having the effect of rendering into substantive the bahubrihi (type—*viśeṣārthatva* “the fact that (its) object is particular”) or the tatpuruṣa adjectives (type *manojavitva* “the fact that its rapidity is comparable to that of thought”). Not one of these procedures is customary in the *Bh.* which is noticeable on the contrary in the technical prose of Sanskrit, by the extensive use of the verbal sentence, by the moderate use of the composition, by the fact that suffixation concerns the word and not the compound of which the word is a part. It is thus that it has not the forms at Samāsānta-ka-like °*pūrvaka* or °*pramāṇaka* of the *Ys.*. In the same way, it knows less abstract derivatives in *-ya-* of the type of *vairāgya*, *saumanasya* and formations like *kathamtā* and *asmitā* are hardly conceivable in the language of the *Bh.* that is pure and free from pedantism.

The *Ys.* make use of *dvandva* formed of the positive adjective and the adjective with (a) °priv., *pun्यāpunya*, *jñātājñāta*, *dr̥ṣṭā-dr̥ṣṭa*, *kleṣṭākṣṭa*. This procedure is recognised by grammarians, at least when the adjective is a verbal one in *-ta-* as in the last three examples. But it remains very rare up to the development of the philosophical texts of Buddhism or of the Brahmanical literature called

classical. The *Bh.* does not use them. In the same way, combinations like *grahītrgrāhakagrāhya* or *draṣṭrdrśya* which abound in the commentaries of the later period have no equivalent in the *Bh.*

It is little likely that the bhāṣyakāra would have ratified a compound such as *samhatyakāritva*, where the first member is an absolutive; compounds of this kind, with the exception of some isolated cases in the *Mahābhārata* or the *Kauṭīliya*, are confined to the technical treatises of Buddhism.

The *Ys.* have compounds in °*heya* (*pratiprasavaheya*, *dhyānaheya*) in which the last member is a verbal of obligation (*kṛtya*). Such formations do not appear in the *Bh.* except in the *kārikā* (F. Kielhorn, *I.A.*, XV, p. 232 n.) which as we know do not cite the authority of Patañjali.

The type "cui" is represented in the *Ys.* by the forms *vaśīkāra* and *avisayibhūtatva*: it is clearly avoided in the language of the *Bh.*

The adjective *ṛtambhara* of the *Ys.* goes out of the limit of the sentence *saṃjñāyām* of the sūtra of Pāṇ. III, 2. 46.

The use of the prefix *sa°* is also widespread in the *Ys.*, and is relatively small in the *Bh.*

Certain pronominal and adverbial forms offer some interest for the discrimination of the author: *sadā*, known to *Ys.*, lacks in the *Bh.* (if we leave out of account the metrical quotation). The use of the adverb *itaratra* takes place in both, but in clearly divergent acceptations. The *Bh.* often utilises the form *aneka*, but nowhere the plural (*anekeṣām*) which the *Ys.* give and which the grammarians consider as generally incorrect (compare—Nāgojibh. ad. *Bh.* II, 26, Durghaṭavṛ *ibid.*, cf. also *uttareṣām* *Ys.* "for the following.") The *Ys.* use derivatives *dr̥śi*, *citi*, in the sense of the nouns of action "fact of seeing, thinking": *Bh.* limits this mode of derivation to the designation of the verbal root, conforming to III, 3 108 vt. 2. In its use, *dr̥śi* for example is the "root *dr̥ś*."

We have referred above to certain expressions of *Ys.* the most direct correspondent of which is to be found in the technical texts of Buddhism. It is not out of place to mention in this connection the triad *maitrī*, *karuṇā*, *muditā*, of the *sūtra* 133. These are the three well known elements of Buddhist terminology, the form *muditā*, that is to say the use of the feminine of a verbal in *-ta-* as noun of action is a feature of the Buddhist language of which one would search for in vain examples in the classical literature of earlier times.

The term *prāgbhāra* seems to belong equally to the Buddhist and Jaina schools, from where it has passed at a late date into the Brahmanical lexicons. At last *ariṣṭa*, in the sense of "(presages of) death" comes into use at the stage of *Gṛhyasūtra-Mahābhārata*, sanskritising perhaps *P. ariṭṭha*.

In brief, the vocabulary of the *Ys.* is radically distinct from that of the *Bh.* The divergences do not constitute a simple opposition between the propriety of the *sūtra* style and that of the *bhāṣya* style, still less (as it has been supposed) a mere difference which might exist between a younger Patañjali and the older Patañjali. We have to do with two different authors and everything leads to believe that a considerable lapse of time occurred between the date of the *Bhāṣya*—which can pass to-day for almost sure—, and that, late by a few centuries, which marks the completion of the *Yogasūtra*, the development of the style and the philosophical dialectics.

L. RENOU

A Persian Inscription from Gwalior State

The inscription dealt with below, though noticed as early as 1865 by General Sir A. Cunningham,¹ does not appear to have been published so far. The epigraph was listed recently by the State Archaeological Department and is being edited by the courtesy of the Director of Archaeology, Gwalior State.

The epigraph hails from Nurabad ($26^{\circ}-24'$ N., $78^{\circ}-6'$ E.), a decaying village on the bank of the river *Sankh*. It lies 15 miles north of Gwalior, along the Delhi-Gwalior-Bombay Trunk road and is a flag-station on the main line of the G.I.P. Railway.

The site of Nurabad may be said to have had bad luck as it could not retain its prosperity which fell to its lot during the late regime of the Mughals as also under the present rule of the Marathas. Originally a hamlet, called Sihora, stood at the site, and the then road to the Deccan, under the Muslim kings, passed by it. The river *Sankh*, flowing below this hamlet, being a fairly big one, would have obstructed passage across, specially during the rains. This fact is probably responsible for making this place a regular stage on the royal road. This surmise is corroborated further by the presence of an old large *Sarai* here and a fine bridge near it, both being the work of the Muhammadan rule.

It seems that with the construction of the *Sarai* mentioned above, Sihora, the original name was abandoned and the place re-named, as the tradition current is that the town and the *Sarai* were founded by Nur Jahan Begum, the well-known Queen of the Mughal Emperor Jehangir, and named after her. Naturally the imposing *Sarai* and the bridge here made the place fully known in the country round, but it does not seem to have progressed other-

wise as no trace of its development into a town exist at or near the site. One more attempt was made by the late Maharaja Sir Madho Rao Scindia² for its development but it bore no fruit.

The inscription under notice is, at present, built up on the inner face (near the floor) of the northern wall of the prayer-hall of a small modern mosque, which stands outside the *Sarai*, adjacent to its north-west corner. The very position in which the inscription is set up shows that it cannot belong to this modern mosque. Besides, it is said, that it originally belonged to a mosque (now extinct) inside the *Sarai*, which seems probable as *Sarais*, elsewhere, contemporary with that of Nurabad, generally have a mosque inside them. Cunningham has found this inscription possibly on the original mosque, but his description does not clearly tell us as to whether the mosque stood within or outside the *Sarai*.³ Though it is difficult now to narrate the circumstances in which the original mosque ceased to exist, it, however, admits of no doubt, that the inscription was picked up from some ruins, and stuck up in its present setting by the builders of this modern mosque.

The inscription is cut on a stone measuring 4'-4" × 1'-7" all over. The epigraph is cut in relief and is enclosed by a one inch wide border, uniformly cut on all its sides and in the centre, dividing the tablet lengthwise into two halves. The record consists of three verses in Persian language, written in the *Nastaliq* style with a deflection of characters, which gives the engraving a pleasing effect; and refers to the founding of a mosque by one Nur, during the reign of Alamgir in the year 1072 A.H. (= 1661 A.C.) It gives neither the name of the place nor mentions anything about

2 In order that the place may grow into a town, the late Maharaja, stationed here the head-quarters of a Sub-Division and provided the place with other modern facilities, but, as the ill-luck would have it, all these, could develop the place.

3 *CASR.*, II, p. 327. Cunningham mentions a contemporary record on the *Sarai* as well.

the founding of any town. The date is given, both, in figures and in a chronogram. The last hemistich of the third or the last verse of the composition is the chronogram and just below it is engraved the date in numerals as well, which reads 172. But it ought to be 1072 which is the correct date as deduced from the chronogram. The mistake is due to the negligence of the executors of the inscription who omitted to write 'o' between one and seven—an omission not uncommon in old inscriptions.

The persons named in the inscription are Alamgir and Nur. Of these Alamgir is undoubtedly the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb (A.C. 1658-1701) who was first to assume the title of *Alamgir* (conqueror of the world). Besides the date of the inscription, viz., 1661 A.C. falling in Aurangzeb's reign, leaves no doubt about it. The name of the other person given as 'Nur' is rather incomplete being bereft of its appellations presumably for the convenience of poetical technique. So it is a little difficult, if not impossible, to trace him in the records or to find his actual place in history. It is certain, however, that Nur must have been a personage of high dignity, on account of which he was accorded the honour of laying the foundation of a mosque—a no mean honour of those days.

The mosque, as well as, the *Sarai* and the bridge⁴ at Nurabad are presumably the works of Aurangzeb's rule, both on the basis of the inscription under notice and the style of architecture of the edifices which is clearly later Mughal. According to Cunningham, Motamid Khan, who also bore the title of Nur-ud-din⁵ and who was the then Governor of Gwalior under Aurangzeb, built these structures. Thus in the absence of any other information about 'Nur' of this inscription, the foregoing assertion seems to fit in cor-

4 *CASR.*, II, p. 325. William Finch a merchant-Traveller did not find this bridge when he passed this way in A.C. 1610.

5 It is also corroborated by inscriptions met at Gwalior. Cf. Inscriptions at Gwalip's mosque and Nur-Sagar in Gwalior Fort.

که فیض لطف همهش سیر کلاه
 پادشاه در اینجا و در عطا
 سری بنیان بدو کارگاه کارینه

بر رفو کار خلافت خدایو عالم
 ز رفو یافت نیند مساکین و مسجدر
 چو خواسته خبر از امانت الهی و کفایت

rectly. His full name may have been omitted from the composition partly for the sake of poetry and partly for the simple reason that Motamid Khan was too well-known in those days to need fuller description. It also follows automatically that the place was named Nurabad after this very Governor on or about 1662 A.C. and not after Nurjehan Begum as current in the local tradition.

The text of the inscription as read by me is given below :—

Text of the *Inscription* from Nurabad.

(a) روزگار خلافت خدیو عالم — مگیر (۱)

(b) که فیض لطاف همیشه رسیده هر کجای رسد

(a) ز نور یافت بذای مبارک این مسجد (۲)

(b) بیا صدق دل اینجا رن بطلعت ده

(a) چو خواستم خبر از ابتدایش هفت گفت (۳)

(b) سر نیاز بدرگاه سردگار بند

۱ ۷ ۲

TRANSLATION

1. (a) During the reign and monarchy of Emperor Alamgir.
(b) (The) bounty of whose universal favour reaches every small and great.
2. (a) From *Nur* got this mosque its auspicious foundation.
(b) Come, with sincere heart and body; unto this place (in the mosque) and offer prayers and supplications (to God).
3. (a) When I enquired news about its beginning (founding of the mosque) *Hatif* (the unknown) said.
(b) [Find it from the words]. Put your head in modesty at the feet of the creator. year: ۱ [۰] 72.

The Arab Conquest of Sind

The Arabs were not quite unfamiliar with the land or the people of Sind, when in 711-12 A.D., Karimuddin Muhammad Kasim¹ led the expedition which resulted in its subjugation. It was ruled by men of their faith for over a thousand years. In the course of a number of ineffectual invasions of the country the Arabs had obtained a good deal of information regarding the manners and customs and the laws of peace and war which prevailed in 'Sind and Hind.'

Though our sources of knowledge are scanty, they indicate clearly that there was some cultural and commercial intercourse between the two peoples. The 'commercial understanding or alliance' between Arabia and India which the *Periplus* speaks of could not have been extinct at this time, while Buddhism, which was a predominant force in the life of the Indus valley, must have continued to serve as a cultural link.

There is some evidence of emigration to and from Arabia and *vice versa* even at this time. The knowledge we have of Indian families settling in Muslim lands (such as the ministerial family of the Barmaks) relates to a slightly later date. We know, however, for certain from the *Chachnāmāh* that Arab mercenaries had already begun to seek their fortunes in Sind, e.g., Muhammad Alafi enter into the service of Dahar with five hundred Arabs of his clan, and was entrusted with important military commissions; another Muslim, named Amir Ali-ud-Dowla, was appointed governor of the fort

1 This is the name given in the *Chachnāmāh*. In the *Tarikh Maasumi* he is called Muhammad son of Kasim, and in the *Tuhfatul Kiram* Muhammad Kasim son of Ukail Sakifi. (See the *Chachnāmāh* translated by Fredunbeg, vol. 1, p. 101). All references to the *Chachnāmāh* in this article are, unless otherwise stated, to the *Chachnāmāh* translated from the Persian by Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg, Karachi, 1900.

of Sikka (near Multan) by Chach, after his conquest of the place;² Wazil, a secretary of Dahar, was also a Muhammadan.³

It is generally believed that the expedition sent by Hajjaj under Muhammad Kasim was a measure of retaliation against the ruler of Sind who had refused, on the ground that they were not his subjects, to punish some pirates who had robbed a few vessels containing presents from the king of Ceylon to Hajjaj.⁴ Mr. Amir Ali in his *History of the Saracens* substantially accepts this version of the story when he says that the expedition was a punitive one designed to prevent constant harassments by the tribes living in Sind.

Although the alleged piratical act might well have served as a pretext for the invasion of Sind, another and more definite ground for their invasion was their desire to carry on a religious war. The first expedition so sent had been despatched as early as the Caliphate of Omar (634-44 A.D.), and it resulted in the defeat and death of its commander, Mughairah. In the reign of Usman, a man was sent at the head of an expedition to make a full report on the situation. His reply was discouraging. During the Caliphate of Ali (656-61 A.D.) another expedition was sent, and yet another in the reign of Muawiyeh (661-680 A.D.). From this time onwards it became the practice to designate a commander of an expedition in advance as the 'governor' of Sind. When Abdul Malik, son of Marwan, became the Khalifah, he appointed Hajjaj to be governor of Iraq, *Hind and Sind*, long before the alleged piracy could have taken place. Hence, the piracy, if it had really occurred, came in very conveniently to reinforce the usual argument for a holy war and to persuade the wavering Khalifah to despatch a force.

2 Elliot: *History of India by its own Historians*,—The *Chachnāmah*, vol. I, p. 142.

3 Fredunbeg, *Chachnāmah*, vol. I, p. 71. Not only from the evidence of his name but also from the fact that he was engaged by Dahar to read letters addressed to him in Arabic by Muhammad Kasim.

4 The *Tarikh Maasumi* gives a somewhat different story.

Most historians represent the conquest of Sind by the Arabs as a romantic story of the victorious march of a small army of inspired soldiers under a heroic seventeen-year old commander, whose mission of the conquest of Sind and Hind was left unfulfilled only on account of a terrible misunderstanding which led to his tragic death. Some have ascribed the conquest to the superstitious beliefs of the Hindus, which prevented them from taking the necessary military steps for the defence of the country at the right time. Others, like Mr. R. D. Banerjee, and Mr. C. V. Vaidya⁵ represent the Buddhists of Sind as the knaves of the story, and make them the scapegoats for India's failure against Muslim invaders.⁶

A superficial perusal of the *Chachnāmā* and, besides, a study of the work in its inadequate translation in the first volume of Elliot may well lead us to one or other of these views. This book, which is our almost sole authority for the Arab conquest of Sind, is a product of the times, and betrays in every page the prejudices and shortcomings of the age in which it was composed. Fortunately, it contains a solid substratum of facts, though embedded in layers of questionable materials, such as scandalous gossips, and hearsays of various kinds and it will be the object of this paper to find out the solid facts.

In the eighth century India was a land divided and subdivided within itself, where no political frontier was permanent, and no two neighbours were at peace with each other. At a time when no ruler in India could be expected to rush to the aid of a brother prince in difficulties, the comparative geographical isolation of Sind made the prospect of assistance very remote, while it made it particularly

5 R. D. Banerjee, *Prehistoric, Ancient, and Hindu India*, p. 237; C. V. Vaidya, *History of Mediæval Hindu India*, vol. I, p. 173.

6 Modern research has established the fact that the failure of the Arabs in their larger aim of conquering India was due to the successful resistance of the Rajput princes, notably the Pratihāras of Kanauj.

vulnerable to the attacks of invaders from the west. A careful study of the *Chachnāmah* shows that, though apparently a state of respectable size, Sind under Dahar was a ramshackle political organisation, utterly wanting in cohesion and inhabited by a heterogeneous population. A feudal state, it was, divided into four provinces, whose governors were so independent of each other and of the central authority that some of them are designated as 'kings'. Their only liability, when they chose to fulfil it, was to render military assistance to the king of Sind. The latter's authority was further limited by the power of the ministers, and an Assembly of Five Hundred.⁷ Dahar's minister, Buddhiman, was so influential that the king had his name mentioned in the coinage. The Assembly seems to have been a feudal gathering of chieftains, who were consulted on occasions.

Much controversy has raged round the question of the caste and tribe to which Chach, the father of Dahar, belonged. Mr. R. D. Banerjee adheres to the view that he was a Rajput of the Samna (Samba) tribe of the Yādava clan.⁸ The *Chachnāmah* says that he was a Brahmin who had usurped the throne by the guilty aid of Suhandi, the queen of the previous sovereign. There is some room for disbelieving this story, which is of the cock and bull type, but it is difficult to set aside numerous and positive statements in the *Chachnāmah* to the effect that Chach was a Brahmin, and that his nearest relatives were ascetics or *pujāris*. There should have been no doubt on the subject if it were not for the statement of Hiuen Tsang⁹ that the ruler of Sind when he visited the country (who could not have been any other than Chach) belonged to the Shu-to-lo race, which is variously interpreted to mean a Kṣattriya, a Śūdra, and a

7 *Chachnāmah*, vol. I, p. 46. Dahar consulted this body, when, according to the *Chachnāmah*, he decided to marry his step-sister.

8 *Prehistoric, Ancient, and Hindu India*, p. 237.

9 Elliot, vol. I, p. 411.

Rajput of the Chatur or the Chitor tribe. Some colour is lent to this view by the statement in the *Chachnāmāh* that a daughter of Chach was married to the king of Kashmir. But this does not necessarily mean that he was a Rajput. It seems safer to accept the categorical statements of the *Chachnāmāh* in preference to the conjectural interpretations of a doubtful word of the pilgrim. The point is interesting to us, for, if we accept the story of the usurpation, it gives us an additional explanation of the readiness of the provincial governors, some of whom were partisans of the dispossessed family, to join the Muslim invaders in their desire to wreak a vengeance on the usurping dynasty.

Each change in the succession after Chach seems to have occasioned fratricidal quarrels and something of a division of inheritance among brothers and cousins. When Chach died, his brother Candra succeeded to the throne in preference to the sons of Chach. After Candra's death, his son Bachera (Vajra?) became ruler at Siwistan, while two sons of Chach, viz., Dahar and Daharsiah, received Alor and Brahmanabād respectively. It is related in the *Chachnāmāh* that, on account of an astrological prediction that his step-sister, Main or Bai, would never go out of Alor and would marry none but a king, Dahar married her himself, though the marriage was not intended to be and was not consummated. It is further stated that this led to a quarrel between the brothers during the progress of which Daharsiah died.

The story of the so-called marriage looks like a scandalous gossip, and, though the author of the *Chachnāmāh* harps on it, in at least one reference to Bai, viz. in describing her heroic death, he forgets it, and calls her simply 'Dahar's sister.'¹⁰ The quarrel between the brothers seems really to have been of a political nature. When Daharsiah invaded Alor, he sent the following message to

¹⁰ *Chachnāmāh*, vol. I, p. 153. "Dahar's sister, Bai, then collected all the women of the fort, etc."

his brother, "I have come not to fight with you. This fort was the capital of my father, and from him it has descended to me. You received it from me as my agent, and the kingdom is mine. There never have been two crowns in one country." The *Chachnāmah* relates that after the death of Daharsiah, Dahar made Chach, son of Daharsiah, ruler of Brahmanabad, and made an alliance with him. It was thus a country, suffering repeatedly from political convulsions, that had to bear the brunt of the first Muslim invasions of India.

The story that the Buddhists of Sind handed over their motherland to the foreign invaders does not stand a close scrutiny of the facts as related in the *Chachnāmah*. The Buddhists formed an important element of the population of Sind, and in many of the towns, e.g., Armabel, Nerun, Maoj, Budhiya, etc., they held the post of governor. Some of these governors no doubt showed the utmost cowardice in face of the invaders, and sometimes acted treacherously. But it was not all Buddhists who did so, and it was not all Hindus, who fought for their land and ruler. At Budhiya, says the *Chachnāmah*,¹¹ which was, even as the name implies, a Buddhist strong-hold, the Budh headmen came to their rulers and expressed their determination to make a night attack on the Muslim army. They did make the attempt, but they failed, because they lost their way in the wilderness. The people of the same town, it is interesting to note, had stopped the victorious march of Sinan, the commander of a previous expedition, had killed him and dispersed his troops.

On the other hand, it was a Brahmin from the garrison of Debal, who betrayed to Kasim the secret which led to the fall of the town. Some historians are so obsessed with the fact of Buddhist influence in Sind, that they smell some Buddhist plot or treachery

¹¹ *Chachnāmah*, vol. I, p. 95.

in every case of the surrender of a town or fort to the Muslims. Thus, though it is distinctly stated in the *Chachnāmah* that it was a body of one thousand Brahmins in Brahmanabad, who had shaved their heads and beards because their king had died and who betrayed to Kasim the hiding place of the royal family, Sir Henry Elliot¹² asserts that they were Buddhists. Shaven heads do not always make Buddhist monks; and it is a custom, which prevails in some Rajput states even at the present day, for the orthodox people to shave off their heads clean, including their eyebrows, on the death of the ruler.

It is stated in the *Chachnāmah* that the Buddhists in certain places refused to fight the invaders on the ground that killing was forbidden in their religion. That all Buddhists in Sind did not advance such an argument is evident from the fact, as has been stated above, that the Buddhists did fight in certain places. It was a Buddhist monk who was responsible, according to the *Chachnāmah*, for the stiff resistance put up by the citizens of Brahmanabad against Chach. As a matter of fact, the people who tamely submitted were certain classes of the civil population, such as merchants, monks, agriculturists, who, having no means of resistance, were at the mercy of the invaders, and were Hindus as well as Buddhists. This happened not only in Sind, which was dominated by Buddhism, but in all parts of India.

A plausible explanation of the conquest of Sind by the Muslims is the prevalence of communal jealousies among the Hindu and the Buddhistic elements of the population. Mr. C. V. Vaidya thinks that the usurpation of the throne by Chach represented a brāhmaṇical reaction against Buddhist dominance of Sind.¹³ The *Chachnāmah*, however, describes it as a simple palace revolution, and we have not got the slightest evidence to infer that it was any-

¹² Elliot, vol. I, p. 506.

¹³ *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, vol I, p. 163.

thing different. Chach rebuilt a Buddhist temple in Brahmanabad. His brother was a patron of Buddhism.¹⁴ Dahar had a white elephant. During their reigns, the Buddhist influence in society and government was not in the slightest degree reduced, as we have overwhelming evidence of the fact of such influence at the time of the conquest.

Though we have not got sufficient data for making an estimate of the population of Sind, there are some evidences to indicate that it was small. Brahmanabad, one of the biggest towns in that country, had a population of only ten thousand, according to a census taken by Kasim after the conquest.¹⁵ On the other hand, the invading host was large. Over and above an advanced guard under Abu-l Aswad Jaham, which joined Kasim on the borders of Sind, he had six thousand picked horsemen from Syria and Iraq, six thousand armed camel-riders, and a baggage train of three thousand Bactrian camels, which, however, Mir Masum converts into three thousand infantry. At Makran, again, he was joined with other reinforcements by Muhammad Harun, while five catapults, each requiring five hundred men to work it, were transported by sea to Debal.¹⁶ When Kasim left for Multan for proceeding to the north, his army, according to the *Tarikh-i-Sind* and *Tuhfatul Kiram*, consisted of no less than fifty thousand men, besides those he had left in the forts and garrisons of Sind.¹⁷ It went on swelling partly because of the Jats, Luhanis and other tribes, who joined him.

This is a plea for explaining rationally and by reference to natural causes the story of human failures and human successes.

14 *Chachnāmah*, vol. I, p. 37—"he promulgated the religion of the monks and hermits."

15 'All the people, the merchants, artists, and agriculturists were divided separately in their respective classes and ten thousand men, high and low, were counted.'—The *Chachnāmah* in Elliot, vol. I, p. 153.

16 Elliot, vol. I, p. 434.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 435.

The Arab conquest of Sind is not explained by the superstitious faiths and beliefs of the conquered, for the conquerors also were superstitious, and believed in witchcraft and magic. The theory of Buddhist treachery does not stand examination; and it is high time we should give up demanding a scapegoat. As has been explained above, Sind under Dahar was in no position to offer a suitable resistance to the Arabs. It was too weak, politically and militarily, to do so while the Arabs were in the high tide of their national rise. It had no hope of assistance from other parts of India, while Kasim had a numerous and disciplined army, determined to conquer or die for the faith, and was backed by the resources of a mighty empire.

SAIENDRA NATH DHAR



An Examination of the Nature of Indo-Aryan and Indo-Islamic Polity

The genesis of Indian polity lies in the Ṛg-Vedic age, when the Indo-Aryans were living in the Saptasindhu country i.e. modern Punjab and Peshawar. Into this country they brought the concept of a cosmic order,—the Ṛg-Vedic Rta, and the cult of fire sacrifice,—the Yajña. The former they thought, manifested in the Socio-moral order, called the Society; and the latter embodied the spirit of self-dedication to that order. Both these formed the basis of Indo-Aryan religion, which subsequently determined the nature of their polity.

The Indo-Aryan Polity in the Vedic age assumed two forms—monarchical and republican. The office of the king was more often elective than otherwise. To start with there were popular bodies to assist the king, but later with the rise of extensive kingdoms they were replaced by royal councils. The republican governments were of the nature of oligarchies, and resembled the monarchical governments in their internal working. Whether monarchical or republican, they could not make laws, they could not tax at will, they could not command the indivisible allegiance of the people. Indeed they, like the people, dedicated themselves to the service of the society, and lived for it in the same way as the Greek did for his city-state. This spirit of self-dedication, or self-effacement, left no room for individual self-assertion or self determination, the lack of which effectively stifled the growth of democratic institutions.

But with the spread of the Indo-Aryans over the vast sub-continent of India, the ideal of self-dedication to the service of the society and therefore subordination of all the human institutions to its service received a set-back. As the Indo-Aryans came in contact with new peoples and new cults, they began to forget their own heritage, and the *Brāhmaṇas* had to be compelled to preserve it intact. About this time the caste-system became an indispensable feature of their

society. The Brāhmaṇas gave a religious colouring to all that comprised the ancient heritage of the Indo-Aryans, and this ancient heritage, embodied in the *Brāhmaṇas* became the religion of the people. No distinction was made between what was purely popular and purely religious. Hence kingship and all the popular rites connected with it, became a part of the religion; and ancient Indian kingship corresponded to modern sovereignty in content and thus was the symbol of the state. By canonizing kingship and the ceremonies connected with it religion dominated the state as it did the society, for now, the Brāhmaṇical religion had become for the Indo-Aryan what the Bible became for the Puritan in England in the 17th century.

But this subservient attitude of the state did not long continue. Buddhism, Jainism and other so-called heretical systems arose and preached new social ideals and foreshadowed new social structures. To add to the embarrassments of the Brāhmaṇical society the frequent intermarriages forbidden between castes introduced fresh complications, and threatened to destroy not only the smooth working of the caste system but the whole social structure. In this social crisis all turned to the king, to the political organization to maintain the equilibrium of the society. The *Dharma-sūtras*, the law codes, the *Artha-śāstras*, i.e. the science of Government were composed and therein the king was made to symbolise the state and safeguard the society. It was thus as the Sustainer of the Society—no more subservient to it—that that state attained to ascendancy. With the Maurya empire, the climax was reached; and under Aśoka, the state regulated morals, adjusted the claims of the competing creeds by a policy of tolerance, prohibited undesirable religious ceremonies and shaped the social ideals of the people. Even though all these were attempted in a spirit of altruism, yet it marked the triumph of the state over religion, and since religion had dominated society it actually meant the domination of the state over society.

Hence the Maurya empire marks the climax in the growth of the Indo-Aryan polity.

After the Maurya empire the prestige of the state declined because of the decline of Jainism and Buddhism, and of the triumph of the old Vedic religion. But that did not adversely affect the personal prestige of the king, who, on the other hand, by his alliance with the priesthood, and the protection he gave to the people against foreign invasions—of the Sakas, Yuechis and Hūṇas, attained to an apotheosis never dreamt of before. The Epics and the Purāṇas preached a divine right of the king, which paved the way for royal despotism. The triumph of Vedic religion installed the Vedic ideal of self-effacement in the service of the society, and since the society was dominated by religion, it actually meant self-effacement in the service of the religion. This new development proved detrimental to the growth of the state, and the domination of religion soon degenerated to a despotism, which was worse than royal despotism. But it was now the combination of both—royal despotism and religious despotism, which destroyed individual initiative, and social co-operation, and tore the society into shreds of petty interests and jealousies. There was no political cohesion and less social vitality when the country received the first shock of Islamic invasion.

After years of intermittent raids the first Indo-Islamic empire was established in 1206. Islam introduced an entirely new ideal into India. It is both a church and a state and here each dedicates itself to the interests of the other. Hence the ideals of the Islamic state could be best attained in an Islamic country. In India however that was out of the question because of the vast mass of non-Islamic population. Hence very early the interests of the Dar-ul-Islām and Dar-ul-Harb were opposed and this opposition created an incompatibility between the ideals of the Indo-Islamic state and church. That was the beginning of the duel between the Muslim kings and the Muslim priesthood in India.

But in the earlier days of the Muslim rule in India the kings had depended upon the priesthood for strengthening their own position because they could not emulate the prestige of Mahammad or the Caliphs. Further the exotic character of Islam had made hearty co-operation between all the sections of the Indo-Islamic peoples—the civilian, the soldier and the priesthood, though the line of demarcation between them was very thin, a matter of the utmost consequences. This fact alone had contributed to weld them into a caste—though a privileged because ruling caste. Now this state of affairs lasted so long as the Islamic rule had not been accepted as a matter of course by the people of this country. But once it was so, the militant character of Islamic conquest and creed gradually wore away and the Muslim kings found support from their subjects and *vice versa*. There arose a desire for mutual understanding between the Muslims and the non-muslims. This desire blossomed forth in the evolution of the Urdu language, and a number of religious movements breathing a spirit of love and liberalism. In the political field this desire manifested in a new adjustment of the relations between the Islamic state and the Islamic church. The first principle of Muslim theocracy viz. regulating the state by the laws of the Quran was given up and the king ruled as he thought, was good for his people. This was the ideal of Alla-ud-din Khilji. The next principle of Islamic state-craft, viz. disarming the non-muslims and excluding them from Government employ, was abandoned by Mahammad bin Tughlak and Sher Shah. The latter's son went a step further when he imposed his own authority on the custodians of religion. The consummation of this process was reached in the reign of Akbar, who definitely made himself like Henry VIII the head of the religion. His was the final authority in all matters and he represented the state. Thus the state shook off the tutelage of religion and grew to its full stature. But this growth was soon after undermined by the inherent defects of Muslim rule and Muslim.

society in India. The kings degenerated into pleasure-loving despots or religious bigots. The Indo-Islamic state had become bankrupt in ideals as well as in energy. New peoples rose to power in India and after them the Europeans came with their organized strength and occupied India.

Thus to conclude, there was an attempt in Ancient and Medieval India, to dissociate the state from religion, to subordinate the latter to the former, and whenever that attempt was successful, there was great political development and social progress in all its manifold aspects whenever that attempt failed, it spelt disaster and despotism for the country.

H. N. SINHA

A forgotten treaty between Shujauddaulah and the English

That Verelst's regime marks an interesting stage in the growth of the English ascendancy over the Vazir of Oudh has been generally overlooked by historians. Verelst's achievement in respect of his Oudh policy is of more than ordinary interest, inasmuch as he not only averted through personal influence and diplomatic pressure a threatened rupture with Shujauddaulah, but cemented the existing alliance with him by means of a fresh treaty.

Towards the close of 1767 when the Company's troops in Oudh had been partly withdrawn an account of the war with Haidar Ali in the South, alarming reports began to reach Calcutta regarding the views and intentions of the Vazir. In October¹ Col. Smith reported from Allahabad that the Vazir was busily engaged in raising troops, both horse and foot, and was in correspondence with the Marathas, the Jats, the Rohillas, and other powers including Nizam Ali. He warned² the Select Committee, "If we collect all these circumstances into one point of view, I think there appears but too just grounds for suspicion of the Nabob's fidelity to his engagements with us."

Col. Smith had evidently serious apprehensions of an alliance between the Marathas and the Vazir against the Company. His suspicions were excited by certain letters which had recently passed between the Marathas and the Vazir, and were all the more confirmed by a letter which Malhar Rao's widow had recently written to her vakil. These letters³ which Col. Smith forwarded to Calcutta

1 Letters from Col. R. Smith, October 17 and 19, 1767.

2 Beng. Sel. Com. November 3, 1767.

3 Letter from Madhu Rao to the Vazir. (Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 393 A.) Letter from the Vazir to Madhu Rao. (Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 393 B.) Letter

amply reveal that the Marathas were at this time eager to gain the alliance of the Vazir. We find Madhu Rao's vakil actually offering to the Vazir the support of his master, and referring significantly to the general rumour that the Vazir was not on good terms with the English. From Malhar Rao's widow's letter to her vakil it appears that the Vazir had secretly written to Januji "urging him to assemble forces to advance and settle things on their former footing."⁴ With reference to this letter Col. Smith represented, "If the contents of this letter are facts, there no longer remains a doubt of Sujah Daolah's intentions."⁵

Verelst and the Select Committee, however, did not take the representations of Col. Smith seriously. They were of the opinion that the time had not yet arrived when the Vazir could attempt to carry into execution any of his alleged anti-English projects, and that gratitude, policy, and necessity would for some years longer bind him strongly to the English interests. In support of this view, the Select Committee wrote⁶ to Col. Smith that the parties whom the Vazir could wish to engage in a general confederacy were either too remote by situation, too distrustful of each other, too jealous of him, or too feeble in themselves. And, with regard to the levies mentioned by Col. Smith, the Select Committee further urged. "So far from rendering himself formidable Shujah Doulah has not yet raised the number of troops which we would wish to see maintained for the protection of his country and without which he will ever require the assistance of our troops contrary to the spirit and intention of the orders repeatedly transmitted by our Hon'ble masters."

from Babuji Pandit to the Vazir. (Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 428 A.) Letter from Vazir to Babuji Pandit. (Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 428 B.)

4 Letter from Malhar Rao's widow to her Vakil (Beng. Sel. Com. Nov. 3, 1767).

5 Letter from Col. R. Smith, October 19, 1767.

6 Letter to Col. R. Smith, November 3, 1767.

It is interesting to note that although the authorities refused to believe⁷ that the Vazir was preparing for a rupture with the English, they decided to keep a watchful eye on the former's conduct and at the same time avoid the appearance of suspicion and distrust. They directed Col. Smith to observe the Vazir's conduct with circumspection, and ordered the First Brigade also to remain in their present position until the least apprehension of danger should exist on that side.⁸

That the Vazir had lately begun to make considerable additions to his forces was known to Verelst. In fact, the latter had himself⁹ encouraged and permitted him to augment¹⁰ his "week and ill-appointed"¹¹ army in view of the danger from the Abdali and Mir Qasim. We find the Vazir reporting as early as April that "by the favour of God" he had now "a chosen troop" of 30,000 horse and foot, and was still making fresh levies.¹² After the disappearance of the Abdali menace, however, there remained no ostensible justification for the enlargement of his army, but it appears that the Governor was aware of the Vazir's ambition to annex the Rohilla country¹³ and Bundelkhand.¹⁴ It must be stated, however, that Verelst did not encourage his warlike designs; on the contrary he strongly urged him to promote the welfare of his own existing possessions.¹⁵

The war between Haidar Ali and the English as well as the possibility of a Maratha invasion in the North afforded the Vazir a

7 Letter to Court, December 16, 1767. "It is unlikely that he will think of fighting the English.

8 Beng. Sel. Com. November 3, 1767. Letter to Court, December 16, 1767. It had been decided earlier to send the First Brigade to the South, but the Select Committee evidently changed their opinion on the representation of Col. Smith (vide his letter, October 16, 1767).

9 Beng. Sel. Com. Nov. 3, 1767.

10 Trans. I. 1766-67, Nos. 95, 110, etc.

12 Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 223.

14 Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 203. Vide also Beng. Sel. Com. January 16, 1767.

15 Trans. I. 1768-67, No. 170.

11 Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 269.

13 Cop. I. 1766-67, No. 108.

more plausible plea for pushing on his military preparations. In order to justify his levy of troops, he warned the Governor of the danger of a Maratha diversion in Hindustan,¹⁶ and strongly advocated the formation of a league with the Jats and the Rohillas as a precautionary measure. Verelst, however, assured the Vazir in October that although "a lasting alliance with this insidious, grasping people was impossible," the Marathas were not likely to disturb the English for the present.¹⁷ The Vazir reiterated his warning that the Marathas had bad faith, and he asked accordingly permission "to prepare for the quarrel before it commenced." He informed the Governor that he had already directed two or three "potent 'Jama-dars'" at Delhi to bring each of them a body of one or two hundred horse.¹⁸ In November, the Vazir offered¹⁹ to assemble "near the stirrup of His Majesty" a body of 100,000 men and make a diversion by way of Bundelkhand into the Nizam's territories.

On being repeatedly warned²⁰ by Col. Smith of the obvious danger from the Vazir's military preparations, Verelst at last wrote to the Vazir asking him "to rest from his labours and not to incur superfluous expenses or attend to fruitless preparations."²¹ The Governor and Select Committee, however, assured²² Col. Smith that if the Vazir still continued to augment his forces in defiance of their recent remonstrance, it would then be time to show the latter that they were not blinded by an implicit confidence. For the present they hoped that the Vazir would readily reduce the number of his forces to a bare sufficiency in deference to their wishes.²³ Col. Smith himself had no doubt about the fact that the Vazir meant a rupture with the Company. On the 5th of November he wrote, "I am con-

16 Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 379.

18 Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 390.

20 Beng. Sel. Com. November 17 and 29, and December 11, 1767.

21 Trans. I. 1766-67, Nos. 202 and 231.

22 Letter to Col. R. Smith, Nov. 17, 1767.

23 Beng. Sel. Com. December 22, 1767.

17 Trans. I. 1766-67, No. 193.

19 Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 432.

vinced he bears no goodwill to our nation.”²⁴ On the 24th of the same month he again warned,.....“he views us rather with the eye of revenge than with the sentiments of gratitude..... he has pursued just such measures as I should suppose he must adopt preparatory to a rupture with us.”²⁵ Verelst still saw no reason to deviate from his favourable opinion with regard to the Vazir’s conduct. He informed the Directors also that the Vazir had lately levied troops for the sole purpose of acting in conjunction with the Company’s troops in the Deccan, and that he would shortly give a convincing proof of his attachment by a speedy reduction of his forces.²⁶

Meanwhile²⁷ Col. Smith paid a visit to the Vazir at Fyzabad avowedly in response to the latter’s invitation,²⁸ but really to make a personal investigation into the informations he had received regarding the latter’s conduct, and also to afford him “a handsome opportunity of changing his sentiments.”²⁹ The Vazir arranged for a grand display of his troops on the occasion of Col. Smith’s visit. He, however, assured the latter that his attachment to the English was inviolable. He also strongly repudiated the false and malicious reports propagated by evil-minded persons, and finally as a token for his friendship he offered Col. Smith a present of two lakhs of rupees. The present was, however, instantly declined by Col. Smith. In their meeting of the 27th of January, 1768, the Select Committee approved³⁰ of the latter’s refusal to accept the present, and decided

24 Beng. Sel. Com. November 29, 1767.

25 Beng. Sel. Com. Decem. 11, 1767.

26 Letter to Court, Jany. 5, 1768.

27 Col. Smith proceeded on the 20th December.

28 Letter from the Vazir to Col. R. Smith, received December 3, 1767. Letter from Col. R. Smith to the Vazir, December 4, 1767. Beng. Sel. Com. January 27, 1768. “.....nor should I ever have proposed an interview had he not himself made this overture.....” (Letter from Col. R. Smith, February 16, 1768). Beng. Sel. Com. March 2, 1768.

29 Letter from Col. R. Smith, Jany. 3, 1768.

30 Beng. Sel. Com. Jany. 27, 1768.

to ask him to make "a very particular enquiry" in respect of the Vazir's alleged designs against the English.³¹

Early in February,³² Col. Smith sent a detailed report of the vast improvements made by the Vazir in his army.³³ It appears from his report³¹ that the Vazir had already completed seven battalions of sepoy, the better part of which had firelocks, the remainder having excellent matchlocks with bayonets. The men who composed the battalions were, according to Col. Smith, chiefly Rajputs and other Hindus. At the time of enrolment the names of the villages and of the parganas where the sepoy resided were noted, and by this means deserters were easily apprehended and severely punished. The sepoy were now better paid, and arrears were no longer allowed to accumulate in the old fashion. The system of Court-martial had also been lately introduced. The Vazir enquired into all military matters himself, and he was said to be so attentive to the minutest details regarding his army, so diligent in the detection, and severe in the punishment of every fraud and misdemeanour that a commandant of one of his battalions had, according to Col. Smith, been recently banished to the Chunar fort for twelve months for having dismissed one sepoy without leave. Another commandant was confined in the same fort for some malpractice concerning the pay of sepoy. Col. Smith admitted in the course of his report, "I did not expect to see his troops so well formed."

The most interesting part of Col. Smith's report is what relates to the Vazir's remarkable success in the manufacture of fire-arms.

31 Beng. Sel. Com. Jany. 27, 1768.

32 Letter from Col. R. Smith February 6, 1768.

33 For a detailed account of Shujaudaulah's army *vide* Imadus Saadat (Lucknow Text) pp. 101-103. *Tarikh Farabaksb* (Tr. Hocoy, II, pp. 7-8) Dow's *History of Hindustan*, II, p. 357. Gentil's *Memoirs*, pp. 263-4, Beng. Sel. Com. November 3, 1768, etc. etc.

34 Beng. Sel. Com. February 23, 1768.

The small arms and cannon³⁵ used by the troops were all cast by certain natives of Bengal³⁶ in the Vazir's service, and were, according to Col. Smith, by no means inferior to those used by the Company's forces. The artillery which was being regularly increased was in the charge of a French officer. The latter superintended the construction of the carriages and tumbrils. The firelocks for the sepoys were made after the English model, and Col. Smith found them in every respect equal³⁷ to the ones imported from Europe. A hundred and fifty to two hundred firelocks were being completed every month in the workshops at Fyzabad and elsewhere. A large number of matchlocks³⁸ with bayonets were also produced in several other places besides Fyzabad. A huge magazine of military stores had been collected, and in every city the Vazir was making shots or rockets, pipes, swords etc. and herein he spared no labour or expense. The Vazir spent the morning time in inspecting regimental exercise and in overseeing his founders and gunsmiths with whom he spent two or three hours daily. Col. Smith wrote, "I can not but admire the man for the great progress he has already made in his new system."

Col. Smith, in short, tried to make out that all the aforesaid military preparations of the Vazir were really directed against the Company, and urged, "I have had occasion to observe that the idea of dependence on us hurts him beyond measure.....it is highly expedient for us to resolve on some efficacious means to check his rising power." His conviction was fully shared by Col. Barker,

35 700 heavy guns were manufactured, according to Imadus Saadat (Lucknow Text), p. 103.

36 ".....two blackmen (Bengallees) have the direction of casting his guns"(Col. R. Smith's minute, August 3, 1768).

37 "To enable you to form the most perfect idea of the military improvements of the Nabob Sujah-ul-Dowlah, I send you, by *Captain Purvis*, a musket which was one of his first attempts, and also a lock which is of his last and best manufacture." (Vide Letter from Verelst to Court, September 26, 1768).

38 "The English flintlocks were nothing to their matchlocks for quickness in loading and rapidity of firing." (*Tarikh Farabbaksh*, Tr. Hoey, II, p. 7).

Commander of the Third Brigade, who too reported³⁹ at this time that the indefatigable attention the Vazir gave to his military department and the progress he had already made in his army was "beyond conception."⁴⁰ Col. Barker also warned the Select Committee that the Vazir had "an inclination to try the strength and courage of his newly disciplined army."

The implicit confidence⁴¹ of the Governor and Select Committee in the Vazir was at last shaken in some measure when it came to their knowledge in July that the latter was secretly procuring arms from Chandernagore and Chinsura.⁴² The fact came to light quite accidentally. Some boats belonging to the Vazir while returning from Calcutta were detained⁴³ on suspicion by the Customs officials at the confluence of the Ganges and the Dehwa, and were found to be laden with arms. On search being made, more arms were found buried in the sand near the bank of the Dehwa. There remained in consequence no doubt about the fact that these had been concealed there for despatch to Oudh.⁴⁴ These arms appeared to have been collected from the French and the Dutch, and were all "old and bad" in the opinion of Verelst.⁴⁵ But, what surprised the authorities most was the fact that the detained boats had left Calcutta under cover of a 'dastak' obtained by the Vazir's wakil expressly for empty boats.⁴⁶ It was apparent therefore that arms were being

39 Beng. Sel. Com. March 2, 1768.

40 Letter from Col. Sir Robert Barker, February 17, 1768.

41 Letter to Court, March 28, 1768 ".....his whole revenue can never support a force which can be really formidable to us....."

42 Beng. Sel. Com. July 23, 1768.

43 Letters from Mr. T. Rumbold, June 19, 20, and 30, 1768. Letter from Mr. G. Waller to Mr. T. Rumbold, June 18, 1768. Letter from Mr. T. Rumbold to Mr. G. Waller, June 19, 1768.

44 Statement of Agha Riza Mughal (Enclosed in Mr. T. Rumbold's letter, June 30, 1768).

45 Verelst's minute. Beng. Sel. Com. July 23, 1768.

46 *Ibid.*

systematically smuggled out of Bengal in a clandestine manner.⁴⁷ In reply to the Vazir's seemingly innocent protest⁴⁸ against the unauthorised detention of his boats, the Governor strongly remonstrated⁴⁹ with the latter against his secret importation of arms from Bengal, and warned him, "Now that your Excellency's people carry away arms in this clandestine manner, it has a very ill appearance between friends."

No difference of opinion now remained as to the urgent need for some effective action to check the warlike preparations of the Vazir. The matter was discussed in detail by the Select Committee in their meeting of the 3rd of August.⁵⁰ Col. Smith who was present at this meeting maintained that the Vazir was keen on recovering Corah and Allahabad, and had in the early part of the year actually offered him four lakhs of rupees as a price for his support. He argued that the Committee had wrongly put trust in the Vazir "when the latter wrote that he was arming to assist us in the war of the Deccan," and in support of his suspicions against the Vazir pointed out, firstly, that the latter was in regular correspondence with the Marathas, the Nizam, and Haidar Ali, secondly, that he had persistently refused to dismiss M. Gentil, thirdly, that he had been secretly importing arms from Bengal in boats which had the Governor's 'dastak' to pass as empty, fourthly, that he had entertained⁵¹ French Officers and troops in his service, and had raised an efficient and formidable army, fifthly, that he had spared no pains to manufacture musketry and cannon, and lastly, that he had amassed

47 The Directors prohibited the export of arms and cannon from Bengal to Oudh. (Letter from Court, November 11, 1768.)

48 Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 218.

49 Letter from Verelst to the Vazir, July 27, 1768. Beng. Sel. Com. July 27, 1768.

50 Beng. Sel. Com. August 3, 1768.

51 600 French troops were enlisted, (M. Gentil *Memoirs*, p. 264.)

a vast amount⁵² of wealth to serve as sinews of war. Col. Smith complained of the delay that had occurred in adopting suitable measures against the Vazir, and quoted extensively from the numerous letters⁵³ he had received since the last year from Capt. Harper on the subject of the Vazir's military preparations to show that his suspicions were not without foundation.

That the Vazir's military preparations⁵⁴ were such as was likely to give cause for suspicion is undeniable, but it must be pointed out that the contemporary evidence does not fully warrant the assumption that he actually contemplated a rupture with the English. M. Gentil who was with the Vazir during this time asserts⁵⁵ that if the English had declared war against the Vazir, the latter instead of fighting them, would have gone down to Calcutta with his wives and children to seek the protection of the Council, and to demand justice from the King of England. M. Gentil further suggests that it was actually Col. Smith who sought⁵⁶ to force a war on the Vazir with a view to make a fortune for himself. This insinuation is, however, hardly fair, and may be said to have been inspired by M. Gentil's known prejudice⁵⁷ against Col. Smith. Even Verelst who

52 ".....has now more than one crore of rupees in his treasury, and we have not one lack....." (Col. Smith's Minute, August 3, 1768.)

53 Letters from Capt. G. Harper to Col. R. Smith, June 12, September 25, 30, October 25, 31, November 6, 9, 15, 20, December 2, 5, 10, 1767, January 16, 25, April 8, May 20, June 6, and July 10, 1768.

54 The exact strength of the Vazir's army is difficult to ascertain. According to the estimate of the Deputation, it was as follows:—

Cavalry 15325, Infantry 26285, Matchlockmen and Peons 6660, Camels 164, Boatmen 525, Artillery 64 guns (4 to 12 pounders) and a number of small arms not exceeding 50. (Beng. Sel. Com. November 3, 1768). The number of troops in 1182 A.H., according to Imadus Saadat (Lucknow Text, p. 103) was as follows:—

Cavalry 11,000, Infantry 133,000, Footmen 18,000. According to *Tarikh Farabbaksh* (Tr. Hoey, II, p. 7), the infantry itself consisted of 80,000 regular, and 40,000 irregulars. There were in addition 22,000 messengers and spies.

55 M. Gentil; *Memoirs*, p. 271.

56 *Op. cit.*, pp. 271-2.

57 Col. Smith had offended him by "addressing complaints against" him. *Op. cit.*, p. 272.

had for a long time disbelieved the reports against the Vazir, and whose honesty⁵⁸ M. Gentil does not dispute was ultimately compelled to change⁵⁹ his former sentiments with regard to the Vazir's conduct. It may be stated, however, that Verelst was never fully convinced of the fact that the Vazir meant to break with the English.⁶⁰

While subscribing wholeheartedly to the principle that the English policy should aim at restricting "any one power in Hindostan from rising too high above the general level,"⁶¹ Verelst, however, reminded his colleagues that the Vazir was not bound by any article of his treaty with the Company to limit his forces to a fixed number. He therefore suggested that the Vazir should be made to reduce his army under orders secured from the Emperor, which could be lawfully enforced by the Company in case the Vazir refused to comply with them. As Col. Smith strongly opposed⁶² the plan of the Governor on the ground that it might lead to a war with the Vazir, the consideration of the matter was postponed for the next meeting.

On the 10th of August,⁶³ Messrs Floyer, Becher, and Cartier expressed their considered views on the conduct of the Vazir, and were unanimous on the point that the latter's military preparations

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 271.

⁵⁹ Letter to Court, September 13, 1768. Vide also Verelst's view etc. "..... the war upon the Coast had drained the treasury of Bengal, and the most alarming accounts were industriously spread of the instability of the Company's affairs. Allured by the tempting occasion, Sujah ul Dowlah began to listen to the voice of ambition."

⁶⁰ Letter to Court, September 25, 1768 ".....no satisfactory evidence appears of the nabob ever proposing a war with us....."

⁶¹ Verelst's minute, August 3, 1768.

⁶² Col. Smith's Minutes of August 3, and 14, 1768. ".....if the King should require of Sujah Daulah to disband any part of his forces, his haughty disposition would induce him to treat such orders with contempt."

⁶³ Beng. Sel. Com. August 10, 1768.

were highly alarming. Mr. Floyer was of the opinion⁶⁴ that the Vazir meditated hostile measures against the English, and he accordingly supported the plan of an embassy to the Emperor and the Vazir. Mr. Becher apprehended a junction between the Marathas and the Vazir, and proposed⁶⁵ that the latter should be plainly warned that the English would not "suffer him to keep a larger force than 10,000 foot and 5,000 horse." Mr. Cartier stated⁶⁶ that the Vazir had made himself "the most formidable prince in India," and that conciliatory methods alone might not answer in this case. Eventually after much discussion the Select Committee agreed to the proposal of a deputation to the Emperor and the Vazir. Col. Barker was at the same time directed to reinforce the garrison at Chunar in case he had convincing proofs of the Vazir's hostile intentions.⁶⁷ The authorities at Bombay⁶⁸ and Madras⁶⁹ were also requested to get hold of any letters that might pass between the Vazir and his suspected allies in the Deccan.

On the 17th of August,⁷⁰ the details regarding the deputation were finally agreed upon after a prolonged debate. As the Governor had not been keeping good health for some time past,⁷¹ the Select Committee appointed Mr. Cartier, Col. Smith, and Mr. Russell as members of the proposed deputation. It was unanimously agreed that the deputies should take with them two letters addressed to the Vazir. The first letter should contain "a fair and candid representation of facts," and was to be delivered to the latter by the

64 Mr. C. Floyer's Minute, August 10, 1768. "...we should prevent a rupture with that prince.....unless we are reduced to it by the most absolute necessity."

65 Mr. R. Becher's minute, August 10, 1768.

66 Mr. J. Cartier's minute, August 10, 1768.

67 Letter to Col. Sir Robert Barker, August 10, 1768.

68 Letter to the President and Council of Bombay, August 10, 1768.

69 Letter to the President and Council of Fort St. George, August 10, 1768.

70 Beng. Sel. Com. August 17, 1768.

71 Verelst's view etc. Appendix, p. 79.

deputation who were "to use their utmost endeavours to accomplish the reduction of the Nabob's military strength by friendly arguments and mild exhortations." But in case such efforts proved ineffectual, the deputation were to present the second letter which should require in plainer terms the immediate reduction of the Vazir's forces. The Select Committee further resolved, "The deputies should also be entrusted that if they find the negotiation must end in a rupture, to apply to the king requesting of his Majesty to issue his orders to the Vazer for disbanding part of his forces and that the deputies should acquaint the Vizier of our determination to enforce obedience to the King's orders, as we deem such a reduction essentially necessary to the preservation of the general tranquillity of the Empire."

The drafts of the two letters addressed to the Vazir were approved by the Select Committee at their meeting of the 13th of September.⁷² The first letter stated that instead of disbanding his forces the Vazir had in fact been making fresh levies of troops "without any pretence being assigned for such measures." The Vazir was finally thus admonished, "Now it becomes necessary that we should not walk in the dark any longer. One single question naturally occurs, for what purpose is your Excellency making all these military preparations? Your dominions enjoy perfect tranquillity and we are yet your friends." The second letter which was to be presented in the event of the first proving ineffectual briefly informed the Vazir that the Emperor had been graciously pleased to direct him to reduce the number of his forces, and the Vazir was warned "It is our determined resolution to enforce his royal commands." Meanwhile, the Governor wrote friendly letters to the Vazir intimating that on account of ill-health he himself was unable to leave Calcutta, but that a deputation would shortly preceed to Allahabad

"to silence the rumours of the evil minded people," and to demonstrate the stability of our treaty and friendship."⁷⁴

The detailed instructions⁷⁵ given to the deputation amply indicate the intentions of the authorities. As they were conscious of the fact that under the existing treaty the Vazir was not obliged to limit his forces, they were desirous of concluding a fresh treaty whereby his military power might be restricted within a safe limit. They thought that an army of ten or twelve thousand horse, and eight or ten thousand disciplined sepoy⁷⁶ was sufficient for the requirements of the Vazir, and would not also endanger the safety of Bengal.⁷⁷ They, however, saw no objection to allowing a few thousand peons extra for the work of revenue collection alone. They would not allow the English garrison to be withdrawn from Chunar in any case, nor would they agree to the recall of the Third Brigade which they considered to be "a check on all our neighbours, and more particularly on the Vizier."⁷⁸ They were fully sensible of the fact that to a man of the Vazir's "ambitious and vainglorious disposition" there could not be a greater humiliation than the public knowledge of the enforced reduction of his forces. They accordingly suggested to the deputation that the Vazir's disgrace might be prevented, if he could be prevailed upon to make a tender of the supernumerary sepoy⁷⁹ as recruits to the Company's brigades.⁸⁰

The deputation left Calcutta early in October,⁸⁰ and reached Benares on the 17th of November.⁸¹ Unwilling to meet them at

73 Abs. I. 1766-71, No. 107.

74 Abs. I. 1766-71, No. 131.

75 Letter of Instructions to the Deputation, September 13, 1768.

76 Letter to the Deputation, October 26, 1768.

77 Letter to Court, November 21, 1768. "From this force we can have nothing to apprehend; and we think it will be sufficient to enable him to preserve that respect from the neighbouring powers, which he had hitherto maintained."

78 Letter to Court, September 13, 1768.

79 Letter to the Deputation, op. cit.

80 Letter to Court, November 21, 1768

81 Beng. Sel. Com. January 4, 1769.

Allahabad in the presence of the Emperor, the Vazir set out with a small escort,⁸² and after repeated marches arrived at Benares on the 18th of November,⁸³ and pitched his tents on the banks of the Barna.⁸⁴ At his first conference with the deputation, the Vazir heard them with the utmost attention, and freely acknowledged the reasonableness of many of their observations. He however, bitterly inveighed against the baseness of designing men who had misrepresented his intentions to his allies and claimed that he had never acted contrary to the pleasure and satisfaction of the English 'Sardars.'⁸⁵

During the next and subsequent interviews, the Vazir assumed a totally different attitude, and showed no inclination to acquiesce in the proposed reduction of his army. He advanced a number of arguments⁸⁶ against the proposal of the deputation. In the first place, there was no clause in the existing treaty restricting his army to any particular number. In the second place, as he had in no way violated the former treaty, it was unjust to propose a fresh treaty which required him to reduce his army. In the third place, he enlarged on the strength of his forces in former times. In the fourth place, he required a large and efficient army not only for the defence of his own dominions, but also for rendering assistance to the English when they needed it. In the fifth place, he urged that the demand might have been made with greater force on the Rohillas. Lastly, he explained that he had recently enlisted fresh troops only to make up the deficiency caused by death, desertion, and rejection. He hoped therefore that the false insinuations of the calumniators would

⁸² Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 317. "Sans escorte". (without escort), according to M. Gentil (*Memoirs*, p. 272).

⁸³ Letter from the Deputation, November 30, 1768

⁸⁴ Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 316.

⁸⁵ Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 315.

⁸⁶ Letter from the Deputation *op. cit.*, Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 236. Beng. Sel Com. January 4 1768.

not be believed, and that no new treaty would be forced on him at their instigation alone.

Finding all their remonstrances fruitless, the deputation presented the first letter of the Select Committee to the Vazir. This had apparently some effect, as the letter "at length moderated in some degree."⁸⁷ The deputies thereupon assured him that they had proposed no new treaty, but merely an agreement explanatory of the first article of the existing treaty, wherein it was expressly stipulated that neither party should give any cause for suspicion or jealousy. After much discussion, the Vazir declared "with great firmness"⁸⁸ that he required, for the protection of his dominions and the collection of his revenues, a force of not less than 35,000 men, of which only seven or eight thousand should be horse.

Anxious for an amicable settlement of the issue, the deputation acquiesced in the Vazir's demand for 35,000 men. They, however, sought to prescribe the strength of the various bodies of which that force was to be composed of. For example, the infantry was fixed at 7000. As the Vazir would not accede to this, the deputation consented to ten battalions of 1000 each being retained. After this point had been conceded, the Vazir further demanded that the number of the irregulars as well as the mode of discipline should be left to his own option. In short, as the deputation wrote to the Select Committee, "The nearer we came up to his terms the higher he grew in his demands."⁸⁹ The Vazir would hear of no other terms, and talked of going down to Calcutta, unless these were accepted.

The obdurate attitude of the Vazir obliged the deputation to break off the negotiations. They accordingly took leave of the latter, and intimated their intention to proceed to Allahabad on the

87 Letter from the Deputation, *op cit.*

88 *Ibid.*

89 Beng. Sel. Com. January 4, 1769.

next morning. This communication produced a remarkable effect. The Vazir at once relented, and sent a message to the deputation stating that he was afraid they had altogether misunderstood him. The deputation replied through Capt. Harper that unless he was willing to accept the terms proposed by them, any further conference was unnecessary, and that they were determined to proceed to the royal presence. The Vazir thereupon communicated his willingness to comply with their wishes.⁹⁰

Next day the Vazir readily consented to nearly all that the deputation had proposed. Only one or two alterations were made in the draft of the agreement at his earnest request.⁹¹ The treaty was finally agreed upon and signed⁹² on the 29th of November. It⁹³ required the following words to be inserted as an explanatory clause in the former treaty: "It is, by the advice and consent of the President and Council aforesaid, agreed that His Highness shall not entertain a number of forces exceeding 35,000 men, whether sepoy, cavalry, peons, artillery men, rocketmen or troops of any denomination whatever. Of these 10,000 are to be cavalry, 10 battalions of sepoy including subadars, jamadars, havildars and all ranks of officers not to exceed 10,000 men. The Nudjib Regiments consisting of 5000 men with matchlocks to remain always in its present establishment. Five hundred men for the artillery and that number never to be exceeded. The remaining 9,500 men are to be irregulars, neither to be clothed, armed, or disciplined after the manner of the English sepoy or Nudjib Regiments. And, His Highness also engages to arm none of his forces besides the 10,000 men mentioned in this treaty after the English manner, nor to train them in the discipline of the English troops. In consideration thereof the said

90 Trans. R. 1769, No. 31.

91 Letter from the Deputation, *op. cit.*

92 Beng. Sel. Com. December 13, 1768. Letter to Court, January 3, 1769.

93 Beng. Sel. Com. January 4, 1769. Letter to Court, January 6, 1769.

John Cartier, Colonel Richard Smith, and Claud Russell engage in behalf of His Excellency the Nabob Syfet Dowlah, and the English Company aforesaid, that whilst His Highness Sujah ul Dowlah aforesaid and his successors shall abide by the articles of the Treaty neither the present Council of Fort William, nor any future Council shall hereafter introduce any new matter relative hereto besides what has been firmly agreed to and is now concluded upon."

The Vazir also wrote a separate agreement,⁹⁴ promising to reduce his forces to the number specified in the aforesaid treaty within three months.⁹⁵ The agreement was executed by the Vazir in his own hand, and was worded thus, "I promise to disband all the troops I now entertain exceeding the number of 35,000 horse and foot, and to comply with all the articles stipulated in the treaty within the space of three months."⁹⁶ According to the estimate⁹⁷ of the deputation, the Vazir was to disband not less than 15,000 men. After the execution of the treaty and the agreement, the Vazir accompanied⁹⁸ the deputation to Allahabad, where the treaty was formally ratified by the Emperor.⁹⁹ The Select Committee also approved of the treaty, and passed a resolution of thanks to Messrs Cartier, Smith, and Russell for their services in connection with the deputation to the Vazir.¹⁰⁰

The new treaty with the Vazir was a diplomatic development of no mean importance. The Vazir's military dependence on the

94 The agreement is dated the 19th of Rajab, 1182, A. H. (corresponding to November 26, 1768.)

95 "We have allowed him three months from the date of the Treaty" Letter from the Deputation, November 30, 1768.

96 Beng. Sel. Com. January 25, 1769.

97 Beng. Sel. Com. January 4, 1769.

98 Letter from the Deputation, December 31, 1768 and Letter to Court, January 6, 1769.

99 Letter to Court, February 3, 1769.

100 Beng. Sel. Com. January 25, 1769.

English was confirmed as a result of this treaty, and his ambition to build up a formidable force of his own was finally curbed¹⁰¹ without war and bloodshed. The number of troops that he was now allowed to retain was no more than a bare minimum, and the English therefore could have no apprehensions of danger¹⁰² from Oudh hereafter.

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101 ".....we do not find he has raised or added a man to his army since the treaty at Benares." Letter to Court, April 6, 1769.

102 "By the stipulated reduction of the Nabob's troops, he is still permitted to retain a number which will render him respectable among the powers of Hindostan, though in no degree sufficiently formidable to trouble the repose of these provinces." Letter to Court, January 6, 1769.

The Ostend Company in Bengal

The Ostend Company, floated by the merchants of Flanders and formally chartered in 1722, was permitted by Murshid Quli Jafar Khān to establish a factory at Bankybazār situated on the eastern side of the Hugli river at a distance of fifteen miles above Calcutta. But their growing commercial prosperity in Bengal soon excited jealousy of the Dutch and English trading companies. In 1730 Captain Gosfright was sent by the English at the head of a squadron to blockade the Hugli river against the Ostenders. Of the two Ostend ships, anchored between Calcutta and Bankybazār, one was captured by the English but the other escaped to Bankybazār. Again in course of two or three years, Shujāuddīn Muhammad Khān, successor of Murshid Quli as the Subahdār of Bengal, instigated by the English and the Dutch, passed orders prohibiting the Ostenders "from trading to Bengal." The *faujdar* of Hugli sent a body of troops under the command of an officer named Mir Jafar, who besieged their factory and harassed them. The Council in Calcutta wrote to the Court of Directors on the 16th January, 1733, that the English had "agreed with the Dutch to send a sloop each to give notice to the Guard ships in case of any Ostender's arrival." On the arrival of the 'Concord', a licensed Ostend ship, in Bengal, the English issued a "public notice" on the 29th August, 1732, "forbidding all under their Protection to trade with her."¹ They, "in conjunction with the Dutch," then satisfied the Nawāb of Bengal by the payment of two lacs of rupees for his "connivance at their taking the Ostend ships."² The "expedition" against the Ostenders cost the English Rs. 14,212.³

1 Letter to Court, 16th January, 1733, para 29.

2 *Ibid.*, para 101.

3 Letter to Court, 14th February, 1733, para 31.

According to Mr. Stewart the factory of the Ostend Company in Bengal was now razed to the ground and their ships left Bengal for the last time in 1733 A.D.⁴ But there are certain references in the contemporary correspondence of the Council in Calcutta with the Court of Directors⁵ which show that the Ostenders still continued to trade in Bengal in their 'licensed ships' and the English remained jealous of them. Thus the Council in Calcutta wrote to the Court of Directors on the 26th December, 1733: "Shall prevent any Dealings being carryed on with them (Ostenders) or other new traders by those under their protection." At the beginning of 1733 Monsieur de Schonamille, Resident for the Ostend Company, had written to the Council in Calcutta that he had been appointed Governor General of Bankybazar and "the Factorys thereon depending by His Imperial Majesty."⁶ In May 1734, at the suggestion of the Dutch, the English had a conference with them "to consider about Mr. Schonamille's hoisting the Imperial flag at the Ostend Factory."⁷ There are also some references to the Ostend Factory at Bankybazar in the Council's letters to the Court of Directors, dated the 31st December, 1737⁸ and the 28th January, 1739⁹ respectively. It was in 1748 A.D. that Nawāb Alivardi, "on some contempt of his authority, attacked and drove the factors of the Ostend Company out" of the Hugli river.¹⁰

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4 Stewart, *History of Bengal*, pp. 480-83.

5 Transcripts of these records were obtained by me from the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi.

6 Letter to Court, 1st January, 1733.

7 Letter to Court, 24th January, 1735, para 102.

8 Para 36.

9 Para 19.

10 Orme, *Indostan*, vol. 2, pp. 45-46.

Baghaura Nārāyaṇa Image-inscription of Mahipāla

This image inscription was dug out of a pond in the village of Baghaura in the sub-division of Brahmanbaria in the Tippera district, Bengal. The inscription is incised under the lotus seat of a standing image of Nārāyaṇa. The characters belong to the N.E. variety, generally known as Kuṭila, which gave birth to modern Bengali script. The image is dated in the third year of a certain king named Mahipāladeva, and the inscription records that the image was the meritorious work of *Paramavaishṇava Vanik Lokadatta*, belonging to Bilakindaka in Samatāṭa.¹

The identification of king Mahipāla of this inscription has recently given rise to some controversy.² As no indication is given about the lineage of this prince it is possible to identify him either (i) with a hitherto unknown local prince of Samatāṭa, (ii) or with either of the two Pāla princes of Bihar and Bengal of the same name, (iii) or with the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor of Kanauj bearing the same name.³ Now, though duplication of kings on insufficient data is undesirable, will it be right to argue that there was no local prince bearing the name Mahipāla in Samatāṭa at the time of the record under discussion? Recently attention of scholars was drawn by me to some instances⁴ of princes bearing identical names but who ruled separately in adjoining territories about the same period. To add to what has been said there, we may refer to three princes bearing the name 'Dharmapāla' within the limits of Bengal and

1 *Epigraphia Indica*, (El.), vol. XVII, pp. 353-55; Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India (DHNI.)*, Calcutta University Press, vol. I, 1931, p. 311.

2 *Indian Historical Quarterly (IHQ.)* vol. XVI, 1940, pp. 179 ff.

3 As the connection of *Mahārājādhirāja Mahipāla* (954-55) of the Bayana inscription of Citralekhā with the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj is rather doubtful, he is not being taken into account in this discussion. See Ray, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 591, 611.

4 *IHQ.*, vol. XV, 1939, p. 510, p. 510 fns. 11 & 12.

'Assam roughly during the period c. 800-1100 A.D.' Again, following Dr. R. C. Majumdar, I had occasion elsewhere⁶ to point out the extensive character of the Pratihāra empire of Kanauj. Mahipāla (c. 914-43 A.D.) of this line inherited an empire that extended from the Eastern Punjab and Kathiawar to North Bengal. It was shown that "there is reason to think that Mahipāla during the first part of his reign succeeded in preserving the mighty empire that was handed down to him by his predecessors."⁷ After scrutinizing the list of Mahipāla's victories as given in Rājasekhara's works and such epithets as "*Mahārājādhirāja* of Āryāvarta" given to him by that author, I found them when applied to the first part of his reign as mainly true.⁸ Thus it is not wholly outside the range of possibility that this power might have extended during the first part of his reign to S.E. Bengal as well. But as yet there is no evidence to support this suggestion. There is nothing on record to prove that the Candras of E. Bengal were at any time feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāras even if we assume for argument's sake that Pūrṇacandra ruled in the latter half of the 9th century. The argument that they came from the Shahabad district of Bihar" rests, as we shall presently see, on a very weak foundation. On the other hand, the outlandish character of such names as 'Layahacandradeva' always tempts some scholars to think that perhaps some of the Candras of Eastern Bengal might after all be connected with the Mongoloid peoples of Arakan.¹⁰

The third possibility that the 'Mahipāla of the Baghaura image-inscription' belonged to the Pāla dynasty of Bihar and Bengal,¹¹

5 Ray, *DHNI.*, vol. I, pp. 254 ff., 285 ff., 318 ff.

6 Ray, *DHNI.*, vol. I, pp. 569 ff. See also Majumdar, *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, vol. X, pp. 1-76.

7 Ray, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 576. 8 *Ibid.*, p. 577. 9 *EL.*, XII, pp. 136 ff.

10 *EL.*, XVII, p. 350; *DHNI.*, vol. I, p. 323, fn. 2. Note in this connection that some kings of the Arakan area bore names ending in *taing-candra*. These are mentioned in local chronicles. See *infra*, p. 635.

11 As the Pāla prince Mahipāla II had a short and troublesome reign, the

though not free from difficulties, has been accepted by a few scholars.¹² To accept this it is not absolutely necessary, as I have shown elsewhere,¹³ to believe that Vighrahapāla II, "after losing his kingdom, took shelter in the eastern country where water abounds" or to hold that the Candra *Mahārājādhirājas* were feudatories of the Pāla prince Mahipāla I, at least during the first part of his reign, though this is more probable¹⁴ than the suggestion that they came from Bihar and that they were vassals of the Pratihāra empire. The Baghaura image-inscription palaeographically should be placed roughly during the period c. 975-1050 A.D. Dr. Bhattacharya, the editor of the record, places it about 976 A.D. If he is right then it would be perhaps hazardous to push it so early as about the first decade of the 10th century. Moreover, there is no evidence, as I have already said, that the Pratihāras had any thing to do with any part of S.E. Bengal during the period represented by the script of the record. I have shown elsewhere that the Pratihāras rapidly declined after c. 918 A.D.¹⁵ On the other hand, some scholars believe that the Pāla sovereign Mahipāla I played the rôle of a Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, reviving the fortunes of his family and extending its limits in every possible direction. These scholars hold that the western limits of his dominions even extended as far as Sarnath. The limited nature of the success attained by the Pāla prince Mahipāla I was perhaps for the first time pointed out by me by an analysis of the existing sources.¹⁶ But it is not quite beyond the range of possibility that for a brief period during the beginning of his reign he

inscription is usually attributed to Mahipāla I (c. 992-1042 A.D.); see Ray, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 311.

12 *El.*, vol. XVII, pp. 353-55; Ray, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 311.

13 Ray, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 315-16.

14 During this period the relation of the Candras to the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar might possibly have been like that of the Candrātreyas to the Pratihāras of Kanauj in the tenth century. See Ray, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 674 ff.

15 *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 581 ff.; vol. II, p. 680.

16 Ray, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 315-24.

might have achieved considerable success in the East. It was very likely during this period that the Baghaura inscription was caused to be incised by the Paramavaishṇava Vaṇik Lokadatta of Vilakindaka¹⁷ in Samatāṭa¹⁸ in the *rājya* of Śrī-Mahipāladeva. Those who are somewhat familiar with the strange vicissitudes of history know that this would not be impossible even if it could be proved that during the third year of Mahipāla, the Candras¹⁹ held the territory between Samatāṭa and the western possessions of the Pāla prince.²⁰ As the dates of this period largely depend upon the rather 'elastic' evidence of palæography, who could positively deny the possibility of the Pāla Mahipāla I, the date of the Baghaura image inscription, extending his power in the east to Samatāṭa, sometime before when Trailokyacandra's efforts were still concentrated on becoming the king of the "island which had the word 'Candra' prefixed to it?"²¹

The idea that the Candras were feudatories, at least up to the 3rd year of the Pratihāra prince Mahipāla I, of the Kanauj empire, has, as I have already said, very little to support it. The suggestion that the Candras originally came from Shahabad District, Bihar, seems also to rest on no stronger foundation. The Rāmpāl grant of Śrī-Candradeva states that the *Candravamsa* ruled over [R]ohitāgi[ri?].²² The upper part of the first letter read as *R* is broken and the final *ri* is

17 The identification of this place with Bilakenduai near the findspot of the inscription is not definite.

18 As the image was set up in Samatāṭa, my previous suggestion that it might have come from some region further west outside *Vaṇigāleśa* (*DHNI.*, I, 324) requires modification.

19 Dr. Bhattasali suggested that the Candras were probably connected with the Candras of Arakan (*EL.*, XVII, 350). Though this suggestion may require modification, we shall presently see that it is not so absurd as is supposed by some. See *infra*, p. 635 ff.

20 Compare for instance the position of East Prussia and the rest of Germany separated by the Danzig Corridor during the period 1918-38 A.D.

21 *EL.*, vol. XII, p. 139, v. 5.

22 *R* is bracketed by me after an examination of the plate.

absent from the plate. The only certain portion is *hitāgi*. Dr. Basak plausibly suggested that by adding 'ri' at the end, apparently to meet the needs of metre, the word could possibly be read as '*Rohitāgiri*'.²³ By retaining the query sign after *ri* he gave sufficient indication that his reading was entirely tentative. He then with some hesitation said—"It may probably refer to Rohtasgadh or Rohitāsgadh, a hill-fort in the Shahabad District, where the seal-matrix of Śaśāṅkadeva was discovered." The learned editor was quite right in offering a probable solution to a problem. But he was the first to admit that it was far from certain, and all reasonable scholars would agree that to build dogmatically on this slender evidence the theory that the Candras came from Bihar would be rather risky. The further suggestion that the Candras were feudatories of the Pratihāra emperors of Kanauj, at least up to the third year of Mahīpāla I, in the absence of any Candra record bearing the names of their overlords, is again, as we have seen, on present evidence, improbable.²⁴ On the contrary, the suggestion of Dr. Bhattasali, that the Candras might have originally come from Arakan and might be connected with the princes of that region whose names ending in *Candra* are found in the native chronicles, coins, and stone inscriptions of that area appears to be less improbable. I have already pointed out that at least one Candra prince of Bengal bears an outlandish name. Local chronicles of Arakan preserve names of princes which end in *candra* or *taing-candra*. Phayre's *Coins of Arakan* mentions a number of coins whose legends contain royal names ending in *candra*. Some (but not all) of these names agree with the names of princes contained in a Nagari inscription which was found on the platform

²³ In reading *Rohitāgiri* Dr. Basak might have been influenced by the fact that the word had actually been read in an Orissa epigraph by Prof. N. Chakravarti, see *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1909, vol. V. (N. S.), pp. 347-50; also Ray, *DHNI.*, vol. I, p. 419 fn. 3.

²⁴ Geographical factors add to this improbability. Consult Map No. 6, Ray, *op. cit.*, vol. I.

of the Shitthaung temple at Mrohaung in Arakan by Forchhammer. The record is damaged but Mr. Hirananda Sastri's reading of the inscription was given by Mr. Blakiston in 1925-26.²⁵ Mr. Sastri's version seems to indicate that the inscription contained twelve names which ended in *Candra*. As there were in this inscription at least three other names of princes which did not end in *Candra*, and as the dynasty did not trace its descent to the Moon or any prince of the Lunar race the dynasty could not properly be called *Candra*. It was according to Sastri's reading called Śrī-Dharmarājānuja-vamśa by the composer of the record. Now it is quite possible that some of these princes or their children whose names probably ended in *Candra* might have entered Bengal *via* the Chittagong coast; but it is perhaps more probable that some of these princes with their men first came to the Bakerganj area directly by the sea route. Later on this region possibly came to be known after them as *Candradvīpa*. The arrivals of large numbers of seadogs and other adventurers from Arakan to Barisal and other neighbouring areas were recorded up to comparatively recent times. Even now a considerable remnant of these Arakanese adventurers occupies the southern part of Barisal. During one of my hunting excursions near Kuokâtā in the southern part of Patuakhali subdivision in the Barisal district some of these men who still profess Buddhism acted as beaters and trackers. This suggestion is further strengthened by the fact that the Rāmpāl inscription of Śrī-Candradeva seems to indicate clearly that the Candras first became rulers of some portions of the area now known as Bakerganj, Faridpur and Khulna.²⁶ One of the fiscal divisions of Bakerganj is still called Candradvīpa.²⁷ Subsequently these Candras, as I have already indicated above, gradually extended their hegemony over the whole or considerable portions of Harikela (= Vaṅga = por-

25 *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1925-26, (published in 1928), 146 ff.

26 *DHNI*, vol. I, p. 322.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 322, fn. 1.

tions of what we now know as E. Bengal) and Puṇḍravardhana (=N. Bengal). This intrusion of the Candras of Candradvipa into the North and North-east, which might have happened, as I have said, sometime after the third year of the reign of the Pāla king Mahipāla, apparently put an end to Pāla rule in Samatāta.

As our materials are extremely scanty we do not yet know for certain whether the founder of the Candra dynasty in Bengal belonged to the so-called *Dharmarājānuja-vamśa* or to some other line referred to in local annals and coins of Arakan. But even if he belonged to the *Dharmarājānuja-vamśa* that would not absolutely prevent his line from being called Candravamśa in Bengal. Dynastic names in India were not always formed from surnames. They were sometimes derived from the endings of personal names. When a Gopāla founds a Pāla line or a Śrī-Candra belongs to the Candravamśa, the names of the dynasties form an essential part of their personal names. When by accident or choice the personal names of the successors contained the same ending as that of the founder of the line, the dynasty was often called after that ending (Pāla, Candra etc.). Sometimes, as in the case of the Gupta line, the personal name of the first prince gave the name to the dynasty.²⁸ Thus though the name of the second prince of the line did not end in Gupta, the line itself continued to be called "Dynasty of Gupta." Again many dynasties in India claimed to belong to the *Candra-vamśa* or the *Sūrya-vamśa* as they rightly or wrongly believed that they were descended from the Sun or the Moon. There are some cases where dynastic names were derived from real or fictitious professions of the progenitors (the Pratihāras, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, etc.) Sometimes even if the names of all the members had the same ending the dynastic name was not derived from such common endings. Thus in the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty, if we except Yaśovigraha who is never given

28 Cf. Raghuḥkula, Ikṣākuvaṃśa, Puṣpabhūtiś, Maukharis, Guhilots, etc.

any royal titles and in some records altogether omitted, all the names from Mahicandra to Hariścandra end in *candra*, but the line was never called Candravamśa even though the real founder of the line was called Śrī-Candra.²⁹ When we further consider such dynastic names as Pallava, Kadamba, Cālukya, Kacchapaghāta etc. we realize that the principles which governed dynastic names in ancient and early mediaeval India were bewilderingly various and confusing. But as I have said above, when the line of Gopāla is called Pāla, it is quite clear, that it is based on the accidental convention which grew up in his family to give his successors names ending in °*pāla*. The same is the case when we find that the successors of Pūrṇacandra, without claiming to be descended from the Moon, assume names ending in *-candra* and the official *prāśastikāra* call the line *Candravamśa*. It is clear therefore that the dynastic names in India were often the results of accidental coincidence and not always of careful deliberation. If such is the case, it is not at all impossible for one of the Arakan princes, whose names, we know from local annals, coins and inscriptions, ended in *-candra*, to come to the Bakerganj area and found a line whose members had, by accidental convention personal names ending in *candra*. Subsequently the record writers and *prāśastikāras* referred to them as belonging to the *Candravamśa* for want of a better family name.

In many periods of Indian history, facts are still so scanty that it is quite risky to be dogmatic in our assumptions and theories. In this paper I have therefore discussed a chain of probabilities and possibilities. The conclusions, if any, would require substantial strengthening before they can be regarded as in any way certain.

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29 Cf. the first two names in the Pāla genealogy of Bengal and Bihar (Vapyaṭa and Dayitaviṣṇu) also did not end in °*pāla*.

Place of Faith in Buddhism

Saddhā (= Sans. *śraddhā*) in Buddhism carries two distinct meanings: one is faith (*pasāda*), producing *pīti* (serene pleasure) and the other is self-confidence, producing *virīya* (energy). *Saddhā*, when it is *pasāda* (faith), is an antidote to *vicikicchā* (doubt about the greatness of Buddha, excellence of his teaching, and uprightness of his disciples) and *moha* (deluded state of mind).¹ its characteristic, according to the *Milindapañha*,² *Visuddhimagga*³ and *Abhidharma-kośa*⁴ being serenity of mind (*sampasādana*). *Saddhā*, when it is self-confidence, puts energy (*virīya*) into one's mind to achieve an object which another person like him has achieved. It makes him rely on his capabilities and work out the same to their fullest extent. Siddhārtha was not willing to take Rudraka Rāmaputta at his words and decided to find out the truth himself as he possessed like his teacher *saddhā*, *virīya*, *sati*, *samādhi* and *paññā*. By *saddhā*, he meant confidence in his abilities to develop the powers necessary to achieve his object.⁵ It is mostly in the latter sense that *saddhā* is used in the compounds *saddhindriya* and *saddhābala*.

1 Anāgārika B. Govinda writes in his work on the *Psychological Attitude of Early Buddhist Philosophy* (pp. 166, 234) that "it is a form of inner confidence which arises from an intuitive or intellectual insight into the truth of the *dhamma* and which grows in the course of meditation on account of profound and direct experience into a state of certainty and knowledge in which the last traces of delusion are removed."

2 *Milindapañha*, p. 35. 3 *Visuddhimagga*, p. 156; *Atthasālini*, p. 304.

4 *Kośa*, I, p. 156; *Vyākhyā* (C. O. Series), p. 43: *śraddhā=cetaso prāsadaḥ* (see *Jñānaprasthāna sūtra*, 1. 19). It is the *dharma*, with the association of which, the thoughts disturbed by *kleśa* and *upakleśa* become clear as the disturbed water becomes clear by the presence of alum. The *Vyākhyā* (p. 43) explains *śraddhā* in detail thus:—सत्येषु चतुर्षु रत्नेषु च लिङ्ग कर्मेषु च शुभाशुभेषु । तत्फलैषु च इष्टानिष्टेषु सन्त्यैवैतानीत्यभिप्रायस्योऽभिसंप्रतिपत्तिः श्रद्धेति ।

Kośa, II. 25: चित्तविशुद्धिः श्रद्धा ; II, 32: प्रेम एव श्रद्धा

5 Cf. *Milindapañha*, p. 35: *sampakkhandanalakkaṇa*.

The object of this paper is to show how far *saddhā* in the former sense (i.e. *pasāda*) came to be regarded as a means for the attainment of Nibbāna.

Three Paths leading to Nibbāna

The first and well-known path leading to Nibbāna is the *aṭṭhaṅgikamagga*, in other words, all those practices connoted by the words *sīla*, *citta* and *paññā*.⁶ It is an out and out practical code for physical, mental, and intellectual discipline and hardly offers any scope for faith (*saddhā*). Let us call it '*sīla-citta-paññā*' path or process.

The second but not so well-known as the previous one is the path of *satipaṭṭhāna* or the close observation of what is passing within and outside one's mind and body. It gives particular attention to mental discipline, and attaches little importance to physical discipline or to faith (*saddhā*). By *satipaṭṭhāna* alone, it is said, that *nibbāna* is attained, so let us call it '*satipaṭṭhāna*' path or process.⁷

In a few places in the Nikāyas *saddhā* is recognised as the third path for the attainment of Nibbāna, in spite of the fact that it does not go well with the rationalistic principles, of which the Buddhists are the avowed champion. But this third path, which we may call '*aveccappasāda*' path or process, is particularly important for the laity whose interest is almost ignored at the early stage of the religion, and so it is not improbable that the third path came to be recognised only at a later date but in any case, before the Pali canon was closed.

Saddhā and the Laity

In early Buddhism, the laity had no place in the scheme of spiritual advancement, for none but a recluse could derive the benefit

6 Exhaustively treated in the *Visuddhimagga*. See my *Early Buddhism*.

7 *Ekāyano ayaṃ maggo sattānaṃ visuddhiyā*. *Dīgha*, II, p. 290.

of the teaching. It is frequently stated in the Nikāyas that it is not easy for a householder to practise the *brahmacarya* which is thoroughly pure and complete in all respects.⁸ The utmost that a householder could practise were the five *sikkhāpadas*,⁹ or temporarily the eight *sikkhāpadas*,¹⁰ and that also for the purpose of *uposatha*. The teaching to be imparted to a householder was limited to *dānakathaṃ silakathaṃ saggakathaṃ kāmānaṃ ādinavaṃ okāraṃ saṃkilesaṃ nekkhamme ānisaṃsaṃ* (talks relating to charity, moral precepts, and heaven, the evils of indulging in worldly desires, and the good effects of renunciation)¹¹ and a bhikkhu imparting to a householder deeper or subtler teaching was punished according to the rules of the *Pātimokkha*.¹² The highest spiritual teaching that could be imparted to a householder and that also only in special cases was the exposition of the four *ariyasaccas*. The householders were allowed to practise only *dāna* and *sīla*, later on they were advised to develop *saddhā* and *paññā*. By *saddhā* was meant cultivation of faith in Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, and by *paññā* comprehension of the four truths, and in some cases, also *paṭiccasamuppāda*. The programme of duties laid down for the laity is detailed thus:¹³ An *ariyasāvaka* is to develop firm faith in Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, and then he should perfect himself in the five *sīlas* (*sikkhāpadas*), be liberal in gifts,¹⁴ and lastly he should try to comprehend the four truths, and, if possible also the *paṭiccasamuppāda*.¹⁵

8 Nayidam sukaraṃ agāraṃ ajjhāvasatā ekantaparipunṇaṃ ekantaparisuddhaṃ brahmacariyaṃ carituṃ. *Majjhima*, II, p. 55.

9 Pāṇātipātā veramaṇi, adinnādānā v., micchācārā v., musāvādā v., surāmerayamajjapamādaṭṭhānā v.

10 The three additional are vikālabhojanā v., naccagita-vāditavisaṃkassana-mālāgandhavilepanadhāraṇamaṇḍavanavibhūsaṇaṭṭhānā v., and uccāsana-mahāsayanā v.

11 Cf. *Āṅguttara*, IV, p. 209.

12 Cf. *Pācittiya*, 3: Yo pana bhikkhu anupasaṃpannaṃ padaso dhammaṃ vāceyya pācittiyaṃ.

13 *Āṅguttara*, II, p. 212; IV, p. 271.

14 *Muttacāgā payatapāni vossaggaratā yācayogā dānasamvibhagaratā*.

15 *Āṅguttara*, V, p. 184.

A person endowed with these four,¹⁶ which are called *sotāpattiyaṅgas*, becomes a *sotāpanna*, and may rest assured that he will be reborn as a god, and will never be reborn in the hells, or in the *preta* world and that in the long run he is destined to attain *sambodhi*.¹⁷ The above account shows that *saddhā* (faith) was primarily meant for the laity and formed one of the vital items of practice for their spiritual uplift. Deep *saddhā*, in some cases, produced *pīti* (serene pleasure) and helped concentration of mind, but in any case, *Nibbāna*, according to the early Buddhists, was unattainable by a householder.

Saddhā and the Bhikkhus

The expression frequent in the Nikāyas: *saddhāya kulaputtā agārasmā anāgāriyaṃ pabbajanti* (out of faith sons of good families retire from home to homeless life) shows that the bhikkhu-life generally commenced out of *saddhā* (faith). The first duty of a bhikkhu is to become a *sotāpanna* by removing the *nivaraṇas*,¹⁸ one of which is *vicikicchā*. The removal of *vicikicchā* can only be effected by developing *saddhā* as stated above (vide p. 639). Again, in the sixteen moments of comprehension of the four aryan truths, *jñāna* is always preceded by *kṣānti* (i.e. faith)¹⁹ and so *saddhā* was not wholly dispensed with by the bhikkhus. But the bhikkhus are warned against growing *saddhā* for the teacher for it is akin to *prema* (affection) and works more as an obstacle than as an aid to spiritual progress.²⁰ It is said that Ānanda's spiritual progress was hampered on account of his *saddhā* for Buddha.

16 *Saddhā, sila, cāgā, paññā*.

17 *Anguttara*, V, p. 182.

18 *Sakkāyadiṭṭhi, silabbataparāmāsa, vicikicchā*.

19 E.g., (i) *duḥkhe dharmajñāna-kṣānti*, (ii) *duḥkhe dharmajñānaṃ*, (iii) *duḥkhe anvaya-jñāna-kṣānti*, (iv) *duḥkhe anvaya-jñānaṃ*.

20 *Kośa*, II, 32; cf. *Vyākhyāṣ* (C.O. Series), p. 54: प्रेमैव श्रद्धा न गौरवम् । ननु श्रद्धैव प्रेम ।.....दुःखसमुदयसत्ययोः श्रद्धैव भिसं प्रत्ययरूपा । न प्रेम अस्पृहनीयत्वात् ।

The two dhūras

It is worth while to refer in this connection to the two *dhūras* mentioned in the Buddhist texts, viz., *Saddhā-dhūra* and *Paññā-dhūra*. *Saddhā*, however, does not play an important part in *Saddhā-dhūra*, for, the distinction made between the two *dhūras* is not on account of the degree of predominance of *saddhā* or *paññā* but on account of the dullness or sharpness of the faculties of monks. *Saddhā-dhūra* is prescribed for monks with dull faculties while *Paññā-dhūra* for monks with sharp faculties. Though the *saddhānusāris* do not make *saddhā* their main prop; they first grow faith in, and regard for, the Tathāgata,²¹ and then acquire the five indriyas²² including *paññā*. Likewise the *dharmānusāris* do not dispense with *saddhā* but make *paññā* their first item of acquisition²³ and then develop the other indriyas including *saddhā*.²⁴

It will be observed that *saddhā* is explained here as faith or affection but not as self-confidence, which is the usual sense in which *saddhā* is interpreted when it is grouped with *virīya* and other indriyas. It seems that in the Buddhist texts the two meanings of *saddhā* have not always been carefully distinguished. *Saddhā* as an *indriya* (predominating factor) and *bala* (force) should ordinarily mean "self-confidence" and not faith.

Saddhā (faith) as a means to liberation

There are passages in the *Majjhima* and *Anguttara Nikāyas* where emphasis is laid on faith (*saddhā*) as a means to liberation. In the *Majjhima* (I, p. 480-1) it is stated that there are bhikkhus who

प्रियतारूपा नृष्णा नाभिसंप्रत्ययरूपेति श्रद्धा न भवति । सार्धविहारिणः अन्येवासिनः । तेषु पुत्रादिषु प्रेम न गौरवं क्लृष्टमक्लिष्टं वेति संभवतः । गौरवं न प्रेम ।

²¹ Tathāgata c'ssa saddhāmatṭaṇṇi hoti pemaṇṇaṇṇi.

²² *Saddhā*, *virīya*, *sati*, *samādhi* and *paññā*.

²³ Tathāgatappaveditā c'assa dhammā paññāya mattaso nijjhānam khamanti.

²⁴ Cf. *Majjhima*, I, p. 478 f.; *Kośa*, vi. 31.

have taken resort to Buddhism out of *faith*. They believe that Bhagavā knows everything while they do not, that his teaching is forceful and attractive, and that they should exert for the goal until their bodies are dried up leaving only the bare skin, bones and sinews. These monks, the texts state, acquire the highest knowledge in this life, or at least, the *anāgāmi* stage.

‘*Aveccappasāda*’ process

In the *Vatthupama Sutta*, a complete course of training is prescribed for those monks who intend to make *pasāda* (faith) their main prop for the attainment of liberation. The process is as follows:

I. An adept should first get rid of the mental impurities such as *abhiṇṇhā* (strong attachment), *macchhariya* (avarice), *makkeha* (hypocrisy), *māyā* (cheating others), *sātheyya* (double-dealing), *thambho* and *sārambho* (pride and haughtiness), *māno* and *ati māno* (conceit); *mada* (pride or excitement caused by attachment to one’s own acquisitions),²⁵ and *pamāda* (carelessness).²⁶

II. After the removal of the above-mentioned impurities, which may well be compared to the *sīla* practices of the ‘*sīla-citta-paṇṇā*’ process, the adept is required to develop unflinching faith in Buddha, Dhamma, and Saṅgha. The usual terms in which the faith is to be expressed are as follows:—

- (1) *Bhagavā* the enlightened is endowed with knowledge and good conduct, he is the knower of world, the guide in disciplining men, the incomparable, the teacher of men and gods.
- (2) The *Dhamma* preached by Bhagavā produces fruit in this life, invites every body, knows no limitation of time, leads one to the goal and is realisable only by the wise within one’s own self.

25 *Kośa*, II, 33: मदः स्वधर्मरक्तस्य पर्यादानं तु चेतसः

26 See *kleśa*, *upakleśa*, *paryavasthāna* and *anuśaya* in the *Kośa*, ch. V.

- (3) The *Saṅgha* consists of monks who are in one of the eight stages of sanctification, and righteous, who are exerting for knowledge, observing good conduct, who are worthy of gifts and praise and respects, and who are fit recipients of gifts from laymen.

III. The more the mental impurities are removed the stronger becomes his faith in Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. This faith produces in his mind the satisfaction that he has achieved something good. This satisfaction in its turn produces joy and a sense of deep pleasure (*pīti*) which makes the body calm and the mind serene, and ultimately, the mind gets concentrated.²⁷

It will be observed that all the processes, be it 'sīla-citta-paṇṇā' or 'satipaṭṭhāna' or 'aveccappasāda,' aim at *samādhi* (concentration of mind). In the 'sīla-citta-paṇṇā' process, this is achieved by means of the four jhānas. By the first jhāna one acquires 'viveka-jaṃ pītisukhaṃ',²⁸ by the second 'samādhijaṃ pītisukhaṃ',²⁹ and then by the third and fourth, he dismisses the *pīti-sukha* in order to develop 'upekkhā' (equanimity). In the 'aveccappasāda' process, *pīti-sukha* subsides, giving rise to *samādhi*, i.e., it skips over the processes of the third and fourth jhānas.³⁰

IV. After developing concentration of mind, the adept is required to practise the four *brahmavibhāras*, i.e., he is to extend *mettā* (love), *karuṇā* (compassion), *muditā* (feeling of joy at others' success) and *upekkhā* (feeling of equanimity) to all beings of all the corners of the world.

V. After attaining perfection in the practice of the *brahmavibhāras*, the adept realises the four truths,³¹ and destroys the three

27 *Sukkhino cittaṃ samādhīyati.*

28 "Deep pleasure due to solitude.

29 "Deep pleasure due to concentration of mind."

30 Cf. *Majjhima*, I, p. 37-38 and p. 21-22.

31 Expressed thus:—*Atthi idaṃ, atthi hīnaṃ, atthi paṇitaṃ, atthu imassa sāññāgatassa uttariṃ nissaraṇaṃ.*—*Majjhima*, I, p. 38.

āsavas, viz., *kāma*, *bhava* and *avijjā*.³² He is now convinced that he has completed his task and has nothing more to do and that he will have no more rebirth.

It is remarkable that in this process the practice of *brahmavibhāras* is made an integral part, while no mention is made of the *samāpattis*. As a rule, the *brahmavibhāras* are excluded from the list of practices prescribed in the 'sila-citta-paññā' process. These are not even included in the thirty-seven *bodhipakkhiya dhammas*. In the *Nikāyas* the *brahmavibhāras* are hardly mentioned, and if at all, in such suttas which are Mahāyānic in character.³³ The *brahmavibhāras* go best with the *pāramis*, as is clearly shown in the *Visuddhimagga*.³⁴

Another remarkable feature in course of training this is that there is no insistence on the observance of the *Pātimokkha* rules, and as such it can be followed by a person who has not embraced the austere life of a Buddhist monk. This latitude is particularly noticeable in the remark that a person following this course of life is free to take luxurious food, as that will not be a hindrance to his spiritual progress.³⁵

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32 It will be noticed that *ditthi-āsava* is not included, for the question of *ditthi* does not arise in this process.

33 This '*aveccappasāda*' process with the inclusion of the practice of the *brahmavibhāras*, it seems, was an outcome of the Mahāyānic influence, and that the Suttas, which speak of the *brahmavibhāras*, belong to a date when Hinayāna was in the state of transition to Mahāyāna. The *Vatthupama* and *Makhādeva suttas* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* should therefore be ascribed to a date when the Mahāsaṅghika school was making its influence felt in the Buddhist circles.

34 *Visuddhimagga*, ch. IX.

35 *Majjhima*, I, p. 38: *Sa kho so bhikkhu evaṃ silo evaṃ dhammo evaṃ pañño sālinaṃ ce pi piṇḍapātaṃ bhuñjati vicitakālakaṃ anekasupam anekabyañjanaṃ n' ev' assa taṃ hoti antarāyāya.*

Nairātmya and Karman

(THE LIFE-LONG PROBLEM OF LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN'S THOUGHT).

The man and his antinomy

Many a scholar's intimate development can be followed in all its stages on the track of a single problem, as the landmarks of the history of his thought are laid down in the successive attempts either at a definite solution of the problem or at a definite explanation of its irresolvability. The difficulty not always lies with the problem itself: often, at least so far as such life-long problems are concerned, it lies with the scholar. And to an eye sufficiently familiar with the ways of his thought the underlying antinomy may reveal itself as the reflection of an antinomy inherent in his intellectual life.

Louis de La Vallée Poussin was a fervent lover of Buddhism as well as a fervent Christian. The former fact, although rarely and only indirectly disclosed in conversation (in his playful way he would elude the formulation of such personal attitudes and shift the subject to a strictly objective plane), is too abundantly witnessed by the patient and fruitful labour of his life to require any incidental evidence. On the other hand, the convictions of Christian truth were so firmly and exclusively established in his mind as not only to bar the admission that any heterogeneous ideology could have a share in the most personal life of his spirit, but even as to produce certain inhibitory restrictions in the earnest pursuit of his thought intent on retracing the outline of Buddhism as a coherent religious doctrine. Whenever La Vallée took up the attempt at such a synthetic reconstruction—and he did so many times in his life, and from many different viewpoints—the natural crystallization of his effort seemed to be checked by one single problem, practically always the same. One of the classical problems—not of Buddhism in fact, but of Buddhology, the coexistence of the axioms of *nairātmya* and *karman* seemed

to baffle the usual perspicacity of La Vallée: a perspicacity which had none of the cheaper qualities of glittering and hazardous dialectics, but on the contrary, coupled as it was with a rare erudition—putting at his disposal fairly complete surveys of the extant texts relative to particular points and so enabling him in many cases to decide on philological grounds where others had been groping and guessing—chose to attire its conclusive statements in the humble garb of provisional solutions. Nor could it be surmised that any sort of misplaced fidelity to a line of agreement once adopted (an effect of egotistic pride often mistaken by scholars for a proof of dignified consistency and placed as a self-made stumbling-stone across the path of their further progress) might have prevented him from finding his way to a satisfactory solution by a thorough revision not only of his former judgments, but of the very formulation of the problem and of the perspective in its background. La Vallée was as free from such fetters of self-complacency as any scholar who ever wielded a pen: his was the highest courage of uncompromising honesty, the most difficult virtue of a thinker's ripe age: whenever the progress of his research set its results at variance with his own previous conclusions, he, unhesitatingly, proclaimed to have changed his opinion and pointed out the fallacies of his earlier arguments: there was no other critic of his work as severe and unprejudiced as himself. Many would, on such grounds, belittle his achievements in the line of historical research and classify them as mere experiments not to be valued higher than their author himself was going to do in his next exposition of cognate subjects: I may confess that this singular attitude of untiring self-criticism attracted me most in my first contacts with La Vallée's work, while my reactions to his actual trends of analysis and argumentation were as yet decidedly negative: this was before a more exhaustive familiarity with the multiple aspects of La Vallée's scholarly interests and finally the personal acquaintance with the man and thinker enabled me to appreciate the depths

that lay beneath the apparent unconcern and detached curiosity: the depth not only of unrelenting effort of an intellect that in its pursuit of truth alone did not stop revising its own ways to the very last, but the depth of tragic struggle of a heart to which two great devotions of different kind laid equal claim and that ceased to beat on the eve of a possible reconciliation, of a solution of the personal antinomy underlying the life-problem of his thought. As destiny would have it, the categoric imperative that bid him choose between the two great visions of reality—that which dominated his human life and that which absorbed his scholarly effort—prevented him to the last from doing full justice to Buddhistic positions, on the subconscious assumption that, if the second greatest religion of mankind is to be based ultimately on a fallacy, there must be a crack in its speculative edifice. The fallacy could not be looked for anywhere else but in the negation of an individual soul, eternal *à part poste*. The crack must needs be the apparent incongruity between the absence of such a surviving entity and the perpetuation of the karman.

On the part of Western Buddhology it was doubtlessly due, to a very large extent, to a superimposition of subjective mental categories upon the fundamental outlook of its object that the tenet of *nairātmya* was preeminently interpreted as the negation of an individual soul as substratum of man's activities and destinies, the latter being indiscriminately identified with the Upanishadic ātman, against whose existence the main trend of Buddhistic reaction was assumed to have been directed. If some of the canonical polemics (but against what? ¹) lend a certain amount of likelihood to such an assumption, on the other hand, in the ample and complex bulk of records of Upanishadic ātman-doctrine there is very little to justify it even apparently. Even if we let the mere lexicological criterion be our guide in the survey of available data, we see that in an over-

¹ See below, fn. 25.

whelming majority of instances the definitions or epithets of ātman point to something utterly different from an individual soul or principle of individual life, thus evidencing the misconception inherent in standard-renderings such as "I" or "Ego", adopted by several scholars, and to a lesser degree even in the more current and more anodyne rendering of *ātman* by "Self," based on a purely linguistic equivalence without regard to the technical specifications of the term. When the fundamental incommensurability of the outlooks underlying the trends of ancient Indian thought on one hand, of modern Western thought on the other (or shall we say those of yesterday's Western thought, still predominant on the popular level of philosophy and science), will be fully appreciated, Indologists will doubtlessly decide by general agreement to leave certain untranslatable terms untranslated—unless some prefer the thankless toil of coining equivalents by means of cumbrous neologisms none of which could render the whole scale of implications inherent in the original terms. After all the task of the philologist, even in his marginal rôle of a translator, is to make things clear and rightly understood rather than to make them palatable to a reader unwilling to part for the time with his own habit of thinking. But before the reading public is summoned to renounce the original sin of intellectual egotism, those who have the charge of its guidance to spheres of thought remote in space or in time must first prove their determination to eradicate it from their own minds. As, however, getting rid of one's congenital mental atmosphere and completely identifying oneself with views seemingly extinct since a score of centuries—moreover indirectly and incompletely transmitted to our knowledge—may be considered an endeavour full of risks, let us follow the great example of humility set by our deceased friend by proposing the solution of his problem, in spite of all the evidence of straight unequivocalness it may convey to us, as only a provisional one—as befits all human things.

The true Christian humility that led La Vallée's steps in scientific research often brought him very near to the admission that an adequate understanding of Buddhist (and not only Buddhist, but most ancient Indian) conceptions requires a complete reorientation of mental habits on the part of the student. But in admitting this difficult condition he considered it as a partly insurmountable barrier to our understanding. This was less due to a conviction that a human mind cannot free itself from the tradition into which it is born than to that subconscious safeguard against abandoning in any circumstance the outlook connected for him with the highest spiritual values. Very unlike so many other known scholars who turned their limitations into an attitude of superiority, severing the *granthas* of their exegesis by summary judgments on the amount of logic to be expected from their sources, La Vallée was keenly alive to subjective difficulties and returned to his problem again and again, ever trying, never satisfied with half-way issues. That one most personal reservation he could not throw into the bargain, although aware at times that a mind intent on disclosing the essentials of a religious idea must allow itself to be fully merged in it. This is why he smilingly declined any far-reaching discussions on such questions of outlook, saying that after all he was but a philologist or too old to start anew. His works contradicted both the statements.

I still remember the scene of a youthfully enthusiastic attempt to win him over to my optimism concerning our natural possibilities of comprehension of ancient Indian thought, by pointing out that it is not all too long since such trends of experience and thought had become extraneous to us, that they had been essentially ours too, that such a revulsion of our mental categories would mean after all no more than a return to the tradition of Clemens and Augustinus, of Dionysius and the Victorians and down as far as some 19th century Christian thinkers not only, but up to the very tradition of St. Paul and St. John. I had even more powerful living allies in the imminent

resplendent presence of the highest peaks of the Alps crowning the valley to which we both used to return year after year. A concrete visualisation of cosmic-hypercosmic infinity, an unearthly island of silence in the midst of the turmoil of Europe—a vision by whose presence an intent mind is effortlessly led to transcend itself and expand into a consciousness of omnipresence and limitless quiet fulfilment and cessation of all its human yearnings and strivings; a vision comparable only to that of the snowy ranges of the Himalayas by whose presence many portions of the Upanishads seem to have been inspired.² I could not help perceiving the strongest, if wordless, argument in favour of the notion I had gathered of La Vallée's spiritual pursuit in his untiring fidelity to this spot, to which no alpinistic valley could attract him, and to which he bade reluctantly farewell only in the last year of his life when the contingent arguments of medical science decided that a temperate climate was more likely to preserve his declining vitality than the fulfilment of his wish of passing a last summer at the feet of Mont Blanc. I could not help believing that it was here that La Vallée was instinctively seeking and possibly already experiencing in a half-conscious way the solution of his inner antinomy, the point of coincidence—or shall I say of common fulfilment?—of the two great aspirations of his life. And who could say but this solution would have finally crystallized in the unravelling of the problem that accompanied his scholarly career,—during this last summer of which medical wisdom cheated the wisdom of his heart? For, in spite of his humorous denials, the

2 Cf. e.g. *Bṛh.* III, 8, 12 *etasya vā akṣarasya prāśāsane...nadyaḥ syandanti śveteḥbhyaḥ parvatebhyaḥ*.....The first ideal of the cosmic saviour is *giriśa* or *giriśānta* (uncertain reading of *Svet.* III, 6) and the first ideal of the pure seer is the *kūṣastha*. The lightning-vision of Brahman attained by the intimate Indra is attributed to the illuminating presence of Umā Haimavati (*Kena* 25-27), Vāc divine. And what of the R̥gvedic "mountains" from which she descends in a shower of *dharma* or *amṛta*—when will a more adequate exegesis restitute them to their literal meaning?

progress towards such a fundamental revision of his understanding of Buddhist thought was so clearly evidenced in the successive stages of his tackling of the problem of nairātmya and karman, that it is difficult to doubt but the conclusive stage was near at hand and that, had his last summer been left to his choice, he could have gone hence as one whose life had been fulfilled.

The successive solutions

In 1902, La Vallée³ adopts the opinion still largely prevalent amongst those critics of Buddhist origins who foster the genetic point of view: from pre-existent Brāhmanical doctrines Buddhism had inherited the theory of karmic retribution and continuity of existence; but for therapeutical reasons it was intent on eradicating the belief in self, deeply rooted in those doctrines as their actual mainspring, holding, as the Buddha did, that the attachment to the I is the fundamental motive of desire. Not being originally concerned with metaphysics, its position was not shaken by the inherent contradiction between the assertion of the act and the negation of the agent. Later philosophically minded Buddhists obviated this difficulty by assuming a substitute for the ego, which, while agreeing with the orthodox tenet of impermanence, could furnish a rational substratum for the karmic process: such a substitute was found in the *vijñānasamṭāna*, the autonomous flux of consciousness-instants. Pre-formed to a certain extent in the older sources, where the term *saṃtati* as well as a rudimental notion of its later import can be found, it agreed with the older conception of *vijñāna*, constituting in its mobility and its constant reproduction the centre and the *raison d'être* of the aggregation of the skandhas. Thus the *saṃtāna* of the Abhidharma constitutes a perfect equivalent of the *puruṣa* of the Sāṃkhya.

3 *Dogmatique Bouddhique. La négation de l'âme et la doctrine de l'acte. Journal Asiatique*, sept.-oct. 1902, pp. 237 ff.

"Only the final term of their Odyssey differs—and after all are we entitled to see any difference between the *nirodha* of the *arhat* who realizes the *saṃtānasya uccheda* and the definite isolation of the *puruṣa* who sees the end of the *Dancer's* performance?" (p. 289).

Thus the notion of the intellectual series provides Buddhist dogmatics with a self, continuous and responsible but liable to interruption; as soon as this notion is embraced and expressed, Buddhism appears as a coherent system.

But the oldest Buddhists had not quite got rid of the notion of the imperishable self. If, of the *Yamakasutta*, "only the first phrase be taken into account, we have in it a valuable vestige of the old faith: it is wrong to assume that the *Tathāgata* perishes; the compiler of the *Saṃyutta* has interpreted this ancient proposition in his own manner, in conformity with the spirit dominating in the *Piṭakas*: 'Anathème celui qui affirme la destruction du *Tathāgata*; pour périr il faut avoir existé!'"

This was years before Mrs. Rhys Davids started her campaign in favour of a primitive 'Sakyan' doctrine of the Self as distinct from body and mind. Nor is the contention yet in any way analogous. La Vallée tried to trace, not Buddhist origins, but pre-Buddhist heterodox survivals in his hypothetic reconstructions of the primitive form of problemologies apparently reducible to the question of the persistence of a self beyond the gates of *Nirvāṇa*; not arguments available in support of a primary "positive" and hence "congruous" position of Buddhism, but arguments to illustrate the extremely contradictory position to which Buddhism was driven by its consequential negation of an enduring self: so far as to deny the very reality of the *Tathāgata*. The plausible objection that such all-round negations of any possible conception of the *Tathāgata's* condition, either here or hereafter, might but point to his absolutely transcendent nature, inconceivable in terms of thought and speech, does not

yet occur to La Vallée who as yet seems satisfied with the current interpretation in favour of an "annihilationism" mitigated by obscurity for the use of minds unable to bear its full brunt. His present verdict: "Nous connaissons, hélas! ce qu'il faut entendre par la profondeur insondable de l'existence qui n'existe pas" (p. 246 fn.) has as yet the ring rather of Oltramare's and A. B. Keith's solutions than of La Vallée's own later "provisional" delvings.

A year later (II. *Nouvelles recherches sur la doctrine de l'acte*, *JA.*, nov.-déc. 1903, pp. 357 ff.) La Vallée proceeds by a further step in tracing the history of the presumed contradiction inherent in the foundations of the Buddhist system: the negation of any existent self-reality brought about as the inevitable result of the denial of causality and hence of karman itself, as evidenced in the Madhyamaka-position.

Ten years later (*La série des douze causes*, Ghent 1913) we witness the important admission that the conception of rebirth not as a "transmigration" but as the production of a new effect from determinant causes, results from a principle formulated as early as the *Dīgha-Nikāya*. The conclusion is at hand that the negation of a permanent migrating soul-substratum could not affect the coherent doctrinal structure of pre-scholastic Buddhism: but it is not drawn; for, ultimately, the underlying issue of La Vallée's criticism is not that of an intrinsic logical coherence, but that of the responsiveness to a certain postulate of religious truth, namely, the existence of an immortal soul.

The following twelve years are those of La Vallée's intimate ripening, through extensive wanderings to all points of the wide Buddhist horizon and intensive delvings into each of these varieties of doctrine, years in which this personality both of a philologist actively concerned with the coordination of doctrinal details and of a historian of ideas vividly alive to the peculiar rhythm of every one of those thought-currents grows to its exceptional dimensions.

In 1925⁴ the problem of "basic conceptions" is taken up again from a new point of view: no more from that of doctrinal syllogisms and dogmatic constructions, but primarily from the point of view of religious experience. Self-evident as it is, the fact that Buddhistic axioms were in the first place data of religious life was yet to be discovered in European Buddhology. The pioneers of this awareness were the two so different and yet so kindred spirits, Oldenberg and La Vallée—both in the last decades of their life. Both recognize in the seemingly abstract and inconceivable notion of Nirvāṇa the counterpart of the Upanishadic Ātman, so far at least as religious aspiration is concerned; for both are equally disinclined to admit that it could have been a specific and concrete realization. This is why only the evidence of the parallel terminology (*ajātam, accuṭam padam, akatam, anakkhātam* etc.) is observed, whereas no attention is accorded to the evidence of the parallel ideology concerning the essence itself of Nirvāṇa. For the Buddhist of the first ages—such is now the conclusion of La Vallée—the existence and reality of Nirvāṇa is as indisputable as for the Vedānta the existence and reality of Brahman;⁵ but what is Brahman, what is Nirvāṇa, is for both a "reserved" question to which the answer is refused or given only by negations.

But the admission of the primitive Buddhist conception of Nirvāṇa as an *ens realissimum* implies for La Vallée the assumption of a primitive belief in an immanent immortal self. The very simile of the extinction of a fire, once used as the argument par excellence of the annihilationist theory, is now employed in the service of the opposite interpretation. "Pour le remarquer en passant, cet Udāna dit avec toute la clarté souhaitable que ni le feu ni le saint ne sont anéantis..." [True, the exegesis of some later Buddhistic schools avails itself of the theory of the persistence of the fire as reduced to the invisible

4 *Nirvāṇa*. Paris 1925.

5 "Brahman" is here taken throughout at *paramam brahṇa* and a simple synonym of *ātman*.

"subtle" fire-element; but the famous parable, equally current, by the way, in Upanishadic as in Buddhist texts, does by no means point to such a learned solution, as it expressly states that the fire has not gone anywhere, but is just "extinct": the comparison of the Udāna does not however refer to the *ens* Tathāgata, but, as explicitly, to the five skandhas composing the contingent personality definitely extinguished at death, and from which no designations can be derived for a reference to the Tathāgata's own essence "deep, vast, measureless even as the Great Ocean (of Nirvāṇa)".]

Ever since La Vallée carefully re-examines the Sutta-passages that could be or had been interpreted as implying the assumption of an immanent self. "Quelques textes, peu nombreux mais d'un singulier intérêt, opposent aux skandhas impermanents, l'ātman, le soi, un principe transcendant, 'ce que je suis véritablement, ma vraie substance.' A en juger d'après ces textes, certain Bouddhisme ne serait qu'une branche ou une variété de la philosophie des Upaniṣads ou philosophie de l'ātman." (*Le dogme et la philosophie du Bouddhisme*, 1930, p. 100). This new interest is also extended to the tenets of the Pudgalavādins, now judged to have been the true if timid heirs of the oldest "Upanishadic" Buddhism.

Once that point of conformity with the fundamental postulate of religious truth seems safely harboured from controversy, the subjective hindrance to a fuller appreciation of Buddhism—as a conception fit to satisfy the needs and aspirations of human spirit—is removed: the former quarrel between Buddhism and the *sine qua non* of religion is now transposed into a quarrel between a primitive Buddhism and the later doctrinal standpoint evidenced since the Piṭakas:] "A l'origine un Bouddhisme qui croyait à l'âme, à la transmigration de l'âme et au Nirvāṇa; qui d'ailleurs n'était pas un "théorème" et condamnait les seules doctrines immorales et qui sont des entraves ou obstacles à la vie religieuse. Plus tard, au service de la méditation du néant des choses et pour combattre l'orgueil et l'égoïsme, une specula-

tion de tendance nihiliste s'attaque à l'idée de l'âme et aboutit, suivant les écoles, soit au concept hybride du pudgala, soit à la théorie du moi-série" (*Nirvāṇa*, p. 131).

But this strongly subjective solution of the main problem does not blur the clearheadedness of his scholarly inquiry, which does not shun the statement that even among the later Buddhist schools "who deny a soul in itself and admit only an I-series" some consider the Nirvāṇa as a real entity, "comme qui dirait le lieu ou l'état dans lequel la douleur et l'existence sont à jamais détruites..... ce qui ne naît pas, ce qui ne change pas...." (p. 68 f.). How can this apparent anomaly be explained?

The scholar seems near enough to descry the subjective nature of the difficulty when he states: "pour les bouddhistes, les problèmes du Nirvāṇa et de l'âme ne sont pas connexes."

But he stops at that and does not attempt a synthesis of his present and former observations: (a) that the primitive Buddhist conception of Nirvāṇa reflects the Upanishadic notion of the immortal reality, and (b) that already the primitive Buddhist conception of karman does not seem to require the assumption of a permanent I; a synthesis that could have led, this inferential way too, up to the conclusion that the data of ātman and karman might have even originally been, not concomitant, but rather essentially disjoint and pertaining to opposite planes of reality, thus allowing of coherent doctrinal systems based on their reciprocal exclusion: a statement that can be reached on the direct way of an unprejudiced analysis of the extant texts, Upanishadic and Buddhist alike.

At this point of the development of La Vallée's views the question was inevitable whether Buddhism, a coherent and satisfactory religious system in its origins, lost this character just at the time when it made the triumphant conquest of a vast portion of humanity?

The unsolved problem is consequently shifted to an antinomy between later Buddhism as a speculative construction on one hand

and as a way of religious realization on the other: in this shape we find it again in La Vallée's last analytico-historical studies, mainly in the *Réflexions sur le Madhyamaka* (1932-1933).

The recent explanation of nairātmya as a tenet secondarily superposed on original Buddhism did not modify the line of interpretation of the evolution of later Buddhistic doctrines: namely that the antinomy produced by the introduction of this tenet eventually led to a theoretical negation of karman as well, along with that of any conceivable reality. Such is, according to La Vallée, the purport of Nāgārjuna's absolute truth: a nihilism distinguished from that of the Nāstikas by a discrimination of two planes of reality: the relative one, comprising impurity, purification and ensuing Nirvāṇa—admitted as means of attaining true reality—, and the absolute one of which nothing can be predicated: the eternal absence of any process. Thus the Madhyamaka apparently avoids the *antas* of *śāśvata* and *uccheda*, or rather of *samāropa* and *apavāda*, as it refrains from proclaiming the *asaṃskṛta* either as an abandonment of the inexistent relative reality or as the latter's eternal immanent nature. In fact, he argues, speculative Nāgārjunism betrays itself as an unstable synthesis of the two Buddhisms: the scholastic one of the Hinayāna (this refers evidently to the Sautrāntika conception of Nirvāṇa as pure non-entity) and the ontological one of the Prajñāpāramitās asserting a *dharmadhātu*. The synthesis is established by a definition of absolute Reality in terms of void (pp. 25 ff., 30, 34 ff., 37 f.).

Thus failing to appreciate the specific issue of Madhyamaka exclusivism, our author agrees with the Yogācāra criticism of the Madhyamaka to the effect that the latter's Absolute, not being the immanent absolute nature of relative reality as asserted by the Yogācāras (and which, in his opinion, cannot be distinguished from the ātman), is not even a dialectic entity, but "un simple trompe-l'oeil" (52). In reality however,—he concludes—, the Madhyamaka misunderstands itself. Its relative truth, its provisional assertion

of the apparatus leading to deliverance, is in fact its 'real truth'. Its "absolute truth" is only a means, a methodical negation for the practical purpose of purification. The Hinayāna had proposed as the aim of religious life the aspiration to Nirvāṇa. But Nāgārjuna holds that, in order to destroy desire, we must abolish the belief in any reality, Nirvāṇa not excepted. Thus the idea of existence will be destroyed by that of non-existence, and the latter, as founded only on the opposition, will destroy itself—thus giving way to Nirvāṇa. Hence the absurd position of Nāgārjuna's metaphysical denial and practical affirmation of experience is to be explained by admitting that his *paramārthika* is not a metaphysical truth but a meditation-rule for the purpose of deliverance, a self-suggestion analogous to the *adhimukti-manaskāra* known to the Hinayāna. In such forms of meditation the author sees the very essence of yoga, and finally revises his definition, derived from Dharmapāla's criticism of the Mādhyamika's *tattva* as a reality based on non-existence,—to the effect that Nāgārjunism has no ultimate philosophical bearing (26 f., 54-8).

Thus the two planes of the Mādhyamaka theory of reality have been reduced unawares to the two platforms of La Vallée's evaluation of Buddhism: as speculation and as religion. The real truth of the Mādhyamaka, as well as that of the Yogācāra and of the pre-scholastic popular Hinayāna—the truth of Buddhism as conquering religion is that of the bondage and deliverance of an immortal soul-essence: the philosophies based on or derived from the negation of this principle are mere intellectual exercises prompted and hampered by the incongruity of their premises, at best, pious exercises of self-destructive dialectics intended to eradicate intellectual hankerings.

In his last publication on the subjects connected with his life-long problem (*The Ātman in the Pāli Canon, Indian Culture*, 1936, pp. 820-824)—not a "last word", but only the latest epitome of "provisional" conclusions—styled by himself "a native expression of his views"—La Vallée resumes as "scemingly certain" the point,

maintained throughout the stages, that "the Buddhist faith in transmigration and in a beatific Nirvāṇa is logically repugnant to the canonical tenet that Man is only a compound of transitory elements (physical and mental), for it implies that Man is more than body and mind", and the point, determined upon at a comparatively later stage, that primitive Buddhism, not yet equipped with a philosophy of its own, simply assumed "a something" as subject of bondage and deliverance (as defined by our author, p. 822, this something is very like an individual soul). The well-known passages on the anātmatā of the skandhas as explained by their anityatā-duḥkhatā are understood to deny only the universal ātman but to postulate a transcendent individual one. The Jetavana parable is interpreted, with Mrs. Rhys Davids, as implying that man is chiefly soul or self, and contrasting with the teachings of the Majjhima where the I is flatly denied. But this latest "provisional" position not merely resumes the previous formulation of the problem as born of a conflict between earlier faith and later philosophy, it also traces a duality of views as implicit in the former: that of an immanent individual soul connected with karmic reality, and that of a transcendent though immanent one, essentially unconnected with contingency. If now the assumption of a soul as an element thus extraneous to the mechanism of contingency is avowedly located in the primitive strata of Buddhism as religion, is not the conclusion imposing itself that the elimination of such an element could not undermine the validity of the religious system of contingency? The conclusion had been practically drawn, by an approach from the other end, since 1902 when La Vallée had stated (see above, p. 653) that the saṃtāna, foreshadowed even in the oldest texts, was a perfect non-ātmic substitute of the Sāṃkhyan puruṣa and that no distinction could be actually made between the uccheda of the saṃtāna and the viveka of the puruṣa. But in 1936 he would no more have subscribed to this statement; since the point he was now intent on revindicating

for religious truth was not the Buddhist system of contingency, but the Buddhist system of transcendency. The new understanding of Buddhism acquired in three decades of earnest personal investigation had brought home to him that the notion of Nirvāṇa is based, not on the concept, however subtly formulated, of an unconscious and senseless unimaginable condition or of absolute non-existence, but, primarily and throughout the history of Buddhist thought, on the experience of the fulness of salvation. How is this conception possible without the admission of an immortal soul? This was the problem now unhusking itself to its nakedness before the mind of the thinker who had lovingly devoted his life to the subject of his research and was now preparing to justify it, along with his life, before his Creator.

When, after the publication of the last volume of his *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*, I questioned him on the outstanding concluding part of his *Réflexions sur le Madhyamaka*, he pointed smilingly to his forehead and went out for a solitary walk along familiar pathways facing the snowy range. This much appeared from his casual hints, that it was to be, as usual, not only a conclusion but a revision. (What second conclusion could there be, after all, in the same line of "reflections" already so expressly concluded?). He had lately reverted to considerations of the various aspects of *paramārthasatya* in Buddhistic thought.⁶ He had been scaling, in his sketch *Muśila and Nārada*,⁷ the relative contributions of speculation and ecstasies to the Buddhist realisation of truth. Was he not preparing a new approach from within to the last phase of his problem? And while serenely proceeding onwards, in the face of his rapid physical decline, to a further extension of his life's work already so uncommonly extensive, of the field of this "petite philologie" as he would call it,—was he not most personally verifying in

6 *Documents d'Abhidharma. Les deux, les quatre, les trois vérités.* MCB., V, pp. 159 ff.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 189 ff.

this imperturbable growth the growing realization *diṭṭheva dhamme* of another plane of existence unconcerned with life or death? As so many Christian saints had found it on the shorter way of rapture, he, a new Nārada, would have finally found in the most comprehensive vision crowning his life of intellectual effort the solution of the problem, reduced to its ultimate terms: how the fulness of salvation can be experienced as the very annihilation of conscious individual life—had but the birthplace of his vastest thoughts been also the resting-place of his last.

The problem itself: is it one?

In referring above to the deep divergency or mental attitude forming the chief obstacle to an adequate comprehension of ancient Indian ways of thought, I did not by any means associate myself with the battered slogan about East and West, but intentionally specified as terms of the contrast the ancient Indian and the modern Western outlook.⁸ In fact, by virtue of the same mental revolution through which the era of "modern" or "objectively scientific" thought was inaugurated (how shortlived its "scientific" character was, how utterly unscientific it already appears in the light of the postulates of present-day science imposing a revision of all customary categories, is too known a fact to require further elaboration),—the West has also broken off from its own multisecular tradition of thought and of thinking. The nature of the break can be briefly stated to consist in a definite and programmatic cleavage between the intellectual and the emotional functions of the psyche, carrying in its wake in the domain of spiritual activity a complete separation of the fields of philosophy and religion—a phenomenon unwitnessed

8 The latter is not confined to the geographical "West." Apart from its general diffusion in practical life and science in India as well, the matter-of-factness with which some exponents of contemporary Indian Sanskrit Philology and exegetic literature operate with the westernized redaction of the ancient categories is largely due to the sifting of this science through European media.

before the 18th century in Europe as it had never been witnessed in India—and under the concomitant objective aspect in the reduction of outward reality to a dual mechanism of “substances” and “active forces” designed with proud terms thinly shrouding their ultimate nature of *incognitae*. As no innovation is ever altogether new, we may discern to a certain extent in this reform a renewal of the Scholastic movement of the early Middle Ages, which, in reaction to the contemporary mystic currents encompassing the whole cosmos as a vast psyche in a conception of religious psychology (the universal science of early mystic naturalism, which, if condemned as “unscientific”, may at any rate claim the merit of having formed the living foundation of the great scientific discoveries of the Renaissance), postulated a sharp division between the soul on one hand and, on the other hand, soulless matter ruled and moved by abstractions extraneous to both. This Scholastic attitude has outlived its age and continued a shady existence in the substrata of the reactionary movements obstructing now and then the continuous flow of religious speculation (which in the Christian West descended directly both from orthodox sources like the Fourth Gospel, the Epistles to the Corinthians, the Romans and the Ephesians and the mystical writings of the Fathers soaked with Neo-Platonism and Eastern mysteriosophic ideologies, and from heretic sources like Gnosticism, Hermetism and Alchemistic doctrines—all more or less indirectly connected with repeated impacts of ancient Indian thought); on it were still based the recent spurious attempts at a “rational” reconciliation of the religious dogma with the then up-to-date standpoint of astronomy, geology and physics; in the domain of religion itself, by which this intellectual dualism has been partly adopted as an antidote against the excrescences of emotional modernism obliterating the dogma and confusing rather than comparing historically different creeds susceptible of mystically esoteric interpretation,—similarly as the Scholastic view had been adopted

to counter the overriding impulse of monistic mysticism—, it finds its expression in a prudent reserve against any emotional revaluation of accepted positions, against any mystic psychification of soulless creatural substance, whose natural concomitant is inevitably an extension of the limits of the created soul to God-like dimensions and its active connection with natural laws—an implicit negation of its individuality and its creaturalty. Thus in both the domains of research and religion the limits between emotion and knowledge are sharply drawn, forming a barrier between the modern West and its past, barring modern European Indology from the forms of experience and vision underlying the subject of its research.

The rôle of European Scholasticism was played in India by its counterpart, Jainism: it introduces *substance* as a dominant category of thought. Before the diffusion of its philosophy the categories of Indian speculation were purely *functional*, i.e., psychological. The contrasts between the positive and negative aspects and values of reality, whatever form they may assume, are not reducible to the contrast of active forces and passive substances, but throughout to the contrast of opposite functions, of opposite psychic tendencies. Hence the contrast is absolute, i.e. exclusive, hence the problem of *mokṣa* is not that of a separation but that of a transfiguration, the bonds being self-imposed by a “wrong” orientation of the potential force of freedom: the process of deliverance consists in the inversion of its functionality. Hence the axiom of a coexistence of karman, the anti-ātman function *kat'exochen*, welding the bond of saṃsāra, and the ātman as such, was not at all formulated in the Upanishads and is not even conceivable from their point of view, for the simple reason that it would have been tantamount to the assertion of a simultaneity of *bandha* and *mokṣa*. Of all the classical passages, neither the pañcāgnividyā (*Brh.* III, 2, 13) nor Yājñavalkya's secret teaching of man's survival as karman alone⁹, nor the lapidary defini-

9 As to the ātmā proceeding after death into ākāśa, see fn. 25.

tion of the mechanism of karman in *Bṛh.-Ār.-Up.* IV, 4, 5—this pratītyasamutpāda *in nuce*—include any implication of the ātman at all. An apparent exception to this consequential position will be pointed out in the famous text *Bṛh.* IV, 4, 1-4, in which a migrating ātmā is referred to. What is this ātmā? Is it an individual soul, as most modern translators and exegetists of the Upanishads, Indian and Western, are all too ready to admit and to assume? Or is it, as Śaṅkara would have it, the true ātman, the paramātman, fallaciously fettered by the extraneous bond of action through the ignorance of his true self-entity? Before having recourse to Śaṅkara, let us rather have recourse for an adequate explanation to the text itself. The habit of isolating passages relative to a particular element of doctrine from their context was here, as in so many other cases, responsible for rendering quite explicit data problematic and obscure. The fourth Adhyāya of our Upanishad is an indivisible whole, the doctrines expounded in it complete and illustrate one another. Now, even with regard only to the Brāhmaṇa immediately preceding, what is “this ātmā” (*ayam ātmā*) to which our text constantly refers? It is the prajñātman (3, 35), styled at the beginning of the same Brāhmaṇa *viññānamayaḥ prāṇeṣu bṛhdyantarjyotiḥ puruṣaḥ*. True, Śaṅkara identifies this entity with the Ātman *kat'exochen* and instructs us that *viññānamaya* is to be understood as “(wrongly) identified with viññāna.” As, however, for the present we are not concerned with Śaṅkara’s theory laboriously forced upon the text but with the theory of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* itself, we may safely take the meaning for what the term simply conveys, and understand *viññānamaya puruṣa* = *prajñātman* as “the ātmā (or puruṣa) whose essence is consciousness.” Now, does our 4th Adhyāya directly or indirectly identify this entity (very significantly introduced by the question “which ātmā, (*katama ātmā*)?”) with the *neti nety ātmā* proclaimed at the culminating point of its teaching? By no means. On the contrary, it very neatly defines the relation of this entity to

the ātman *kat'exochen*, namely as one of its potential constituents. For this we must go back to the 2nd Brāhmaṇa, expounding the doctrine of the post-mortal voyage of the sage endowed with the supreme *upanīṣad*. "This puruṣa in the right eye is called Indha; although he is Indha, they call him "Indra" for the sake of implication, because the gods love the implicit and hate the explicit. Whereas that puruṣa in the left eye is his wife Virāj. The (place of) their union is the space within the heart, their food is the blood-clump in the heart, their covering is that net-like in the heart, the path of their common procession is the nāḍi ascending upwards from the heart; within the heart are located the nāḍis called *bitāḥ*, equal (in thinness) to the thousandth part of a hair: through them that perennial flux flows on."¹⁰ Therefore *His* alimentation is more exquisite than that of the body-ātman." From the dual number the text has very significantly passed to the singular. In fact we have been shown how the two, separate when perceived in the eyes, in the heart melt into one and follow their common path of *mukti* ascending through the *suṣumnā*. "The eastern region is His eastern *prāṇas*, the southern region His southern *prāṇas*, the western region his western *prāṇas*.....the totality of the regions the complex of his *prāṇas*: this indeed is the ātman called "no, no".....The Fearless thou hast reached, O Janaka."

In the 3rd Brāhmaṇa we are told that such a transfiguration of the vijñānamaya puruṣa resting in dreamless sleep within the fluid contained in the heart-nāḍis takes place through a process culminating in universal self-consciousness, the "form" in which that transfiguration results being that of the psycho-cosmic Androgyne, the perfect union of the two puruṣas, the "form" of an all-awareness whose subject and object are indistinguishable, both being the All.

¹⁰ *etad āsṛavad āsṛavati*. See in my "Mito Psicologico nell'India Antica", pp. 62, 64 and n. 2, 308, 309 f., 363, 369 f., the explanation of the origin and meaning of the later Buddhistic term *āsṛava*.

In the following Brāhmaṇa this same event of a union of the two entities instead of their separation is referred, with a definite soteriological value, to the death-instant of the sage delivered from desire. In the concluding paragraph of our first Brāhmaṇa it is attributed to him who has realized the supreme *upaniṣad*. The reader conversant with the analogous technical symbolism of this same conception as expounded in so many other Upanishadic texts can entertain no doubt as to the condition in which this realization of the true *upaniṣad* is meant by our text to take place: it is the culminating stage of the yoga-process. This state of all-consciousness, actualized by means of an intimate *union* of two constituent principles and their common inward ascension, this "fearless" state sensed in our Adhyāya to take place in three conditions: dreamless sleep, yogic extasis and final mukti, is identified with, or rather revealed as, the Ātman *kat'exochen*, the *neti nety ātmā*, the all-embracing cosmic Puruṣa. In fact, the Ātman similar in this respect to all other entities and principles of Upanishadic speculation is not a substance, but a psychic function or condition: different however from all the others by the fact of its being a liminary function, a stasis produced by the ecstatic superlatation of emotional consciousness, which, through utmost intensification, and the concomitant absorption of the total range of objective possibilities of awareness, has expanded to universal self-consciousness. If terminological data be considered more convincing than ideological ones, they can be had in abundance: The other most classical terms designating the ātman are *ānanda* (*Brh.* IV, 3, 32, II, I, 19—*Taitt.-Up.* II and III), *saṃprasāda* (*Ch.-Up.* VIII, 3, 4; 12, 3), *turiya*:¹¹ all of them most explicitly terms of psychic condition, not of substance. Amongst these designations revealing the nature of the designed entity as the hypostasis of a psychic state, does the fundamental

¹¹ Turiya always explained as *turiyaṃ sthānam* (*Māṇḍūkyaop.*, *Nṛṣimhottara-tāpinyup.* etc.). See also *prabhavāpyayau—Kaṭha.* VI, 11—*Māṇḍ.* 6, etc.

term *ātman* alone form an exception? Its corollaries are eloquent enough: *yatra tu asya sarvam ātmavābhūt* (*Bṛh.* IV, 5, 15); *aham evedam sarvam iti* (*Ch.* VII, 25, 2); *aham evedam sarva 'smṛti manyate* (*Bṛh.*, IV, 4, 20); etc. The unvarying trend of these definitions is the notion: "The All is myself"; "I am the All". The most characteristic feature of the hypostasis of this ecstatic experience consists in the fact that the All as object of the universal consciousness is united and identified with the now all-embracing subject. The term abstracted from this notion is naturally the one most laden with the meaning of the mystery experienced, the one expressive of the psychic immanence of the universal unity. The *ātman* is originally neither an individual nor a cosmic soul-substance, nor a transcendent substance essentially extraneous to both individual and cosmos: it is the realisation of the psychic unity of the I and the All. By a symbolism specific to the mysticism of all the ages (or rather perpetuated in all the mystic formulations derived from this common source), this realisation is represented as a nuptial union. The female part is assigned to the *prajñātman* or *vijñānamaya puruṣa*, *Virāj = Vāc*;¹² and who is *Indha-Indra*? As to this point too, contemporary texts furnish ample information:¹³ he is *Prāṇa*, the vital force and quintessence of all vital faculties—the potential winner of *Brahman*, the mate of *Umā Haimavati*, the divine *Vāc* (see *Śatap.-Br.* V, 5, 2, 9 f.; *Kaus.-Up.* III, 2; *Kena* 25 ff. *Bṛh.-Ār.-Up.* I, 5, 12; cf. *Śatap.-Br.* VII, 5, I, 7: *Prāṇa* is the male, the mate of *Vāc*). *Indha-Prāṇa-Vaiśvānara*, the "enkindler" of the mortal fire of individual life (cf. *Śatap.-Br.* VI, I, I, etc.), is liable to turn into the enkindler of the "yogic fire-body" (*Śvet.-Up.* I, 12d) which transcends mortality and individuation. The function of *Prāṇa* in his conquest of, and elevation with, *Kuṇḍalinī* called *Vāg*

12 Cf. *Atharva-Veda*, IX, 2, 5b; *Ch.-Up.* I, 13, 2; *Bṛh.* IV, 1, 2.

13 For a full survey of the relative texts and a history of the ideology see *op. cit.*, pp. 67., 91 ff., 123, 126 ff., 131, 300 ff., 337 ff., et passim (v. Index s.v. *Indra*).

devi (*Śiva Samh.* II, 21 ff.) is a well-known motive of yoga-symbolism, only the antiquity of this "tantric" doctrine has been greatly underestimated: in fact I have been able to show that it is not only Upanishadic but Vedic and one of the fundamental doctrines of the oldest speculation.¹⁴

If now we return to our eschatological text, we shall be bound to admit that its doctrine is exposed with an amount of clarity that can dispense with any outside commentaries: The bodily ātmā groans under the weight of the prajñātman when a man is about to breathe his last (3, 35). This puruṣa (the prajñātman) detaches himself from the members and again, retracing the way of his former entrance and according to the fundamental mode, drives towards (a new) prāṇa. As, when the king is about to come, the village-chiefs and ministers of the law make ready to wait upon him saying "he is coming, he is approaching" thus all the elements (ready to constitute a new body) wait (upon this puruṣa): "lo, the brahman¹⁵ is coming, is approaching (37). As around the king, when he is about to leave, they assemble, so do all the prāṇas assemble around this ātman when one is about to breathe his last (38). And when man is overcome by debility and confusion, this is the moment when the prāṇas assemble in that one (in the prajñātman), and he, collecting (from them) those particles of light (that are their consciousness powers deriving from his own essence, see below, 2, *ad finem*) and proceeds to the heart; but the eye-puruṣa turns away beyond (to the sun); then one is no more able to perceive rūpas" (4, 1). Who is the *cākṣuṣaḥ puruṣaḥ*, which of the two mentioned in IV, 2? Evidently Prāṇa, the factor of *rūpa* (cf. *Brh.* III, 9, 15; the "shape-

14 *Op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff., *Nāma-rūpa and dharma-rūpa, Origin and Aspects of an Ancient Indian Conception*, ch. I; *Le Serpent et l'Oiseau* (XX. Intern. Congr. Or., Brussels 1938).

15 Prajñātman is one of the specific aspects of brahman manifested in contingency. Detailed study of these aspects in *Nāma-rūpa*. See also *Il Mito Psicologico*, passim (v. Index s. vv. brahman, vijñānātman).

less" core of shape *Brh.* II, 3, 3-4)—for this purely psychological outlook a function tantamount to that of the perception of rūpas. Thus we are shown that in this case of unenlightened dying the mystic union of both puruṣas in the heart does not take place. "He becomes single¹⁶ and they say "he does not see...he does not smell...taste...speak...hear...sense...touch...cognize. Then the top of the heart flares up and in this flare the ātmā steps forth, either through the eye or through the head or through other parts of the body." Up to here the text is an unbroken account; only the successive phrase (4, 2 *taṁ utkrāmantam prāṇo 'nūtkrāmatī prāṇam anūtkrāmantam sarve prāṇā anūtkrāmantī*), inserted from a parallel but slightly varying doctrine, according to which the prajñātman is the first to abandon the body, his egression being only succeeded by that of prāṇa followed by all the sensorial functions,—which, according to our main text, are on the contrary absorbed in the prajñātman (4, 1)—interrupts incidentally the otherwise strict and linear sequence, which is immediately taken up again: "he is of consciousness-essence, and all that is provided with consciousness follows him". In this condition intermediary between two lives "the past prajñā"—the sum total of prajñā as it comes down from the previous life—is accompanied by its acquirements of vidyā and karman that "clasp each other". The force of karman, of the anti-vidyā, prevails: in fact it is the avidyā that becomes the guide to the successive life (3; cf. its epithet *netri* in Yoga philosophy and *bhavanetti* in Pāli Buddhism). "Like a caterpillar that has reached the end of one stalk, starting on a new outset contracts itself, even thus this ātmā, throwing off the body and prompting forward the avidyā, starting on another outset, contracts himself"(3).

This ātmā, the subject of the individual life and of the process

16 This *ekibhāva* resulting from separation is essentially opposed to the absolute unification described IV, 3, 22 ff. and IV, 5, 25 ff., though similar in its biological effects.

of metempsychosis—not as a constant entity, but as an ever new result of past dispositions (3, 2 *in fine*).—is the vijñāna which cannot be transfigured into the true ātman, universal self-consciousness, as long as avidyā, individual self-consciousness, the essence of differentiation and thus of karman, prevents him from actuating the innermost nuptial union which is at the same time the union of the I and the All—from assuming the supreme form of Brahman as Ātman. “For, indeed, that Ātman = Brahman is consciousness and manas and prāṇa and seeing and hearing and earth and water and space and light and desire and its contrary and anger and its contrary and dharma and its contrary, it is All. Therefore, according as one is this or that, as one acts, as one lives, so one becomes: the well-doer becomes good, the evil-doer evil: fortunate by propitious deed, wretched by wretched deed. In this connection, in fact, it is stated: ‘This puruṣa is essentiated of desire’: for according to his desire is his psychic tendency, according to his tendency he enacts the deed, according to the deed enacted is his lot.” Truly a formula of prātīyasamutpāda *avant la lettre*. What, in fact, is the substratum of this causal chain? Kāma the essence of mortal man. The preceding passage shows us as the substratum of metempsychosis the vijñānātman guided by his avidyā, his self-consciousness, i.e. his own specific entity. While in the sandhyasthāna of dream—so analogous to the sandhyasthāna of reincarnation—he experiences in virtue of his avidyā the terrors and the elations to which waking consciousness is liable (IV, 3, 20), and attains the highest state only when, abandoning along with the sandhyasthāna of dream his avidyā-nature, he realizes the all-consciousness of dreamless sleep. Thus also in virtue of his avidyā-nature, of individualizing consciousness, he “becomes this or that” in desire and will, in action and destiny. Kāma is coincident with avidyā—as desire does not exist apart from individuation,—it is the actuality-aspect of the same function of which avidyā is the potentiality. The two successive doctrines

concerning the process of saṃsāra and the mechanism of karman agree as two formulations of the same notion. The saṃsāra has no substratum extraneous to itself, extraneous to its essence, the karman: for its substratum, the vijñānamaya puruṣa, is kāmamaya. The process is as autonomous as that of the pratīyasamutpāda. What indeed is the "substratum" of the Buddhist causal chain? Evidently and expressedly nothing but *avidyā*, the first *nidāna* and essence of all the other *nidānas*, or, according to the shorter versions, *vijñāna*, which in so many Suttas appears as the principle connecting successive lives. That the *saṃskāras* are karman in the form of volition, *cetanā* (= the *kratu* of our Up.), the first specification of subconscious *avidyā*, that *vijñāna* is its manifestation on the conscious plane, that *trṣṇā*, standing for *avidyā* in the third *āryasatya* (whose longer formulation is the pratīyasamutpāda *pratilomam*) is the latter's specified actualisation in the developed individual consciousness stream, are facts which need not be elaborated here.¹⁷

But this Buddhistic *vijñāna*, essentiated of *avidyā*, is not liable to a transfiguration into Ātman, whereas the *vijñānamaya puruṣa* is: here, and here only, lies the divergence between the position of ancient Buddhism and that of the Brhadāranyaka, and we may for the present accept it as such.

The Ātman *kat'exochen* has no part in the mechanism of karman, which is on the contrary the negation of his static nature, he is not implicated in the process of saṃsāra, which, on the contrary, excludes the possibility of his realization and is perpetuated by this exclusion. But the *vijñānamaya puruṣa*, the "substratum" of this mechanism, the "subject" of this process, can be turned, as we have seen, to the realization of the Ātman. By what means can this total reversion and transformation be brought about? The technical aspect of this mystery has been exposed in the 2nd

17 See II *Mito Psicologico*, pp. 328 ff. (v. Index s.v. pratīyasamutpāda).

Brāhmaṇa. Its moral aspect is now defined in the 4th: "he who is undesiring, exempt from desire, fulfilled in his desire, his desire being turned towards Ātman: his prāṇas do not proceed forth; by being sheer Brahman he attains Brahman. On this are the verses: when all the desires nesting in man's heart are dissolved, then the mortal becomes immortal, here he attains Brahman. As the thrown-off hide of the serpent¹⁸ lies on an ant-hill, thus indeed lies this body: but the bodiless immortal Prāṇa is identified with Brahman, is identified with (hypercosmic) Light.¹⁹ A subtle path extends, an ancient one; it penetrates into me, and indeed, I have found it; on it the steadfast ones proceed, the brahman-knowers, to the heaven-world and hence upward, delivered. In it, they say, is the white and the blue and the fiery and the green and the red (the many coloured heart-liquid filling the suṣumnā, the microcosmic aspect of the hypercosmic *tejas*, the "formless form" of the *hr̥dyākāśa* = *vijñāna*;²⁰ this path is found by the brahman (in me), this way proceeds the brahman-knower who has fulfilled the auspicious act, the luminous one" (6-9). How has the *kāmamaya* turned into the *tejomaya*, how has the chain of *karman* and the circle of *saṃsāra* been resolved into the ascending line of *mukti*? The text says it clearly enough: by the extinction of *kāma*. But is not this singular transformation of the "subject" an elimination of his own essence, an extinction rather than an elation? It is not taken as such by our text, on the good ground that he is not a "substance" but a function. A substance can only be destroyed to yield to its contrary. A func-

18 See *Le Serpent et l'Oiseau*.

19 Paramam brahma=universal and transcendent Vāc=hypercosmic Light, see *Il Mito Psicologico* pp. 43 (A.-V. VIII, 9, 9, *Kaṭha* V, 25, *Mund.* II, 10, *Svet.* VI, 24, *Gītā* XV, 6), 46 (A.-V. II, 1), 50 (A.-V. IV, 1), 93 f. (*Bṛh.* I, 3, 17; I, 6, 3), 95 ff. (*Bṛh.* II, 3, *Ch.* VIII, 11-12), 142 (*Kaṭha* VI, 6), 168 ff. (*Mundaka*), 182 ff. (*Svetāśvatara*), 195 ff. (*Gītā*), 221 ff. (*Maitrāyaṇa*), 235 f. 242 (*Nṛsiṃhottaratāpini*), etc., v. Index s. vv. Luce transcendente and *lampo*. See further *Nāma-rūpa* and *Dharma-rūpa*.

20 See *Mito*, Ind. s. vv. *hr̥dyākāśa*, *tejas*, *colori*, *vijñāna*, *Vāc*.

tion can be inverted and thus transformed into the opposite function, as in our case has been instanced by the descriptions of the mystic union. The prajñātman, the individualizing principle of self-consciousness, becomes the universalizing principle by virtue of which "the outward is not distinguished from the inward" (*Bṛh.* IV, 3, 21), for there is nothing "other" with regard to the perceiver (3, 31, *Āit.-Up.* III, 13), "the All has become himself" (*Bṛh.* IV, 5, 15, II, 4, 14). The "subject" of the karmic process is not the Ātman, his function is even that of the anti-ātman, but it can be inverted, "turned upwards" to Ātman-realization. He is therefore potentially ātman ("Indeed that Great Unborn Ātman is latent in that among the functions which is of consciousness-essence, in that which is the ākāśa within the heart", IV, 4, 22), and actually such, when kāma-karman, his contingent nature, is no more. This is the initial position of the fully developed Upanishadic immanentism; a synthetic position, resulting from a conciliation based on data derived from the analysis of yogic experience of the two axiomatic certitudes: (1) the Ātman is the All, the most real, most intense of realities; (2) the essence of life is desire and suffering experienced in, and as, individual consciousness, extraneous and contrary to the all-conscious extasy of ātman. In one phrase: the first doctrinal conciliation of the *a n t i n o m y ā t m a n* $\leftarrow \rightarrow$ *k a r m a n*.

But the position does not remain the same throughout the whole history of Upanishadic thought.²¹ As the attempts at *demonstrating* theoretically the psychic and cosmic immanence of ātman, and hence the implicit ātman-nature of psyche and cosmos multiply, speculation eventually coming in contrast with the data derived from the analysis of contingent experience, the gulf between the two axioms widens, for the theoretical standpoint cannot admit the experimental truth of the dynamic genesis of the static

²¹ Analysis and history of the successive positions in their genetic development in *op. cit.*

reality of the One-and-All. Hence the evolutionary doctrines represented by the *Taittiriya-Up.* and *Aitareya-Ār.* II, 3, 2-3 give way to the acosmistic position of the absolute identity represented by *Kaṭha-Up.*, *Īśā-Up.* and the later portion of *Bṛh.* IV, 4, 10-20, and the doctrine of *error* is more nominally than effectively superposed on the doctrine of *karman*; successively, divine soteric intervention is postulated and accounted for by the introduction of a new hypostasis of the Ātman as primeval and perennial "intimate Teacher" and Saviour, the ātmā-subject of *saṃsāra* being conceived as different from or coincident with Him according to the direction of its own essential functionality.²² Thus the position of Upanishadic immanentism, epitomized by the doctrine of absolute identity in the formula *asti* (*Kaṭha* VI, 12-13), is progressively attenuated to the formula *asti ca nāsti ca* (*Mokṣadharmā* 217, also *na nāsti* 203), until the most extreme advocates of a psychocosmic theory based on the immediate data of life-experience arrive at the conclusion implying *nāsti*, a *nairātmya*-doctrine represented by *Māitri* III²³ and

22 The Sāṃkhyan or pre-Sāṃkhyan sub-tones of a "distinction" theory as soteric method are echoes of the Kāthaka-doctrine of primeval "error" (as is evident even from the circumstances of the apparition of this doctrine in the *Kaṭha*); only on the Epic stage do they develop into a dualism of principles no more exclusive, but simultaneous. But in their portions relative to the way of deliverance even these texts fully evidence the persistence of the older standpoint: their process of *mokṣa* is not a mere "separation", but an essential transfiguration of the whole being into its opposite by a progressive remanation or *niṛtī* of existence into the *Puruṣa*.

The incidental assertion of the *vijñānamaya puruṣa*'s *asaṅgatva* *Bṛh.* IV, 3, 26 (and in the obvious interpolation 25) merely implies that he is not followed (*ananvāgatas*) by his dream objects (nor by those of his waking experience), and is to be connected with the further assertions *savijñānam evānuvakraṃmati tam, vidyā-karmanī samanvārabbete pūrvaprajñā ca* 4, 2 and the statement that, on the contrary, in the ecstatic condition of dreamless sleep *ananvāgataṃ puṇyenānanvāgataṃ pāpena*, similarly as 4, 22 the Great Ātman is *na sādhubnā karmanā bhūyān no evāsādhunā kaniyān*. A term torn from its context is verily too slender a foothold for pointing out a theory not formulated until centuries later.

23 See my recomposition of the original structure of the chapters disjoined in the extant redaction, *Il Mito Psicologico*, pp. 211 ff.

Mokṣadharmā 218-219 (the doctrine of Pañcaśikha), a position still quite authentically Upanishadic—so much so that even centuries later Kumārila could affirm that the Buddhists had appropriated the nairātmya-doctrine from the Upanishads. Does it imply a denial of the Ātman? Nor in the least: it simply and very explicitly asserts the non-immanence of the Ātman in the contingency of psyche and cosmos, and postulates the necessity of the extinction of the function productive of this contingency, the false ātman and real anātman, as the indispensable condition for the realization of the transcendent Ātman; and advocates as means for this purpose the very same form of yoga which had been advocated by the older Upanishads as means of realization of the Ātman's all-immanence. The dangerous error obstructing the way of mukti,—according to Pañcaśikha, the most "Buddhistic" amongst the Upanishadic teachers, although only accentuating and paraphrasing the teaching of Yājñavalkya,²¹—is the assumption of an ātmic entity immanent in life: the entity mistaken for such, the *bhūtātman* = *jñānātman*, is only the buddhi, truly anātman, to be utterly suppressed. This "cessation", this *nirodha* of the "guṇa" *viññānātman*, preached by the author of the *Maitrāyaṇa* as well as by the Epic teachers of nairātmya and pointed out as the penultimate stage of the dhyānic progression of yoga—described with a terminology entirely consonant and partly even coincident with that of Buddhist dhyāna—is the faithful counterpart of the *viññāṇassa nirodha* described by the oldest Suttas as the ultimate condition of attainment of the Nibbāna described in the same passage as *viññāṇam anidassanam anantaṃ sabbato pabbam*, i.e. as the very entity for which the old Upanishads had chosen the term *ātman* to intimate its mystic immanence.

²¹ Similarly as the *Maitrāyaṇa* takes up again the phraseology of the *Cb.-Up.* (*Mito*, pp. 218, 223, 275).

Buddhistic nairātmya is no more a denial of the reality of Ātman than Upanishadic nairātmya: it is a denial of the immanence of ātman in contingent existence.²⁵

25 The comparatively late term *nairātmya* denotes however also another, quite distinct tenet of Buddhist doctrine: the denial of the reality of the individual unit as such. As can be seen even in a cursory glance at the relative texts, the term *ātmā* or *puruṣa* was very largely used, in the older period—before the first attempts at a simultaneistic dualism (see above footnote 22) introduced the abstract term *tattva*, and finally substantialistic speculation introduced the abstract term *dravya*—to design “principles”, principles being at that time nothing else but hypostases, i.e., personifications, as for the genuinely psychological view of reality any principle is “personal”. Practically every cosmic or microcosmic phenomenon is considered as the manifestation of such a “principle” or *puruṣa*. As has been observed long ago, ancient Indian speculation counts the “whole” in addition to its parts. And the complexive unit is again, quite consequentially, and characteristically, conceived as “principle” or *puruṣa* (= *ātmā*): in specie, it is the unit of the human individual, encompassing all the particular principles (functions and their manifestations), of which it is composed. It is not identical with the *śarīrātmā*, which is the complexive unit of the sensuous manifestations only (let alone any possibility of the latter’s identification with the Ātman, which is expressly pointed out as the *asurānam-upaniṣat*, *Ch.-Up.* VIII, 8, 5). Its true character can be gathered from the passages in which it is co-ordinated with its cosmic counterpart, *ākāśa* (*Bṛh.* III, 2, 13, *Ch.* III, 14, 2, etc.): as *ākāśa* encompasses all the phenomena of the cosmos, so does this principle encompass all the phenomena of the microcosmos, man: at the dissolution of the microcosmic unit, at death, this “man” unit returns into its cosmic counterpart, *ākāśa*, as all its constituent principles return to the corresponding cosmic phenomena (*Bṛh.* III, 2, 13); this “ego” is no more immortal than its constituent parts. But already at this time there are doctrines which—in the interest of the pursuit of Ātman which requires the abandonment of the ego-conceit, as in Ātman there is “no distinction of inward and outward (of subject and object). He being the Totality as sheer consciousness” (*Bṛh.* IV, 5, 13)—deny the existence of such a separate “individual” unit: “the skin is the unit of all touch, the nose of all flavours, the tongue of all tastes, the eye of all forms...as one has arisen from the elements, thus one recedes unto them on dying: there is no connotation (self-conscious perception or awareness) after death, so; indeed, I say” (5, 12-13). The Buddhist teaching of *pudgalanairātmya*, the Pīṭaka-polemics against the notion of *sakkāya*, have exactly the same purport: a unit “individual” does not exist, it is only the complex of impermanent *khandhas*. The scholastics interpret this dynamic “impermanence” from the extremist point of view of the *kṣaṇikatva* and translate the *skandhavāda* into a *dharmavāda*, until finally substantialist notions conceive the *dharma*s as *dravyas*. The confusion of nairātmya (ancient *śūnyatā*-

As the Upanishadic Ātman was never in any way implicated in the mechanism of karman and in the process of saṃsāra, the elimination of its hypostasis, actual or potential, from the vision of contingent reality, could by no means conflict with the continued assertion of that mechanism and process. The reality of karman and saṃsāra is anātmic in the doctrinal position of Buddhism as it was ever since the oldest doctrinal position of the Upanishads. The difference could at best consist in the premise that it does not contain even a potential faculty of realizing the essence of Ātman or Nirvāṇa. In fact, such a position (epitomized in the formula *suñño loko.....attena vā attaniyena vā*—*Sam. Nik. IV*, p. 54), even assuming that it was consequentially maintained throughout the purely theoretical portions of the Suttas, is distinctly attenuated or even implicitly abandoned in the portions relative to the theory and technology of deliverance. Who in fact is the agent of *niṛṭti* in this complex of skandhas "devoid of Ātman or anything ātmic," so utterly devoid of any element of Nirvāṇa that no reference whatever can be derived from it to adumbrate the condition of the Tathāgata?²⁶ The evidence of the texts is very explicit: this agent is the *citta* or *viññāṇa* itself, which in the process of dhyānic superlatation soars above contingent existence up to that highest state of *upekkhāsatiṭṭhā*

vāda) and this pudgalanairātmya (*skandhavāda*) is relatively late, it presupposes a stage of mere formal memorizing of inherited doctrines, oblivious of the two distinct theoretical positions against which they are directed—one against the *atta-vāda* or Upanishadic immanentism (largely refuted as well in Upanishadic texts contemporaneous with ancient Buddhism), the other against the *sakkāyavāda*. The conception of pudgalanairātmya interpreting the unreal pudgala as a compound of real dharmas is impugned by the Mahāyānic *dharmanairātmya* or assertion of the "non-entity" of the dharmas, being the complementary aspect of the assertion of the exclusive all-reality of the one Dharma or Tathatā.

²⁶ In my genetic reconstruction and survey of the development of the skandha-theory (in: *Nāma-rūpa and Dharma-rūpa*; chapter read at the Xth All-India Oriental Conference) I have shown that in its original position and purport it is not a skandhamātravāda.

that represents Nirvāṇa-in-life; which in the *satipatṭhānas* detaches itself from itself so far as to analyse every motion of the citta; which grasps the Holy Truths and realizes the mechanism of inversion or progressive suppression of the pratyasamutpāda. It thus appears that the viññāṇa of karmic essence, vehicle of the continuity of saṃsāra, possesses the faculty of producing its opposite, of inverting its beginningless functionality of *pravṛtti* and actualizing the ascensional process of *niṛvṛtti*, the final stage of which is *viññāṇassa nirodha*, a limit beyond which the radiant viññāṇa-Nibbāna takes place: through the mere cessation of the yet contingent viññāṇa or through its final transfiguration? The dominating theory rather points to the former solution, but texts are not too rare whose implication is rather that in the act of "conversion" out of the saṃsāracitta the bodhicitta is revealed, the agent which will finally "realize" (*sacchikarissati*) the Nibbāna. The *sammā paṇihita citta* is the same that formerly was the *micchā paṇihita citta*, and yet its opposite, as its functionality has assumed the contrary direction and development.²⁷ It was not a concern about logic that produced this half-immanentistic position (how in fact could the inversion take place, if no potentiality of it was inherent in saṃsāric existence?), but a registration of data found in experience. The latter position is in fact predominant in texts directly or indirectly relative to the dhyānic path, and in the premises of the doctrine of the *mārga* and the *phalas*, nay, even most concretely reminiscent of oldest Upanishadic position in that remnant of the oldest

27 This growing bodhicitta, this pledge of the future realization of Nirvāṇa=Ātman, is the "subject" of the Jetavana-parable: it is not concerned with the saṃsāric nature of the skandhas nor is it their immanent-self-nature, as they are not congenital to him, who is the progressive actualization of the function opposite to theirs. For similar reasons he is not comparable with the Sāṃkhyan puruṣa the individual, transcendent ātmaic entity connected *ab origine* with the anātmāic complex of the Prakṛti. The Jetavana I was not there while the skandha-plane was the only plane of being: it appears while this plane is being transcended, through its being transcended.

Buddhistic literature figuring the event of *bodhi* by the simile of the nuptial union (*DN* II, p. 267).²⁸ The conclusion is at hand that the radiant *viññāṇa*-*Nibbāna* is potentially latent within the contingent *saṃsāric* *viññāṇa*. And, in fact, it has been drawn. *Pabbassaram idam bhikkhave cittam āgantukehi upakkilesehi upakilitṭham*, runs the teaching of *AN* I, v, 9-10, vi, 1-2, p. 10. From the strictly orthodox doctrinal point of view doubtlessly a semi-heretic statement, but intimately consonant with the ideology evidenced in all the remnants of the oldest strata of Buddhistic doctrine incorporated in the *Nikāyas* and for which *Nibbāna* was a concrete experience, practically coincident with *Bodhi* (the latter, even under the designations *sambodhi* and *sammāsambodhi*, being attributed to all disciples reaching arhatship) and realized in life through a definite cessation of contingent existence. The problemology being entirely psychological, the notion of a conflict between the full realization of *Nibbāna* and the continuation of biologic existence did not arise at all at this stage and not until the introduction of physico-cosmological and biological viewpoints, when the distinction of *sopadhisesa* and *nirupadhisesa* was derived to cope with the newly arisen difficulty.

Only the next step, due to the consideration that, as the Uncreated can by no means *become*, its transcendent reality must be immanent *ab initio* or rather *sine initio*, renders this position decidedly heretical. The *Mahāsaṃghika* modification of the old canonic doctrine, stating that the *prabhāsvara citta*, conditionally offuscated, is *ādiśuddha*, marks the transition to the full immanentism of *Mahāyāna*, whose earlier stages from the *Prajñāpāramitās* to the *Madhyamaka* are a new recurrence of the acosmistic position of absolute identity represented by the *Kaṭha*, the doctrine of *dharmanairātmya* (= °*śūnyatā*) or absolute unreality of any particular existence enforcing the view of the absolute immanence of

28 Il Mito Psicologico, pp. 340 f., *Le Serpent et l'Oiseau*.

Nirvāṇa, the one Dharma, the Tathatā reproducing the ātman of the Upanishads²⁹ along with the complementary theoretical tenet of unreality of karman and saṃsāra, primeval "error" taking the place of primeval desire. Thus it is not the denial of the immanence of Ātman that brought about as ultimate consequence the negation of karman, but on the contrary the reassertion of the Ātman's absolute immanence directly resulted in the negation of its opposite.

Far from being the necessary condition of the validity of the karman-conception as an interpretation of existence, the Ātman-conception has been in conflict with the latter ever since the beginning of Upanishadic thought, and the successive attempts at a solution of this conflict of the two fundamental data of Upanishadic analysis of experience as existence, in the successive synthetic or exclusivistic theories of reality, mark the successive stages of Upanishadic as well as Buddhistic speculation, the latter starting at the terminal point of the former and covering its stages in a regressive direction. This fertile contrast is not that of conflicting theories or dogmas, producing logical antinomies and prompting theoretical devices to enforce untenable issues, but the contrast of two forms of experience, equally true on different planes of psychic life; and the successive ontological solutions building up the history of Upanishadic and Buddhistic thought are but the different theoretical readings of the same complex of experience. The practical, technological solution of the soteriological problem as adopted by this unbroken current of religious ideologies is but the technics of systematic realization and reproduction of one of these two planes, that of universal self-consciousness, and remains effectively unchanged throughout the whole development: it is yoga.

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²⁹ Quite consequentially, the term *ātman* reappears in the *Prajñāpāramitāsaptasādhikā*, p. 18, etc.).

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Interpretation of the Indus Seals

In the Belgian periodical *Le Flambeau* of January 1940 there appeared an article in French with the surprising announcement, *A miracle of Czech science: the mystery of Proto-Indian civilization unveiled*. The article is the translation of a lecture given in the Czech language by Prof. B. Hrozny, the eminent scholar who is well known as the decipherer of the Hittite cuneiform tablets of Boghazkeui. These tablets, some ten thousand in number, come from the ancient capital of the Hittites in Asia Minor, and the results of the decipherment were published in 1917. They were proved by Prof. Hrozny to be mainly in an unknown form of an Indo-European type of language, and it was looked upon as the Hittite language or, following the actual name of the people, Khattish.

But among the tablets were found some in a non-Indo-European language, which in the documents themselves is called *khatti-li*. This is the same word that we translate as Hittite or Khattish, and it was evidently applied by the Hittites themselves to this earlier language. Hence it became necessary to distinguish the two languages. The name Hittite is retained for the Indo-European form, and the earlier language is usually termed Proto-Hittite, although Hrozny prefers to call it Khattish.¹

¹ See his very instructive article *Hittites* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.



Still other languages have been discovered among the tablets. One of them was already known from a tablet among those found in Egypt at Tell-el-Amarna, and was named *Mitanni*. Since then among the Hittite archives have been discovered tablets in an almost identical language (the differences may be only graphic) and there the language is called *khurli-li*. Hence Hrozný calls it Khurrish. The people seem to have been settled in north and north-west Mesopotamia. As yet little is known about it, as it appears to be unrelated either to Indo-European or to Proto-Hittite. It may be noted in passing that it was in a Khurrish or Mitanni tablet that the names resembling the Indian names Varuṇa, Indra and others have been found.



These are not all the known languages among the Boghazkeui tablets, but the above will give a notion of the complications of the linguistic problems before us. It is necessary to mention them here, because they are links in a chain of discoveries that have led to Hrozný's decipherment, as he claims, of the seals of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa.

But there is still another link to be considered. It was before the discovery of the cuneiform Hittite that another kind of Hittite inscriptions was already known. These exist as hieroglyphics found on seals and carved stone monuments. During the 19th century various attempts to solve them were made, but Prof. Hrozný as late as 1929 admitted that success had not been attained. It was of course not certain that they were Hittite. Since then he has devoted himself to studying them, and claims with the help of the great mass of cuneiform tablets to have deciphered them. His words are: "This hieroglyphic, Hittite, we have succeeded in deciphering in these last years, and in establishing that with these hieroglyphics another Hittite language was written, different from the cuneiform Hittite deciphered by us during the first World war. These two Hittite languages are both of Indo-European origin, but different

from one another." Unhappy similar circumstances are now hindering a full explanation of this second discovery, but we can hardly doubt that he has good grounds for this confident claim. It is the interpretation of the Hittite hieroglyphic signs that has given the key to his last and most striking discovery, the interpretation of the Indus Seals. Some of the Hittite signs do in fact correspond with those of the Indus Seals, but each system appears to have continued to develop independently after the separation of the peoples. As he himself expresses it: "On the whole it may be said that the Proto-Hindu writing is in part derived from the hieroglyphic Hittite writing; but on the way the hieroglyphic Hittite signs have been modified, and that notably. A great number of hieroglyphic Hittite signs are lacking in the Proto-Hindu writings, e.g. the sign for *mu*, the sign for *pa*, different signs representing hands, etc. Equally lacking is the ideogram known for the word God. Similarly the determinatives which in hieroglyphic Hittite are used to indicate the names of countries and towns appear to be used only sporadically."

It may be asked, what we should expect the signs of the seals, consisting mainly of one word, to represent. The most obvious answers are, (1) the name of the owner of the seal, or possibly (2) a mantra or some word of magical import. That they may have a mantric character is shown by the cult objects engraved thereon. The first alternative is what Prof. Hrozny finds, and in fact, the seals *viz.* the "seal of so-and-so." This is all the world over. It is impossible to do more here than indicate the course of Prof. Hrozny's decipherment. The following examples are taken from the lecture above mentioned.

(1)  (2) 

(3)  (4) 

In (1), the first sign (reading from right to left) is taken to be an ideogram meaning 'house' and the two following signs are *na-sa*, expressing the same meaning in syllables. The root of this word, says Prof. Hrozny, is *nes*, 'to dwell' found in the Greek word *naos*, 'temple.' It is not among the Sanskrit roots, but that is not surprising, for Hittite belongs to the centum group of Indo-European, and according to Hrozny the Proto-Indian does so also, so that no close connection with the vocabulary of the Vedic Indians, who were of the satem group, need be expected. In (2), the first sign, which appears frequently, sometimes in lozenge form, is taken to be an ideogram for 'seal,' and is read SI. Then follows a sign of two short marks, originally an ideogram and then used to indicate the root of a word, and the rest of the word reads *a-k-ka-ta(?)*-*e*. The last sign corresponds to the same sign in Hittite, except that it is provided with horizontal lines at each side. It is taken to be an 'emphatic' final syllable, and is read *e*. The meaning of the whole is uncertain, but Hrozny would like to connect it with Akkad in Babylonia, and read it: "Seal of (the city of) Akkad." No. 3 also begins with the ideogram for 'seal,' followed by *si*, which is a duplication or another representation of the same word. Then follows *sa-n-ta-ya-e*, "Seal of (the temple of) Santas." Santas is known as a god in Asia Minor, and was known to the Greeks as *Sandes* and *Sandon*. They identified him with their own Hercules. Ptolemy also records a city *Santouta* in Armenia.

No. 4 is of special interest as it appears to contain an important geographical or ethnic name. Prof. Hrozny draws attention to a widely spread name, *Kash* or *Kush*. It is found in the name of the Kossaii or Cusii (Cassites), the people of the Zagros mountains east of Mesopotamia, who about 1700 B.C. founded a dynasty in Babylonia. It is also found in Kaspioi, a people of Media, who gave their name to the Caspian sea. The Kaukasos is 'the mountain of Kas,' and the Indian Kaukasos is the Hindu Kush, Kaspeiria, if not

actually Kashmir, and was certainly on the borders of India. From these and other instances Hrozny holds that he has proved that "the regions of the Caucasus and the shores of the Caspian Sea were very anciently the point of departure of a whole series of nations apparently of diverse origin, chiefly nomadic peoples, who had the name Kash, Kush, or other like names. The proximity of the Caucasus, rich in metals, explains how these nations were distinguished by their knowledge of metals and metal-work."

Starting from these data Hrozny takes a Hindu seal found at Ur in Babylonia. It has a cuneiform inscription of three signs engraved on an ox. This is read *SAG ku-shi*, i.e. "prince of (the country of Kushi.)" With this he compares the seal no. 4 above. The first sign is evidently the ideogram for 'seal.' The second he may read *ku* and the third *si* or *shi*. The fourth sign of pyramidal shape appears in the hieroglyphic Hittite as a determinative, here probably indicating that the previous word is the name of a city, and the final sign is the emphatic *e*, "seal of (the city of) Kush."

These are only a few of the inscriptions described by Prof. Hrozny. He has drawn up a list of the principal signs with their values, which is to be published in the Czech oriental publication *Archiv Orientalní*. In the meantime he has given his views on the historical and ethnical relations of this people, whom he calls Hindu or Indian Kushites. "These inscriptions show that the Proto-Hindu population of the Indus basin was very mixed, and that it included the following elements: first the hieroglyphic Hittites, next a non-Indo-European element, Subaraean or Khurish, and finally perhaps also Cassites or Elamites.....The dominant stratum of this mixed population was composed—as our inscriptions show—of the Indo-European conquerors, the hieroglyphic Hittites, who at the beginning of the third millennium B.C. penetrated into north-west India.These are therefore in virtue of our discovery the most ancient Hittite people that has existed. These Proto-Indian Kushites are

visibly distinct from the hieroglyphic Hittites, whose oldest habitat, we must suppose, was somewhere in Transcaucasia, northern Syria, and eastern Asia Minor, from the time when the hieroglyphic Hittite writing was not yet completely developed. Only thus is the independent development of this writing in India explicable, and we can explain the fact that on the one hand this Proto-Hindu writing presents new signs foreign to the mother-writing and on the other hand many signs of the primitive writing are lacking in India. We must, it seems, at present date the origin of the hieroglyphic Hittite writing from the beginning of the third millennium B.C."

It may be asked where the Vedic Indians stand in this scheme of pre-historic events. All that is said here is mentioned when referring to the fall of the Hittite empire in 717 B.C. "In India the Proto-Hindu Kushites had been since the first half of the second millennium B.C. eliminated by the Hindu people who spoke Sanskrit, and who had penetrated into India equally by starting from the Caspian Sea."

It may however be said that it is doubtful if we can yet speak decisively of the cause or causes of the extinction of the Indus civilization. A great commercial civilization like that may disappear through the drying up of the sources of trade, or the stopping of the channels of intercourse. Whether it was 'eliminated' by direct destruction through the Vedic Indians is another possibility, but the actual historical cause is rather a matter for further archaeological research.

E. J. THOMAS

The Vaisyas in Mediaeval Bengal

Modern expounders of Hindu Śāstras in Bengal when referring to *varṇas* and castes and their rights and duties often cite a text to the effect that according to Yama there are in this Kali age only two *varṇas* Brāhmaṇa and Śūdra.¹ The Vaidya author Bharatamallika writing in the latter half of the seventeenth century quotes this dictum in his *Candraprabhā* to indicate the Śūdra status of his own caste, and a similar dictum is referred to by the contemporary writer, Kamalākaraḥṭṭa, who was a Deccan Brāhmaṇa settled at Benares.² The latter, however, observes that the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas have not been extirpated, but that they remain unnoticed because of their non-observance of sacred rites. I have not been able to trace either of these two texts in any of the current Dharmaśāstras and Purāṇas. In fact, the law-book of Yama, to whom the first saying is ascribed, begins with a reference to the duties of four, and not two, *varṇas*, and prescribes different penances for four *varṇas* (*vide* verses 8 and 56-60). Gāgābhaṭṭa, the distinguished nephew of Kamalākara, did not believe in the text quoted by his uncle, and declared Śivaji to be a Kṣatriya and the Prabhu-Kāyasthas to be twice-born. Such a text occurring either in a Dharmaśāstra or a Purāṇa was certainly not known to the great legislator of Bengal, Raghunandana, in the sixteenth century, as otherwise he would not have been put to the trouble of tracing the extinction of the Kṣatriya *varṇa* from the action of king Mahāpadma Nanda, and of both the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas from a wrongly interpreted verse (X. 43) in

1 युगे जघन्ये द्वे जाती ब्राह्मणः शूद्र एव चेति यमः ।

2 पुराणान्तरेऽपि—ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्रा वर्णाश्रयो द्विजाः ।

युगे युगे स्थिताः सर्वे कलावाद्यन्तयोः स्थितिः ॥—शूद्रकमलाकरम् ।

Manusamhitā.³ Manu evidently referred by *imāḥ* not to all Kṣatriyas but to the Pauṇḍrakas, Auḍras, Drāviḍas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Cīnas, Kirātas, Daradas and Khaśas, who had lost their Kṣatriyahood by non-observance of obligatory rites and by not seeing Brāhmaṇas (X. 44). The *Mahābbhārata* (Anuśāsana, ch. 35) also states that the Mekalas, Drāviḍas, Lātas, Pauṇḍras, Kāṇvaśivas, Śauṇḍikas, Daradas, Darvas, Cauras, Śavaras, Barbaras, Kirātas and Yavanas were degraded from their Kṣatriya rank by the wrath of Brāhmaṇas. It was no doubt a clumsy effort on the part of Raghunandana to prove the disappearance of the Kṣatriya *varṇa* in his time. With regard to the Vaiśyas, however, he could not get hold of even a far-fetched authority.⁴ The convenient dictum for the Kali age had evidently not arisen in his time.

3 इदानीन्तनक्षत्रियादीनामपि शूद्रत्वमाह मनुः—शनकैस्तु क्रियालोपादिमाः क्षत्रिय-
जातयः । वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च । अतएव विष्णुपुराणम्—महानन्दिसुतः
शूद्रागर्भोद्भवोऽतिलुब्धो महापद्मो नन्दः परशुराम इवाखिलक्षत्रियान्तकारी भविता । ततः
प्रवृत्ति शूद्रा भूया भविष्यन्तीति । तेन महानन्दिपर्यन्तं क्षत्रिय आसीत् । एवञ्च क्रिया-
लोपाद्वैश्यानामपि तथैव अम्बग्रादीनामपीति जातिप्रसङ्गादुक्तम् ।—शुद्धितत्त्वम् ।

4 Raghunandana was not alone in tracing the extinction of Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas from the prophecies in the Purāṇas regarding the Kali age. Nāgacābhaṭṭa in his *Vratyātā-prāyaścitta-nirṇaya* written in the eighteenth century collected a mass of Paurāṇic texts to prove the non-existence of the *madhyas*, i.e., the middle *varṇas*, in the present age. Thus he quotes the *Viṣṇu*, *Matsya*, and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas* as saying that the lunar, solar and Yādava families of Kṣatriyas will come to an end with kings Kṣemaka, Sumitra and Satasena respectively. Then he brings in the story of Mahāpadma Nanda as putting an end not only to the Śiśunāga dynasty of Magadha but to all Kṣatriyas he could lay his hands on. He finds, however, a stumbling block in a verse in the *Harivaṃśa* (*Bhaviṣya*, I. 18) which declares that the lunar line of Puru will never be extinct (अपौरवा न तु मही भविष्यति कदाचन), and also in the mention of Kṣatriyas existing in the time of king Purañjaya long after Mahāpadma Nanda (वीर्यवान् क्षत्रमुत्साहं पयावल्यां स वै पुरि. *Bhāgavata*, XII. i. 35), which he tries to explain away by specious arguments.

The citation of Paurāṇic texts, however, is not always safe for those who seek to establish with their help a two-fold *varṇa* system, consisting of Brāhmaṇas and Sūdras only, in modern times. It is difficult to ignore those passages which indicate the degradation of the Brāhmaṇas as well as the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas to the

The great legal commentator Vijñāneśvara, author of the *Mitākṣarā*, had no doubts about the existence of Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas in the twelfth century when he suggested how *pravāras* were to be recited by them. So also Hemādri after him recognised all the four *varṇas* in the Deccan as well as in the Āryāvarta, and prescribed different penances and different rites for them in his *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*. Even in Eastern India the distinguished Smṛti writers like Bhavadēvabhaṭṭa, Halāyudha, Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakura, Śūlapāṇi and Vācaspatimiśra from the eleventh to the fifteenth century did not speak about the disappearance of the two intermediate *varṇas*. On the contrary, they prescribed different penances and periods of impurity on bereavement and child-birth for

rank of Sūdras in the Kali age. ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः सङ्कीर्त्यन्तः परस्परम् । शूद्र-
तुल्या भविष्यन्ति तपःसत्यविवर्जिताः । अन्त्या मथ्या भविष्यन्ति मथ्याश्चान्त्या न
संशयः ॥ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्या न शिष्यन्ति जनाधिप । एकवर्णस्तदा लोको
भविष्यति युगक्षये ॥ (*Mahābhārata*, Vana, 190. 17-42). शूद्रप्रायेषु वर्णेषु (*Bhāgavata*,
XII. 2. 14). क्षेतायां ब्राह्मणोत्तराः प्रजाः, द्वापरे ब्रह्मक्षत्रोत्तराः, कलौ शूद्रदाशोत्तराः
(*Bhāg.* XII. 3. 21-25). शूद्रप्रायास्तथा वर्णा भविष्यन्ति कलौ युगे । (*Viṣṇu P.* VI. i. 51).
Nāgacāhṭṭa was aware of the implications of these passages, and tried to console
himself with the argument that the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas (?) had disappeared by
extermination and that the Brāhmaṇas had become Sūdra-like by the non-observance
of their rites. “युगक्षये कलावन्त्याः शूद्रा मथ्या क्षत्रियाः वैश्याः शूद्रास्तसदृशाः स्वधर्मं
सर्वथा त्यक्त्वा तिष्ठन्तीत्यर्थः । तत्र क्षत्रियवैश्यनाशो मातृस्यवैष्णवयोः स्पष्टमेवोक्तः सर्वथोच्छेदरूपः ।
ब्राह्मणनाशस्तु स्वधर्महान्येति बोध्यम् । विप्राणामपि शूद्राचारत्वादेकवर्ण इत्युक्तम् । यथा
सत्ययुगे सर्वेषां धर्मनिष्ठत्वादेकवर्णत्वं मातृस्यादिषूक्तम् ।”

If we are to believe with Raghunandana and others in the story of Mahāpadma
Nanda exterminating the whole Kṣatriya race, how can we then reject the story
of Purāṇjaya occurring in the same section of some of the Purāṇas, which describes
the making of all the *varṇas*, including the Brāhmaṇa, Mlecchas, and also that
of the wholesale degradation of the Brāhmaṇas of Central and Western India with
the loss of sacred thread? स च पूर्वोक्तात् पुरजयादपरः पुरजयः इति प्रसिद्धः सन्
वर्णान् ब्राह्मणादीन् पुलिन्दयदुमद्रक्षुश्चान् म्लेच्छप्रायान् करिष्यतीत्यर्थः ।...तदनन्तरं सौराष्ट्रा-
दिदेशवर्तिनो द्विजा ब्राह्मणा उपनयनरहिता भविष्यन्ति ॥”—Śrīdharaśvāmī's commentary
on *Bhāgavata*, XII. i. 35-36.

the four varṇas. Vācaspatimiśra, for instance, would not have taken pains to find a solution in his *Sūddhīcintāmaṇi* between the apparently conflicting views of Manu, Parāśara, Devala and Paiṭhīnasi regarding the period of mourning of the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, if he knew that those two varṇas did not exist in his time. Moreover, he drew a distinction between those Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas who observed the Vedic rites and those who did not, and also referred to Kṣatriyas of low origin.⁵ Even Raghunandana could not ignore the existence of Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas altogether. He had to interpret the law in cases of the killing of a cow owned by a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya, of the touching of a Brāhmaṇa woman in the period of menstruation by a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya woman in the same condition, and of the eating of filth by a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya, for which the penance is respectively a quarter and a half less than that of a Brāhmaṇa.⁶

Yet we should not dismiss the texts quoted by Bharatamallika and Kamalākarabhaṭṭa as meaningless statements, at least so far as Bengal is concerned. They may be of recent and humble origin, but they actually represent the current views of the custodians of the sacred law with regard to the point in question. Raghunandana was faced with the difficulty of expounding the laws based on the four-fold varṇa order to a society in which the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas had practically become non-existent. Hence his laboured attempt to justify a two-fold instead of the four-fold order of the authoritative law-books. While the Pāla, Varma and Sena kings of old prided themselves on their Kṣatriya descent,⁷ and were acknowledged as

5 “पराशरः—क्षत्रियस्तु दशाहेन स्वकर्मनिरतः शुचिः । तथैव द्वादशाहेन वैश्यः शुद्धि-
मवाप्नुयात् । यावत् स्वकर्मपरम् । सामिपरमिति.....अग्निवेदादिरहितयोः क्षत्रियविशोः
पञ्चदशाहविंशाहाशौचे अतो न मनुक्तेन सह विरोधः ।.....पैठीनसिः षोडशाहं क्षत्रियस्येति
इदमपकृष्टतरक्षत्रियपरम् ।”—शुद्धिचिन्तामणिः ।

6 “क्षत्रादौ पादपादहानिः”—प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्वम् ।

7 The Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva speaks of the Pālas as belonging to the

such by contemporary Brāhmaṇa writers and receivers of gifts, the Hindu feudatories of Bengal in the sixteenth century called themselves Kāyasthas and not Kṣatriyas. And such had been the loss of Kṣatriya tradition by that time that the author of *Ain-i-Akbari* was informed that Bengal had been under Kāyastha rule for long centuries, and that even the Pālas and Senas were Kāyasthas. Buddhimanta Khān of Navadvip, Kedāra Rāya of Vikrampur, Pratāpāditya of Jessore, Rāmacandra of Chandradvip, Lakṣmaṇa-māṇikyā of Bhulua were all Kāyasthas in the sixteenth century and had ceased to be regarded as twice-born. From the *Caitanyacaritāmṛta* we know that the Kāyasthas and Vaidyas of the time did not object to being called Śūdras. Candraśekhara, a favourite disciple of Caitanya, was a Vaidya by caste (Ādililā, ch. XI), but a Śūdra by varṇa (ch. VII). The Kāyastha Rāmadāsa Viśvāsa, a high officer of the state and a learned scholar versed in all Śāstras, speaks of himself as a Śūdra whose duty was to serve Brāhmaṇas (Antyalilā, ch. XIII). As has been stated previously, Bharatamallika in the seventeenth century was a Vaidya by caste but observed the rites and duties of the Śūdra varṇa. Raghunandana states (*vide* footnote 3) that like the Vaiśyas the Ambaṣṭhas and others have been degraded to the rank of Śūdras on account of their non-observance of sacred rites (*Śuddhitattva*), and that the Śūdras should assume the surnames of Vasu, Ghoṣa, etc. (*Udvāhatattva*, Kuladharmānusmṛtiḥ), which are known to be the surnames of high-class Kāyasthas, thus definitely laying down that the Vaidyas and Kāyasthas of Bengal are Śūdras in rank.^{7a} Yet for this state of things Raghunandana himself is not much responsible. The causes of the degradation of the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya varṇas had their roots deep in the past.

solar family, *vaṁśe mihirasya*. The Varmanas and the Senas in their inscriptions claimed descent from the Yādava family and the lunar race respectively.

^{7a} Cf. *Brhaddharma Purāṇa*, Uttara, ch. XIV.

As in medieval Europe so in ancient India there had been jealousy between the spiritual and temporal lords, and the Brāhmaṇas had been seeking to widen the gulf between the two orders and to prove the inferiority of the Kṣatriyas.

The rise of Buddhism no doubt represented a religious movement against the growing Brāhmanical claims, and for a time held Brāhmanism at bay. But the popular character of the movement was lost when it gradually developed into a separate creed, engendering a spirit of combative counter-reformation among the supporters of the old order. While the Brāhmaṇas later on with a surprising spirit of adaptability and accommodation adopted good many points from Buddhism in matters of theology and philosophy and thereby cut the ground from under the feet of their opponents, they not only yielded but rather strengthened their position in the matter of caste rules, with the result that with the decline of Buddhism the pretensions and prerogatives of the priestly caste became more strongly established than before. Yet so long as the Kṣatriyas possessed temporal powers, the Brāhmaṇas could not suppress them appreciably by means of their writings. It was not till after the Muslim conquest of the country when the function of ruling had passed away from the hands of Hindu royal families that any question could arise about the extinction of the Kṣatriya race.

The case of the Vaiśyas was much worse. Even in the *Rgveda* the Vaiśyas, unlike the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas, were not a homogeneous unit. They comprised the whole body of common people, *viś*, and were divided into diverse classes with diverse functions and with diverse rules and regulations guiding them in their respective guilds and corporations. The artisan classes, such as Rathakāra (chariot-maker), Takṣan (carpenter), Kulāla (potter), Karmāra (blacksmith), Surāvat (vintner), Carmamṇa (leather-dresser), were respectable citizens of the state, and evidently belonged to the community

of *viś*. Some of the descendants of the great sage Bhṛgu were expert chariot-makers (X. 39. 14). The Śūdras were either the enemies of the Aryan folk, the resisting natives of the soil, or the slaves captured from them in war. In any case they were not admitted into the rites and ceremonies of the Aryan community.

During the later Vedic period when the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads* were composed we find that a considerable change had taken place with regard to the status of the Vaiśyas. As the ruling class became more numerous and, therefore, more self-constituted, and as with the rapid expansion of Aryan domain in the Gangetic plains the Vedic society advanced more from tribalism towards feudalism, the difference between the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas became much wider. Again, with the more abundant supply of Śūdra slaves who were employed in all toilsome work, in ploughing, in pasturing and in industrial arts, the Aryan masters came to have a growing contempt for manual labour, and those Aryans who worked as labourers went down in the estimation of the higher classes. The first notice of such a marked degradation is found in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (I. I. 3. 12) where a carpenter's touch is said to impart ceremonial impurity. The *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* (I. I. 4. 8) mentions the Rathakāras as a special caste separate from the Vaiśyas in general. Thus a division arose between those Vaiśyas whose professions were regarded as honourable and those whose occupations were looked down as being fit for Śūdra slaves. To make matters worse, at a time when the problem of black peril and the question of purity of Aryan blood arose, and a policy of racial segregation followed, the Vaiśyas, owing to their large number and diversity, to their lack of proper understanding, and, above all, to their close association with the Śūdras in various fields of work, could not but receive a large admixture of non-Aryan blood. The proud higher classes, Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya, therefore, began to adopt a more exclusive policy towards the proletarians of the community.

In the Dharmaśāstras we find the difference between the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras getting narrower day by day. Gautama (V. 41-42) prescribes the same form of greeting, viz., *ārogya*, or good health, for the Vaiśyas and Śūdras. The same kind of treatment was shown to a Vaiśya and a Śūdra guest by a Brāhmaṇa, viz., "they should be fed with his servants for mercy's sake" (Gaut. V. 45; Manu, III. 112). Yājñavalkya prescribes the same period of impurity on bereavement, viz., fifteen days, for a Vaiśya and a good Śūdra (III. 22). The occupations of the two varṇas were practically interchangeable. The general rule was that "in times of distress each varṇa may follow the occupations of that next below it in rank" (Viṣṇu, II. 15). So the Vaiśyas, who were rigidly shut out from the occupations of the higher varṇas, freely took to those of the Śūdras, while the latter in distress were permitted to follow the professions of the Vaiśya varṇa (Yājñavalkya, I. 120). Later on Śūdras could be found in the professions of cattle-breeding and agriculture not only in exceptional circumstances but at all times (Kautilya, I. 3). Handicrafts passed entirely into the hands of the Śūdra varṇa (Gaut. X; Viṣṇu, II).

Thus in Medieval India the artisan classes, such as carpenters, weavers, potters, smiths, etc., who had in the R̥gvedic society belonged to the Vaiśya varṇa were ranked as Śūdras. The recognised professions of a Vaiśya were four in number, viz., agriculture, trade, cattle-rearing and money-lending.⁸ Of these, too, agriculture and cattle-rearing were regarded as not quite honourable, and eventually, like industrial arts, fell to the share of the Śūdras. The principal reason is not only because of the manual labour involved in them, but also because it was not found possible to dislodge entirely the non-Aryan natives from those professions in countries where the Aryan penetration was more or less superficial.

Manu noticed this state of things and justified the aversion of the higher class Aryans towards agriculture by stating that it was not a noble profession as it involved the killing of insects and worms in the soil (X. 83-84).

After this, trade and money-lending remained the only honourable occupations for a Vaiśya. But such was the contempt with which even these were looked upon by the Brāhmaṇas that some of the law-givers would not allow a Brāhmaṇa to follow them even in times of distress (Āpastamba, I. 7. 20. 10; Baudhāyana, I. 5. 10 24).⁹ So it is not surprising to learn from Alberuni's accounts (Sachau, vol. I, p. 125) that in the eleventh century in some parts of India at least, the Vaiśyas, like the Sūdras, were forbidden to read the *Veda*. There was only one step more, *viz.*, the forbidding of the use of the sacred thread, and the Vaiśyas would become one with the Sūdras. This, however, did not happen in Northern and Western India, where the Vaiśya is still a *dvija* or twice-born. But the process was completed in Bengal.

Bengal has a peculiar history of her own. Up to the time of Gautama Buddha, Bengal had not come into the Brāhmaṇical order of society. It was during the time of the Mauryas and later that Bengal became subject to Buddhist and Jaina influences, and the culture of Āryāvarta was first spread there by Buddhist and Jaina missionaries. In course of time Brāhmaṇa priests followed in the wake of Kṣatriya adventurers and Vaiśya traders, but on account of the existence of strongly organised non-Aryan communities and of the presence in full vigour of the two heretical faiths, the Brāhmaṇical conquest of the country was rather superficial. During the Gupta period the contact between Bengal and Mid-India steadily

increased, and there were signs of the former being made an integral part of Āryāvarta in culture and law. The Asura (Alpine Aryan) culture of Bengal which had long resisted the Vedic Aryans seemed to be entirely dissolved, and the Asuras, the ancestors of the modern round-headed higher castes in the land, had, it appears from the inscriptions of the period, become full-fledged Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas of the Vedic stamp.

Then followed the rule of the Pālas, who, unlike the Guptas, were natives of Bengal proper, and came at the head of a popular movement. They ruled for four long centuries, during which they kept Buddhism in full vigour when it was dying out in the western provinces. It was under their auspices that a synthesis was effected between Mahāyāna Buddhism and the local Tāntric cults resulting in the growth of a peculiar religious system which distinguishes the Bengali religion even today from that of Upper India. It was just at this time that important changes were taking place in Mid-India. The Mimāṃsā teachings of Kumārila, aided by the philosophy of Śaṅkarācārya, were sweeping away Buddhism and re-establishing the *varṇāśrama* system on a firm basis. At the same time the Kṣatriya tradition, which had been very much weakened by the Hūṇa and other barbarian invasions, was revived by the rise of the Rājputs, whether of indigenous or foreign origin. The neo-Hindu movement received the greatest support from these Rājputs, not the least from the new converts. And the Rājputs were found ruling all over the country, except Eastern India. The strong arm of the Pāla kings kept off the Rājputs and their neo-Hinduism from Bengal with the result that the *varṇāśrama* system and the Kṣatriya tradition, which had not taken deep root in the land, did not receive the required stimulus for revival and growth. The Pāla period, therefore, saw the parting of ways between Bengal and the rest of India.

With the fall of the Pālas the door of Bengal was opened to influences from outside. The Senas with their orthodox views came

from the Deccan, and made the first serious attempt to regulate the loose social system of Bengal on the basis of a four-fold order. Before they could do much in that direction they were conquered by the Muslims. But the work was carried on and completed by the large number of immigrant Brāhmaṇas from the middle country (popularly known in Bengal as Kānyakūbja) who had fled before the oncoming Muslim invaders. It may be paradoxically said that Bengal was fully Brāhmanised only when the stronghold of Brāhmanism had been conquered by iconoclastic foreigners. The result was that orthodoxy in social practices became stronger in Bengal than in Upper India, and the Bengali language was made more Sanskritic than any other dialect of India.

Unfortunately, the work of reform, which, if carried out by kings, would have produced different results, received a twist from Brāhmaṇa legislators who could not sympathise with the spirit of the soil, and who could not shake off their caste prejudices. The fall of the Sena kings and the absence of a strong Kṣatriya tradition in Bengal gave them the opportunity to remove one important leg of the four-fold *varṇa* order. Neither Paraśurāma nor Mahāpadma Nanda could extirpate the Kṣatriya *varṇa*. It was reserved for the Muslim conquerors to do this work for the Brāhmaṇas, who could now say complacently that there were no longer any Kṣatriyas in the world. The peculiar land system in Bengal which had favoured the growth of a powerful Kāyastha caste, as evidenced from the inscriptions of the Gupta and Pāla periods, helped in the silent absorption of the Kṣatriyas into that landowning and ruling caste. Today the number of Bengali Kāyasthas, about 1,600,000, exceeds that of the whole of the rest of India.

When the Kṣatriyas passed out of existence the Vaiśyas, who had already come very close to the Sūdras in social status, had no chance of survival. In Bengal, especially, two facts told adversely against them as compared with their brethren in Mid-India. Firstly,

most of them were heretics in faith, being Buddhist or Jaina, which together with their connexions with the Pāla rulers drew upon them the displeasure of the Sena kings and their Brāhmaṇa supporters.¹⁰ Secondly, sea-voyage was freely indulged in by the traders of Bengal even when it was definitely prohibited in the Sāstras. Baudhāyana (I. I. 2) permitted it to all varṇas in Āryāvarta, though not in the Deccan. Manu (III. 158) condemned it in the case of Brāhmaṇas only. But later on after the advent of the Muslims it became forbidden for all.¹¹ Ibn Battuta (ch. IX) in 1342 found trading vessels plying between the ports of Saptagrāma and Suvarṇagrāma, and Southern India and Java. From the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (83. 2) written by Prapañca in Java in 1365 we learn that people came in large numbers from Gauḍa as well as other countries in ships with merchandise at that time. Bengali writers of the 15th and 16th centuries like Vijayagupta, Kavikaṅkaṇa Mukundarāma and Kṣemānanda did not regard as blameworthy the sea-voyages made by the merchants Candradhara, Dhanapati, Śrīmanta and others. It required, therefore, little effort on the part of the Brāhmaṇa legislators to reduce the Bengali Vaiśyas to the status of Śūdras.

Raghunandana, however powerful his pen and influence might be, could not, and did not, abolish the intermediate varṇas. He only put the coping stone to a structure which had its foundations laid in the distant past, which had been reared by circumstances in the Pāla and Sena periods, and which received completion from the swords of Muslim conquerors. This is the genesis of the dictum, so far as Bengal is concerned, that in the Kali age there are only two varṇas, Brāhmaṇa and Śūdra. Attempts were made to enforce this convenient dictum in the Deccan also. The revival of the

10 Vide MM. H. P. Sastri's Introduction to N. N. Vasu's *Buddhism and its Followers in Orissa*.

11 समुद्रयात्रास्वीकारः कमण्डलुविधारणम् । द्विजानामसवर्णानां कन्यासूयमस्तथा ॥... इमान् धर्मान् कलियुगे वर्ज्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥—*Brhannāradya Purāṇa*, XXII. 13-16.

Maratha military power, however, in the seventeenth century arrested the process of disappearance of the Kṣatriya varṇa there, and the stubborn resistance offered by the Prabhu-Kāyasthas in the eighteenth century foiled the Brāhmanical efforts, though backed up by the support of some of the Peshwas, to deprive them forcibly of the use of the sacred thread and to reduce them to the status of Sūdras. These and other circumstances, including the intervention of the Śaṅkarācāryas of Śṛṅgeri Maṭh, saved the Deccan from sharing the fate of Bengal.

Let us now see how the Vaiśyas of Bengal fared under the new order of things. Raghunandana assigns to the Kāyasthas and Ambaṣṭhas the status of good Sūdras, but besides mentioning that the Vaiśyas have ceased to exist, does not refer to any division among their descendants, nor states whether all of them are good Sūdras or not. Even when he alludes to the merchants of his time, as in the Vyavahāradarśana section of his *Vyavahāratattva*,¹² he is silent about any classification among the mercantile people, from whom members are to be selected for the king's court of justice. Probably in his opinion all the traders in various commodities, who were called Baṇiks, were degraded Vaiśyas who had sunk to the status of good Sūdras. Now who were the Baṇiks?¹³

In modern times it is said on the authority of a comparatively recent work, entitled *Parāśarapaddhati*, that there are five classes of Baṇiks, viz., dealers in scents, conch-shell ware, bell-metal ware, jewellerys, and gold.¹⁴ But in this list no distinction is made between traders and artisans or manufacturers. A better description is

12 “कुलशीलवयोवृत्तवित्तवद्विरमत्सुरैः ।

बणिग्भिः स्यात् कतिपयैः कुलभूतैरधिष्ठितम् ॥”

13 On philological grounds the writer prefers to associate the word *baṇik* with *paṇa*, and to use *b* instead of *v*.

14 “गान्धिकः शाङ्खकश्चैव कांस्यको मणिकारकः ।

सुवर्णजीविकश्चैव पद्मं ते बणिजः स्मृताः ॥”

obtained from the two Purāṇas, *Brahmavaivarta* and *Brhaddharma*, which give a good picture of the social divisions in Bengal in about the 15th and 16th centuries. They mention only two classes of Baṇiks, Gandhika and Suvarṇa (*Brh. Uttara*, XIII and XIV; *Br. v*, *Brahmakhaṇḍa*, X), while others like Karmakāra, Śaṅkhakāra, Svarṇakāra, Kumbhakāra are artisans and not Baṇiks. Of these Gandhika is ranked as a good Śūdra, and Suvarṇa as a degraded person like washerman, oilman, fisherman, goldsmith, etc.

What is then the cause of degradation of the Suvarṇa-baṇik to a status worse than that of ordinary Śūdras? The *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* attributes the degradation of the Suvarṇa-baṇik to his association with goldsmith and his theft of gold. Indeed, the goldsmiths from their profession were suspected of the offence of stealing gold,¹⁵ which was regarded as one of the five major sins, and were probably for that reason assigned a very low position in society.¹⁶ Is the present inferior social position of the Suvarṇa-baṇik due to the same cause? It seems not. Because the suspected theft of gold is involved in the work of the goldsmith, and not of the trader. Besides, gold was never a forbidden commodity to a good Vaiśya. In fact, Manu requires him to have a thorough knowledge regarding gems, pearls, gold and other metals (IX. 329). Even a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya who had to follow the occupation of a trader in times of distress could deal in gold, but

15 “सुवर्णकारस्तावत् सुवर्णचौर इति स्थितम्”—Bhavadēvabhaṭṭa's *Prāyaścittaparakaraṇa*.

16

“नटनर्तकतज्ञाणधर्मकारः सुवर्णकृत् ।

शौचिडकाः काण्डिकाः षण्डा अभोज्यान्नाः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ॥”—*Ibid*.

“रजवधर्मकारश्च नटो वरुड एव च ।

कैवर्तमेदभिलाश्च स्वर्णकारस्तु सौचिकः ॥

लक्षकस्त्रिलयन्त्री च सूतश्चकी तथा ध्वजी ।

नापितो लोहकारश्च एते वैषोडशान्यजाः ॥”

—Hemādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, *Prāyaścittakhaṇḍa*.

not in salt, sesamum; cloth, tin, lead, condiments, perfumes, fruits, medicinal herbs, etc. (Manu X. 85-89; Yaj. III 36-39; Āpast. I. 7. 20; Vas. II). Though the list of forbidden commodities varies in different books, gold is not mentioned in any of them, which negatives the proposition that dealing in gold is the cause of degradation of the Svarṇabanīk. On the contrary, the dealer in perfumes and herbs, i.e., the Gandhika-banīk, if at all, may be degraded because of his merchandise, and not the trader in gold.¹⁷ But the reverse has been the case in Bengal. So some other cause of degradation must be sought for.

It sometimes happens that a section of some depressed caste by changing the caste profession and adopting one which is nobler in the estimation of the Brāhmaṇa legislators gains a higher status in society. The case of Sadgopas from Gopas and of Cāṣādhobās from Dhobās may be cited as examples. It might be supposed that trade being a nobler profession than industrial art, some of the Svarṇakāras sought to rise to a higher position by giving up the work of a goldsmith and becoming traders in gold. A suggestion like this is made in the *Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa* which derives the Svarṇakāra and Svarṇa-banīk from the same origin, viz., from a Vaiśya mother by an Ambaṣṭha father.¹⁸ But are there any grounds for supporting such a theory?

First of all, there is no tradition among either the Svarṇa-banīks or the Svarṇakāras about a common origin of the two. In fact, both the castes strongly disclaim any relationship with each other. Secondly, the Brāhmaṇas of Bengal, instead of assigning a higher social status to the Svarṇa-banīks, regard them as more

17 तिलान् गन्धान् रसांश्चैव विक्रीणीयान् चैव हि ।

बणिक्पथमुपासीनो वैश्यः सत्पथमाश्रितः ॥”

—*Mahābhārata*, Anuśāsana, ch. 141.

18 “वैश्यायां करणज्जातौ तच्चा रजक एव च ।

स्वर्णकारः स्वर्णबणिक् तस्यामम्बष्ठसम्भवौ ॥”—*Uttara*, XIII. 40.

degraded than the Svarṇakāras, a fact which is entirely antagonistic to the theory of the former splitting up from the goldsmith caste by adopting a nobler profession. Thirdly, the Suvarṇa-baṇik is a peculiar caste which is found only in Bengal, those of Bihar and Orissa being evidently emigrants from Bengal. The peculiarity is that while in other commodities, like iron, bell-metal, precious stones, conch-shell, the worker is also the vendor, it is only in gold that we find the trader different from the worker. A similar functional caste trading in gold, but not manufacturing gold articles, has not originated anywhere outside Bengal.

Fourthly, we know that the buying and selling of gold and gold articles was not the monopoly of any particular caste in Mediaeval Bengal. Gold was one of the commodities included in the merchandise of Śrīmanta, who is described as a Gandha-baṇik in the *Kavikāṅkana Caṇḍī* and who does not lower himself in any way by such a business.¹⁹ Similarly, the merchant Candradhara, who is served by good Brāhmaṇas; is found trading in gold articles and other commodities in Vijayagupta's *Manasāmaṅgala*.²⁰ How can we then believe that a particular class of merchants held a monopoly of the trade in gold? Dhanapati, Śrīmanta, Cāṇḍi, etc. of the Caṇḍī, and Manasā stories were general exporters and importers who did not make any distinction between this and that commodity. They belonged to the order of Baṇiks in Mediaeval Bengal. Similarly, Uddhāraṇa Datta, a historical person of the sixteenth century and a leading merchant of Saptagrāma, is called simply a Baṇik, but not a trader in gold, in the contemporary work of Vṛndāvana-dāsa, *Caitanyabhāgavata* (Antya, ch. V).

Fifthly, there is a tradition among the modern Suvarṇa-baṇiks that their forefather Kuśalacandra Ādhya had three sons, Sanaka,

19 “সরিষার বদলে পাঁচা দিবে, রাক্ততার বদলে সোণা।” (পৃ: ২৪৬, বঙ্গবাসী,—ভূ: ৯৭)

20 “বাউস বদলে স্বর্ণকলস” “বারকোষ বদলে পিতলখালা, হরিদ্রা বদলে মুক্তা।”

Sanātana and Sanatkumāra, who became respectively the founders of the castes of Suvarṇa-baṇik, Maṇi-baṇik and Gandha-baṇik. Even if little value be attached to such tradition, the connexion between the Suvarṇa-baṇik and the Gandha-baṇik appears to be much closer from all points than between the former and the Svarṇakāra. Both these Baṇik castes have got surnames like Datta, Dāsa, De, Dhara, Candra, Lāhā, etc., and *gotras* like Kāśyapa, Bharadvāja, Ālamyāna, Sāvārṇa, Śāṇḍilya, etc. All these considerations suggest that the word Suvarṇa in the name of the caste might not in the origin have anything to do with gold.

A clue is found in Ānandabhaṭṭa's *Vallālacarita*, composed in the year 1510 A.D. Like the *Bṛhaddharma* and *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇas*, the *Valāllacarita* also mentions only two classes of merchants of Vaiśya origin, Baṇiks or Nigamas and Gandhikas,²¹ from which it is inferred that the first were merchants in general, and that the second were a special section of them dealing in scented articles. Nowhere in the book is there any mention of a class of merchants dealing in gold only. The word Suvarṇa as denoting a special section of merchants is used only in four passages in the whole book. In chapter XVIII it is stated that the Vaiśyas have got the following subdivisions—Īpakeśa, Prāgvāṭa, Rohita, Māhiṣmatya, Vaiśālya, Kauśāmbya, Vāraṇāvata, Āyodhyika, Gurjara, Ujānika, Suvarṇa, Jejātutiya. As all the other names are territorial, it is very likely that Suvarṇa also denotes territory here, and not any special trade. In other words, Suvarṇa-baṇik means the trader of the land of Suvarṇa.

Now where is Suvarṇa? Probably, it is the old, famous port of Suvarṇagrāma at the junction of the big rivers Brahmaputra and Meghnā, and not far from the site of Vikramapura, the capital of the Sena kings. According to tradition current among the modern

Suvarṇabanīks, their forefather Sanaka was settled at Suvarṇagrāma. Saṅkakotā, the stronghold of the Banīk community as mentioned in the *Vallālacarita*, was very likely situated in the district of Suvarṇagrāma.²² A place of some importance at the time was Ujāni on the river Ajaya in the modern district of Birbhum, whose merchants were called Ujānikas. Partly on account of the tyranny of Vallālasena, partly because of the growing importance of Saptagrāma as a place of trade, but mainly on account of the sack of Suvarṇagrāma first by the Muslim conquerors and then by the Magh pirates that the majority of the merchants of the place scattered towards the west and southwest.

The three other passages where the name Suvarṇa occurs in the *Vallālacarita* are in chapter II where the Suvarṇas are described as being haughty on account of their wealth, in chapter XXIII where they are said to be too proud of their social rank, and attached to the cause of the Pāla rulers, for which they were sought to be degraded to the rank of Śūdras by King Vallālasena, and in chapter XXVII where their final degradation is said to follow the disuse of the sacred thread. In all these four passages Suvarṇa had nothing to do with gold, but seemed to denote a territorial name.²³ In later times when the memory of their connexion with Suvarṇagrāma was lost, Suvarṇa before the word Banīk came to be associated with gold. Such was the later-day mentality for connecting the Suvarṇa-banīks with gold that the expression Kanakakṣetrin, which was said to be a surname of Sanaka, and which evidently denotes an inhabitant of Kanakakṣetra, was made to yield the meaning of dealer in gold.²⁴ Probably some

22 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* states that Lakhmanīa proceeded towards Sankant after his flight from Nudīah.

23 Suvarṇa is the name of a subdivision of Varendra Brāhmaṇas, and also of a section of Māhiśyas.

24 “कनकस्य क्षेत्रं विद्यते यस्य सः तथा । यथा कृषकस्य क्षेत्रकर्मणादिना क्षेत्री संज्ञा तथा हिरण्यरूपक्षेत्रव्यवहारेण कनकक्षेत्रीति संज्ञा ।”

such fate befell the merchants of the still more ancient Tāmralipti when the place-name was corrupted, and they gradually became identified with Tāmli or Tāmbuli, i.e. dealer in betel-leaf.

If then the Suvarṇas had been Vaiśya merchants in the time of the Sena kings, what has led to their degradation to a status below that of the Gandhikas and even the workmen and dealers in iron, bell-metal and conch-shell wares, who are regarded as good Sūdras? The *Vallālacarita* attributes this to two causes, which may or may not be accepted, but than which no better ones have yet been stated or suggested by anybody. Dr. Wise's theory, referred to by Risely in his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, that the Suvarṇa-baṇiks are Hindusthani Bāniās who lost rank by residing in Bengal, is a mere conjecture with no grounds for support.

The first cause seems to be that the Suvarṇas being the proudest of the mercantile community in Bengal offered greater resistance to the Brāhmanical attempts in the post-Pāla period to enforce the dictum of two varṇas in the Kali age with the result that when the Brāhmaṇas had succeeded in their object the Suvarṇas were punished for their contumacy by degradation to a lower rank than others. But even then they on account of their previous position in society continued to secure the services of good Brāhmaṇas from the Rāḍha, Vārendra and Vaidic communities, though their priests, too, were punished with degradation for that.

The second and the more important cause is Vallāla's tyrannical policy. So strong is the tradition regarding it among the modern Suvarṇa-baṇiks that it is difficult to dismiss it wholly as an invention of later times. Moreover, there is nothing improbable in the story of the Suvarṇas' attachment to the old Pāla rulers, of Vallāla's failure in obtaining the required financial help from them, of the combination, though from different motives, of the kingly and priestly powers against the rich and proud Suvarṇas, the leaders of the Vaiśya community of Bengal, and of the forcible deprivation of the

the sacred thread, the memory of which is still preserved by the use of golden chain round the neck by many members of the community. In point of wealth and influence the powerfully organised Suvarṇas in the twelfth century resembled to some extent the Mārwārī community of modern Bengal.

A parallel history is furnished by the more recent happenings in the Mahratta country with regard to the Prabhu-Kāyasthas in the time of Peshwa Narayan Rao. Brāhmaṇas were forbidden to officiate as priests for them, and they were ordered not to perform the rites of the twice-born. They were to call themselves Parbhus instead of Prabhus, and to say *Dandavat* instead of *Pranāma* as a mark of degradation. Fortunately for the Prabhus, Narayana Rao met with a premature end, which was followed by troublous times when concessions had to be made to them. Besides, they were too much established in power in the country to be easily overcome, and they received in addition the valuable support of the Śaṅkarācārya of Śrīgerī Maṭh. In the case of the Suvarṇas, however, the interdicting policy of the Sena kings was probably aided by the Buddhist faith of the Banīks and their practice of sea-voyage at a time when the caste rules were being made more rigid after the downfall of the Pāla rulers. What was begun by the Senas was completed when the Brāhmaṇas obtained the sole custodianship of the Hindu society in Bengal on the disappearance of the last Hindu king. Matters were not improved by the wholesale conversion of the Suvarṇa-banīk caste into the unorthodox faith of Caitanya in the 16th century.

The mention of the *Vallālarita* as a source-book of information concerning the social conditions in Mediaeval Bengal brings in the question as to whether the book is a modern forgery. There is ample evidence to prove that the main part of the book is based on contemporary accounts. Firstly, the mode of presentation in detached forms and quotations from writers of the time like Bhaṭṭa Simhagiri,

Sāraṇa Datta, Kālidāsa Nandi, instead of a systematic, running account by the composer Ānandabhaṭṭa, speaks more for its reliability than otherwise. The faithfulness of the quotations is vouched for by the recording of even unpalatable statements not approved of by Ānandabhaṭṭa, e.g., the story of the extirpation of the Brāhmaṇa varṇa by Subhauma,²⁵ which has no connexion with the story of the degradation of the Baṇiks.

Secondly, in this book several facts are recorded which were not known to the Kulajī writers of even four hundred years ago, but which have been brought to light only recently by modern researches. The Sena kings are described as Brahmakṣatriyas and Kaṇṭha Kṣatriyas, descended from Virasena of the lunar race, exactly as in the Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena which was discovered in 1865. This genealogy, the connexion of Vallālasena with Bhaṭṭa Siṃhagiri, the contemporaneousness of Vijayasena and Coḍagaṅga of Orissa, the account of the Pradyumneśvara temple, etc., could hardly have been known to a forger even in the middle of the 19th century, while a manuscript of the book has been found to be authentically dated over two hundred years ago.

Thirdly, the allusion in the above-mentioned inscription of Vijayasena to "the son of Parāśara (Vyāsa) as having caused to flow the honey-stream of beautiful stanzas, in memory of the achievements of Virasena and other princes," must refer to the *Vyāsa Purāṇa* incorporated in the *Vallālacarita*, as that book made an addition of the story of Virasena to the account reproduced almost verbatim from the *Harivaṃśa*, chapter XXXI.

How the true history of Vallālasena beyond what is recorded by contemporary writers was lost in oblivion even in the time of

25 "यद्याहतं भट्टपादैरुक्तं यच्चान्यमूरिभिः । तत्तत्राजचरित्वेऽस्मिन् बाह्याले प्रकटीकृतम् ॥
निर्वाह्यरोयं पृथिवी सुभौमेन ऋतेति यत् । उक्तं तत्तु राजभयादिति मन्यामहे वयम् ॥
तत्तु क्रीडार्थमथवा भट्टपादैरुदाहृतम् । मध्ये व्यासपुराणस्य भवेद्वा तन्निरर्थकम् ॥"

Ānandabhaṭṭa (1510 A.D.) is shown by his relation in the *Khila Vallālacarita* of the story of Vallāla's death after his victory in a battle with the Muslim raider Bāyādumba. The story of Ādiśūra and the accounts of the present subdivisions of the Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas are found not in the main book but in the introductory part, called Pūrvakhaṇḍa, written by Ānandabhaṭṭa himself from his personal knowledge and not from any old authority. In much later times the celebrity of Ānandabhaṭṭa's book attracted imitators and forgers. Gopālabhaṭṭa's *Vallālacarita*, for instance, was written in the interests of the Yogi caste. But the ignorance of the writer has led him to make such absurd statements that the spuriousness of the work is betrayed at a glance.

N. K. DUTT

The Early Career of Quli Qutb Shāh of Golconda

Quli Qutb, son of Amir Zādā Awish Quli and grandson of Amir Zādā Pir Quli Beg, was fourteenth in succession from Qārā Khān, a descendant of Yafis or Japhet, son of Nuh.

Firishṭa states that the family of Quli Qutb was an off-shoot of the Turkan Bāhārī, a branch of the Mir Ali Shakkār tribe. Other historians mention that Quli Qutb had a direct descent from Mirza Jahān Shāh Maqtul, the brother of Sikandar II. The chroniclers are of opinion that he was born at Sa'adabad, a village in Hamadan. His great-grand-mother Khātun Khādīja was the daughter of Prince Yūsuf, and his mother Mariyam Khātun, a Persian lady of rank, was the daughter of Malik Saleh, a noble of Hamadan. Malik Saleh gave his grandson the patronymic of Quli Qutb and brought him up.

Amir Hasan Beg, the ruler of Bakr and a Aq Nilo (the name of a tribe) by descent, extended by means of conquest his hold over the Qara Qu Nilo (another section of the Turks) and at the recommendation of the nobles of Hamadan took into his favour Pir Quli (the grand father of Quli Qutb), who was then down on his luck. On the demise of Amir Hasan, his son Khalil Sultān treated him well.

During the reign of Yākub, son of Khalil. Quli Qutb having reached his majority aspired for power. The astrologers had predicted a bright future for him. For all this, Yakub wanted to destroy him. Consequently, in order to save him from injury, his father Awish Quli sent him out to India in company of his (Awish's) brother. When setting out, the party took with them the choicest presents, such as horses which the Indian rulers liked most. Reaching Yezd, the immigrants visited the noble saint Shāh Nūriddin Niāmatullah II, who by reason of his marriage in the family of Quli Qutub, was regarded as a person to be solicited for blessings and material help. The saint welcomed the party, and

then giving Quli Qutub his own blessings and the news of his future greatness and sovereignty over Hindustan bade them farewell. Then, Quli Qutb and his party spread sail and, in course of time, reached Muhammadabad, Bidar.

The annalists are at least unanimous on the point that his attainment of the high position and the acquisition of the title of Qutb-ul-Mulk and the jagir of Golconda and its surroundings happened during the sovereignty of Sultān Mahmud Bāhmaṇī. Afterwards, he rose to the position of Sipāh Sālār and was addressed in the royal firmans as Shaheb-us-Saif-ul-Qalam or the master of the sword and the pen. During the period of disorder and confusion that broke out in the empire Quli Qutb was made the *Mutassaddi* or the imperial record keeper of Tilāṅgānā when he was given the appellation of Qutb Shāh.

With the downfall of the Bāhmaṇī empire, Qutb-ul-Mulk raised the insignia of royalty and made Golconda his capital. Golconda was at first known as Maṅḡal, and its Raja was called Deo Rāya. The eastern portion of Golconda which extended to the sea was full of dense forests and precipitous hills with forts at their summit. All the rivers of Subah Deccan meet and enter the ocean across Golconda. Thus, the Godāvāri and the other streams of Bālāghāt meet together at Golconda and pass *via* Rājbandari to the sea. Again, the Bhonra, the Kṛṣṇā, and the Tuṅgabhadrā meander through Bijāpur, Masulipatam towards the sea.

Quli Qutb gained admittance into the group of Sultān's Turki slaves. Gradually, on account of his skill and experience in financial matters, Qutb obtained the office of *Mashrafi* in the imperial harem, and the ladies set their affections on him for his integrity and good conduct. In those days the expenses of the royal zenana was met out of the revenues from Tilāṅgānā. It was a country which was full of brigands and thieves, its people were supercilious and rebellious, and reluctant in paying revenue. At last, Quli Qutb made a

representation to the Bāhmaṇī ruler saying that he could, without the assistance of any force, control the malefactors of Tilaṅgānā. His representation was accepted and he was appointed for the purpose. With some of his attendants, Qulī Qutb set out to Tilaṅgānā and by means of dexterity and resourcefulness, he won over the magnates of the locality and finally succeeded in quelling the disturbance and thereby gaining a reputation for ability and talent.

It is related that, both Qulī Qutb and his uncle presented Sulṭān Muhammad with the royal presents that they had brought from Iran and entered into the state service. The uncle and the nephew were appointed in positions of honour and trust, and both of them successfully carried out their commissions. Some years later, the uncle received, with great difficulty, the Bāhmaṇī Sulṭāns' permission for returning to his native country but no such concession was given to the nephew. His royal personality and his affinity to the ruling house at Iran, in addition to the good services that he had rendered and the sterling character that he possessed, made him indispensable in the Bāhmaṇī court. In other words, he was a man after the Sulṭān's heart.

Once, Sulṭān Muhammad Bāhmaṇī attended by his retinue went on a hunting expedition. Qutb's experience and skilfulness in chasing games attracted the attention of Sulṭān Muhammad, who made him a present of 150 horses of Persian, Arab and Turki breed all covered with gold saddles, and other valuable paraphernalias, besides precious robes of honour. Further, the country called Kārnakal and its vicinity was conferred upon him for meeting his private expenses.

On another occasion, Sulṭān Muhammad repaired to his pleasure garden and engaged himself in enjoyment and pleasantry. The evening had drawn near, and the Sulṭān's cortège had nearly left him, when a party of well-armed Abyssinian and Deccani Amirs attacked the Sulṭān. With only five stout warriors Qutb ran for the Sulṭān's defence and destroyed the assailants. Firishta has related the

incident in a different way and makes no mention of the part played by Quli in defence of the Bāhamānī Sultān.

In 899 H. (1493-94 A.D.) Sultān Mahmud Gujarati lodged a complaint to Sultān Mahmud Bāhmaṇī against the high-handedness of Bāhādur Gilāni, a certain noble of the Bāhamānī court. It was alleged that, the said noble had not only conquered the coastal cities and the ports but had also made off with some twenty-two Gujarati ships laden with merchandise. Sultān Mahmud Bāhmaṇī ordered Bāhādur to restore the Gujarati vessels, but as the latter disobeyed him, the Sultān personally set out against the refractory noble and ordered Qutb-ul-Mulk Deccani to march from Tilaṅgānā against Bāhādur. In the action that followed, Qutb-ul-Mulk received a mortal wound and on his death, Sultān Mahmud Bāhmaṇī conferred the title of Qutb-ul-Mulk to Quli Qutb and granted the two *mouzas* Kotgir and Durgi in jagir.

In 901 H. (1495-1496 A.D.) Qutb-ul-Mulk Quli Qutb was appointed as the Tarafdār of Tilaṅgānā. The conquest of Mirch was effected by Quli Qutb and this success brought him further progress and prosperity. Puta Nāik, the Hindu chief of Mirch, possessed one lac and fifty thousand foot soldiers. When the Muslims laid siege to Mirch daily skirmishes took place causing heavy casualty on both sides. At last, Deo Naik, the brave son of Puta Nāik, met Qutb-ul-Mulk with a big force, but he was put to death by the Muslim general. Subsequently, Puta Nāik sought for peace. In return for the victory that he had effected, the Bāhmaṇī Sultān gave valuable presents to Qutb-ul-Mulk and placed all the conquered territories of the non-Muslims under his care.

The hostility of the nobles created a disorder in the Bāhmaṇī empire. 'Adil Khān, the *Māmlādar* of Raichur and Belgaum, wrote a note to the Bāhmaṇī ruler about the revolt caused by Malik Dinār Habshi in conjunction with Malik Khuskadam Turk and Aziz-ul-Mulk. Upon this, the Sultān led an army, the right

wing of which was under the command of 'Ādil Khān and Fakhr-ul-Mulk, and its left wing under Barid-i-Mamālik Malik Qāsim Turk, Qadam Khān and Jahangir Khān, while the centre composed of Turks, Khorasanis, Afghans and Indians was commanded by the Sultān himself. When the two forces met face to face, Fakhr-ul-Mulk and Malik Barid dispersed the opponents. At this stage, the enemies made a vehement attack against the centre of the imperialists, and thereby caused a stampede in the rank and file. In this contingency, Qutb-ul-Mulk with his reserve force came to the help of the disjointed royal army, drove back the assailants and imprisoned Malik Dinār. At last, owing to the intercession of Majlis-i-Rafi 'Ādil Khān and other amirs, the Sultān let bygones be bygones and restored the booty to Malik Dinār.

After the battle Qutb was made the Amir-ul-Umara of Tilai-gānā and was given Kotgir and other places of Tilai-gānā in jagir.

When Qutb-ul-Mulk and the other Amirs had left the court and proceeded to their jagirs, Malik Qāsim Barid showed himself in his true colours. Having conspired with some of the nobles of the court, he secured the administration of the Bāhmani capital and made the Sultān his stipendiary. Those nobles who set their faces against him, he wanted to make a clean sweep of. On receipt of this information, Majlis-i-Rafi, 'Ādil Khān, Dastur-ul-Mamālik Malik Dinār, Malik Qutb-ul-Mulk and others united their efforts and raised an army against Malik Barid. The confederates, next, bend their steps towards the capital. Upon this, Barid reported to the Sultān about the hostile designs of the nobles against him and sought his protection. Being thus duped, the poor Sultān sent a number of Sayyids and Ulemas to Qutb-ul-Mulk, protested against his inimical and disorderly conduct, and insisted on the immediate demobilisation of the army. It was at length agreed upon that, the Amirs would recall their armies if Barid would wash his hands of the administration and proceed to his jagir at Ausa and Kandhār.

Thus, when the trouble was averted, the Bāhmaṇi Sulṭān presented Qutb-ul-Mulk with 8,000 horse and rewarded the other nobles with similar presents.

In 908 H. (1502-1503 A.D.) the nobles of the Bāhmaṇi empire encamped themselves at Irki against the non-muslims of Vijayanagara. Malik Qutb-ul-Mulk sent 3,000 horse, 10,000 foot and 30 elephants to the Sulṭān. The other Amirs, such as Majlis-i-Rafi 'Ādil Khān, Fatehullah 'Imād-ul-lah, Dastur-ul-Mamālik, Malik Dinār, Sulṭān Ahmad and Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahir sent their forces as well.

In consultation with Qutb-ul-Mulk, the Sulṭān sent out Ain-ul-Mulk with a big force: the latter marched *via* Gulbarga to Vijayanagara. The Sulṭān personally set out with another army and laid siege to Raichur. At last, the garrison made their submission and offered a present of gold and jewelleries to the Sulṭān. When the expedition terminated, the Sulṭān bestowed Raichur and Mudgal and their vicinities upon Majlis-i-Rafi 'Ādil Khān, and compensated the other nobles of his court.

Meanwhile, Masnad-i-'Ali Malik Qāsim Barid would not let the grass grow under his feet. On the 9th Zilhijjah of 909 H. (Friday, 24th May, 1504 A.D.) he secured the co-operation of the other nobles of the court, and at the nick of time, besieged the royal palace at Bidar. The garrison however, offered him a prolonged resistance, whereupon, the evil-minded Barid bought off the commandant and thus gained an access into the citadel. Having made away with Khān-i-Jahān, a well-wisher of the Sulṭān, he seized the reins of government and dispossessed the sovereign of all power.

On hearing this, Majlis-i-Rafi 'Ādil Khān sent letters to the important nobles inviting their assistance in the matter of liberating the king from the dictatorial power of Barid. Thus, letters and embassies were despatched to Sulṭān Ahmad Bahri, Fatehullah 'Imād-ul-Mulk, Dastur-ul-Mamalik, Malik Qutb-ul-Mulk, and a big force was collected in no time. When the allied army reached Bidar,

Barid took the Sultān with him and offered resistance to the confederacy. In the battle that soon commenced, Barid obtained initial successes, but when Haidar Khān, his *Sar-i-naubat* fell against the onslaught of Malik Qutb-ul-Mulk, Barid flew off to Ausa and Kandhār. Then, the Amirs, who had formed a confederacy, paid their respects to the Sultān and stated, as an explanation of their hostile conduct that, it was simply to free the Sultān from the tutelage of Barid that they had taken up arms against him. The Sultān ultimately gave remunerations to these Amirs.

In 910 H. (1504-1505 A.D.) Sultān Mahmud Bāhmaṇī took exception to the conduct of 'Ādil Khān of Bijāpur who adopted the Shīa faith. For the purpose of punishing 'Ādil, the Sultān sought military aid from Qutb-ul-Mulk and Malik Fatehullah 'Imād-ul-Mulk. Imād-ul-Mulk, who had qualms for 'Ādil delayed sending the required help, whereas, Qutb-ul-Mulk proceeded with his army in Sultān's help. The imperial force next marched against Bijāpur. Ultimately it so happened that, on account of the intervention made by Qutb-ul-Mulk, the Sultān exonerated Ādil Khān of his crime and made him return to the capital, Muhammadabad, Bidar.

Regarding the incident about the punishment inflicted on 'Ādil Khān by Sultān Mahmud, Firishta gives the following account. He writes, that in 910 H. (1504-1505 A.D.) Amir Barid, the son of Qāsim Barid stepped into the office once held by his deceased father. Not unlike the father, the son deprived the Sultān of all executive authority. Meanwhile, Majlis-i-'Alī 'Ādil Khān introduced the Shīa doctrine in his court for which the Deccanis, who were mostly Sunnis, were up in arms against him. Sultān Mahmud Bāhmaṇī corresponded with Qutb-ul-Mulk Hamadani, Fateh-ullāh 'Imādul Mulk and Khudāwand Khān calling for their assistance against 'Ādil Khān who had turned a Shīa. Consequently, Qutb-ul-Mulk, with the Amirs of Tilang in his train, made rapid strides towards the Bāhmaṇī capital. But 'Imād-ul-Mulk and Khudawand Khān,

at first, made excuses and delayed sending any help. Sultān Mahmud and Amir Barid, next, sent a messenger to Malik Ahmad Bahri asking him to do them a good turn. Thus, Malik Ahmad and Khwāja Jehan Deccani pushed their way to Bidar for effecting a co-operation with the Bāhmaṇi king. Thinking that it would be unwise on his part to engage into hostilities with the confederates, 'Ādil Khān left Sagar and Hasanabad in charge of Fakhr-ul-Mulk Turk, and having placed his infant son Ismā'il under the protection of Kamal Khān, the *Sar-i-naubat* in the south and other Amirs and committed to them the task of defending Bijāpur, he proceeded to Berar. Sultān Mahmud, Amir Barid, and Qutb-ul-Mulk removed the Bijāpur chief.

Under instruction from 'Imād-ul-Mulk, 'Ādil Khān moved on to Burhanpur. Later, 'Imad-ul-Mulk sent an errand to Malik Ahmad and Qutb-ul-Mulk representing that the sharp-witted Amir Barid had set his heart upon winning over 'Ādil Khan and laying waste to Bijāpur and its surroundings, that, it would be a serious catastrophe if Barid was allowed to have a hold upon the Bāhmaṇi Sultān, and that, it would be proper if Malik Ahmad and Qutb-ul-Mulk took the helm at the Bāhmaṇi capital. Being thus trumped up, Ahmad and Qutb turned back to their posts without any permit from the Bāhmaṇi Sultān. 'Imād-ul-Mulk, in the sequel, wrote to the Sultān stating that he should, without any tardiness, pitch upon the capital and abandon all pique with 'Ādil Khān. But the Sultān did not fall in with 'Imād and sent out an army to Bijāpur for conquering Ismā'il 'Ādil Khān. When 'Ādil was informed of the return of Malik Ahmed and Qutb-ul-Mulk to their head-quarters, he left Burhanpur and with quick speed pushed on to Berar. Next, the two collaborators, 'Ādil Khān and 'Imād-ul-Mulk, attacked the Bāhmaṇi army, drove away Malik Barid towards Berar, and hurried off with the Sultān.

Hyder Ali's Relations with the Marathas, 1769-70

In the proceedings of the Select Committee of the 10th March, 1771, we read—"From the present conduct of the Marathas both in the north and in the south and from the genius, spirit and ambition of Madhav Rao, we are inclined to suspect that their designs are not confined to the mere collection of chauth but extend to the subjection of the whole Peninsula."¹ This statement may have some truth.

Krishna Rao Ballal informed Nāna Fandis that the 3rd expedition of the Peshwa against Hyder was undertaken to humble Hyder completely with the assistance of some of the Poligars in the south, the chief of Chitradurg and Murar Rao of Gooti.² The Peshwa himself wrote that he intended to bring together all the Poligars including the chiefs of Cuddapah and Kurnul, to defeat Hyder and to reconquer territory worth 2 to 3 crores of rupees, seized by Hyder by force and cunning.³

Hyder gave Madhav Rao grave offence. He attempted to stir up the Peshwa's domestic enemies against him. He maintained secret communications with Raghunath Rao and even after Janoji's complete reconciliation with the Peshwa in 1769, he tried to stir him up against the Peshwa.⁴ But these were small matters compared with the systematic encroachment of Hyder on the Maratha sphere of influence. Two years' tribute remained unpaid: Hyder felt strengthened by the defensive alliance he had concluded with the British. Mir Reza, his brother-in-law, had deserted to the Marathas three years before. He now returned to his former alle-

1 Select Committee Proceedings—10th March, 1771.

2 *Peshwa Daftar*, vol. 37, letter no. 194.

3 *Ibid.*, vol. 37, letter no. 198.

4 *Ibid.*, vol. 29, letter no. 236; vol. 38, letter nos. 151, 198.

giance. Mir and Hyder together attacked Mahimaji Sindhia, the foudjar of Balapur, who had a garrison of about 850 men. The strength of the Mysore army was about 10,000. Mahimaji retreated first to Kurpa, thence to Gooti but could not get help anywhere. He returned to Anantapur. In the meantime Talpul held by Rakhmaji Bhonsla was seized by Hyder treacherously. He called Rakhmaji for negotiations but seized him, beheading many of his men. Hyder next advanced to Anantapur. Mahimaji withdrew to Harihar. Gopal Rao Patwardhan protested against this aggression of Hyder and tried to dissuade him from doing mischief in the Taluk of Balapur. Hyder replied: "It was agreed between us that within 4 months Sera, Huscot and Balapur Taluk will be returned to me but even after the lapse of two years with a man of your worth as the go-between this has not been done. Please request the Peshwa to right this wrong. The Killadar of Balapur Mahimaji Sindhia was taking into his service some of our dissatisfied men and was fomenting trouble in our own territory. Hence I drove him out."⁵ Hyder went to the territory of Murar Rao of Gooti. Murar Rao thought it proper under the circumstances to placate Hyder by seeing him. Hyder gave him presents and induced him to make an agreement promising to pay 50,000 rupees every year.⁶ He took tribute by force from Chitradurg, Harpanhalli and other places and proceeded upto Harihar. Lakshman Hari, the Maratha Mamlatdar of Harihar thought it prudent to see Hyder and placate him. Hyder then advanced to Savanur and the Marathas heard that the ruler of Savanur paid 40,000 hons secretly to him and thus bought him off⁷

Madhav Rao proceeded systematically. There was nothing insufficient or haphazard about his arrangements. With an army numbering approximately 75,000 the Peshwa was in a position to spare a considerable number of troops to occupy the conquered terri-

⁵ *Peshwa Daftar*, vol. 37, letter no. 172.

⁶ *Aithibhasik Lekh Samgraha*, letter no. 827.

⁷ *Ibid.*, letters 833 & 834.

tory. Of the conquered forts those that were easily defensible were garrisoned by the Marathas. Unimportant forts were systematically dismantled so that Hyder might not seize and utilize them as points of vantage. Peixoto notes with some surprise that the Peshwa did not pillage or damage. Therefore many forts surrendered voluntarily.⁸

On the approach of the Peshwa, Hyder withdrew to Anawatty and the forest of Udagani with his infantry and guns. He kept about 25,000 troops with Mir Reza, Tipu Sultan and Venkat Rao Barqi and Mukhdum Ali, 20,000 were scattered in different forts and nearly 30/35,000 were always with him.⁹ The Peshwa kept a small force of about 10,000 to watch Hyder's movements. He himself encamped 20 kos in advance of Hyder towards Seringapatam. If Hyder came out of the forest, Gopal Rao from the side of Savanur and the Peshwa from the other side would attack simultaneously. If he did not come out the Peshwa intended to advance towards Seringapatam and conquer his forts on the way.¹⁰ Gopal Rao encamped near Savanur and the Peshwa towards Seringapatam. Hyder had become wiser after his two encounters with Madhava Rao. He did not intend to fight a pitched battle. He commissioned Tipu to collect all the straw and wood that he could, burn all that could not be removed, to fill up the wells and ponds and to give notice to the people to retire from the villages into the larger fortified places. Having executed as far as possible the orders of his father, Tipu fell back to Seringapatam.¹¹

In January 1770 the Peshwa captured Budhehal, Kandikire, Chiknaikhalli. The Peshwa's itinerary reports that by the 13th of February he reached Nagmangal via Turbikire, the ruler of Chitra-

8 Peixoto VI, 45.

9 *Authhisik Lekh Samgraha*, IV, intro.

10 *Peshwa Daftar*, vol. 37, letter no. 184.

11 Peixoto V, 163.

durga and Murar Rao of Gooti joining the Peshwa's army. The Peshwa pulled some forts to the ground and garrisoned some. Even then in some of the conquered forts he had to keep the men of Chitradurg and in some the old guard of Hyder with a small number of Maratha troops. Nagmangal was razed to the ground but Belur was garrisoned.¹² Hyder had fortified Bangalore and Seringapatam where he hoped to be able to hold out for 4/6 months until the advent of the rainy season. Without wasting his time in besieging Bangalore and Seringapatam, the Peshwa marched towards Chikbalapur and Kolar. After taking Deonhalli he demolished it as also Magdi. Then he proceeded to Chikbalpur which surrendered after four days' siege. Nandidurga had also to be besieged and when its foudar agreed to surrender the place, four hundred Maratha troops were placed there. Kolar was taken and razed to the ground. At Mulwagal 30/32 men who were taken prisoner were killed because they had looted the mela of Venkatgiri. About the 10th of April the Peshwa retraced his steps to Devraidurg without attempting to capture Bangalore or Seringapatam. In course of his return journey he stormed the hillfort of Nijgal, directing the attack himself. The fort held out for 8 days. The Peshwa's brother Narayan Rao received a bullet wound in the wrist.¹³ Peixoto who was in Hyder's camp, records....."we had frequent news of the Marattoes and there were some days in which they took 2/3 forts which might have held out for some months."¹⁴

Hyder was in the eastern part of his dominions at Udagani. Thence he went to Tarikire. Gopal Rao came from Savanur to Harihar, 30 kos from Tarikire. Hyder succeeded in sending detachments that surprised the Maratha garrison at Chiknaikhalli. There were 1100 men of whom only 125/150 were Maratha troops,

12 *Aitibhasik Lekh Samgraha*, 973.

13 *Peshwa Daftar*, vol. 37, letter no. 206.

14 Khare—*Aitibhasik Lekh Samgraha*, letter no. 930.

400 belonging to the Poligar of Chitradurg and the rest were Hyder's old garrison. Hyder had no difficulty in smuggling 300 of his own men. The Marathas were caught and their noses and ears were cut off. The Maratha garrison from Kandikire and neighbouring places took fright and fled away. The Peshwa on hearing this sent 3000 cavalry with Narsingh Rao Dhaigude, Shahji Bhonsle of Akalkote and Mahimaji Sindhia towards Chiknaikhalli and also sent an order to Gopal Rao that from Harihar he should go to Matode so that men would not take fright and fly away and he would also be in a position to watch Hyder. Mir Reza had been commissioned by Hyder to make a diversion against the Marathas and to prevent them getting their forage. He was a constant source of trouble to the Maratha garrisons and the Peshwa's attempt to catch him failed.¹⁵

Hyder had his difficulties. If he tried to recapture any place he might be taken in between Gopal Rao and the Peshwa, who would come by quick marches. If he sent small batches against Gopal Rao, the latter was in a position to overwhelm them. If he attacked, Gopal Rao would run away and would at a favourable opportunity attack him in turn.¹⁶ Hyder therefore decided to make a night attack. But Gopal Rao was very alert. He himself, Nilkantha Rao and Parashuram Bhow watched at night by turns. But Hyder was also a man of many ways. His excellent news service circulated the rumour that he would march towards Seringapatam and some of his belongings were sent daily to that place. One day leaving Tarbikire he fell back upon Sankarapattan and Gopal Rao was assured by this news. His nightwatch became rather slack. Hyder came to Kurnul with 12/13,000 gardis and 4000 cavalry and 25 guns. Peixoto says that Hyder's troops numbered

¹⁵ Khare, *op. cit.*, IV, introduction.

¹⁶ This account of the night attack is based on Khare, *Aitibhasik Lekh Samgraha*, letter no. 899.

2000 horse and 6000 foot. By rapid marches he approached the Maratha camp. An incident took place that was interesting. A Muhammedan gardi of Hyder came running to the Maratha camp to inform them that Hyder was coming to make a night attack. But the Maratha troopers would not believe him and they began to cut jokes with him. They spent several hours discussing this and at last somebody awakened Gopal Rao and informed him. Gopal Rao found himself in a fix. If the news became falsified he would become a laughing stock. But if he remained unprepared, he would be overwhelmed. The Moslem gardi assured Gopal Rao that he had been once in the service of Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao and the happy memories of that service had impelled him to come to give this information in all sincerity. He said "If this news happens to be false kill me but be on your guard." Before Gopal Rao could be fully ready Hyder's guns began to boom and his rockets came in showers. Below we give Peixoto's description of the night attack—"With about 2000 horse, 600 foot, 8 field pieces, 700 rocket boys, with flambaeus ready to be lighted, 16 pieces of hand-artillery, the attack was launched. As soon as those who were to begin the attack were perceived by the enemy, they beat to arms but did nothing but endeavour to retreat, leaving their camp and tent and many of their worst horses behind them and waited for daylight to see whether they could recover anything. When we had gained the entrance to the camp the 8 field pieces began to play as fast as possible and the rocket boys to throw their rockets, but the effect could not be seen for the great darkness and it was found that we had fired into the camp only. The two advanced battalions were in great confusion and would if they had been opposed by any enemy have been certainly surrounded and lost. Day came on and showed us the enemy's horse within pistol shot of our advanced battalions. Austin de Menezes made the enemy retreat. The Nawab gave orders for the whole of the artillery to fire with a high elevation.

The enemy then retired out of the reach of our shot but facing us. The enemy's camp was plundered. The Nabob finding that the enemy was watching for an opportunity to avenge themselves if any one should offer itself resolved to let his troops rest until 4 o'clock in the afternoon, ordering the whole to form a circle in the midst of which a small tent was pitched for himself and then we ate what we had without delay. The time came to retire. The Marathas followed us all the way but made no impression upon us in the several attacks which they made upon us. We took two colours from the Marathas, also took some horses alive with many tents and utensils. About 200 horses were killed, but few people. On our side the loss was only three men." The Maratha version of their total loss was 55 horses and 25 men. The wounded on the Maratha side did not number more than 150.¹⁷

The campaigning season was practically over. The Peshwa now withdrew. But he left Trimbak Rao Pethe in command of the Carnatic force with Gopal Rao Patwardhan and Murar Rao to help him. Trimbak Rao was not an unworthy successor as later events proved.

As we review the campaign of 1769-70 we find that the plan of Madhav Rao was to deceive Hyder by a show of taking forts but at an appropriate moment to make a quick march and crush him in collaboration with Gopal Rao. Hyder would in such a case have been taken tactfully in between the two armies. He was conscious of this. When the Peshwa fell back upon Nijgal and Devraidurg with Hyder stationed at Banawar, the Peshwa was in a position to realise his plan. Hyder perceiving this trend of the Peshwa's operations quietly retired to Seringapatam.

Though Madhava Rao failed to crush Hyder in an open fight, he succeeded in occupying so many of the important forts of Hyder

in the northern part of his dominions that Trimbak Rao Pethe who was left by the Peshwa in command during the rain was in a position to commence his next campaign with great advantage.

Throughout this campaign Hyder was on the defensive but he hoped to terrorize the garrisons placed in the newly captured Maratha forts by means of the swift operations of Mir Reza. He expected to carry on operations on the interior lines himself and crush at least Gopal Rao. He failed in his objective.

The campaigning season of 1770-71 opened definitely in favour of the Marathas. Unfortunately for the Marathas the Peshwa could not come on account of his ill health. He had begun his march from Poona but suddenly became so ill that he had to cancel his programme but sent 10,000 foudj and ten cannon under Krishna Rao Balwant and Malhar Jogjivan to join Trimbak Rao.¹⁸ Unfortunately for the Marathas Gopal Rao Patwardhan also died in the beginning of 1771.¹⁹ He was the mainstay of Maratha operations in the Carnatic for the space of a decade.

N. K. SINHA

Was Akbar Literate ?

The current belief regarding the literacy of Akbar is that he was 'utterly unlettered.' Many writers of modern times have taken Akbar as unlettered. (امی). Von Noer in his work *Kaisar Akbar*¹ definitely states that Akbar was absolutely illiterate. V. A. Smith has put down in his work *Akbar the Great Mogul* that "Akbar resisted all attempts to give him book-learning so successfully that to the end of his life he was unable even to read or sign his own name."² Again he says, "no tutor could make him pay attention to books, even so far as to learn the alphabet."³ The same view has been held by scholars like Beveridge⁴ and Muhammad Hosain Azad.⁵ These scholars came to that fascinating conclusion possibly from the current view of the texts of contemporary writers on Akbar. Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni has made some references to Akbar not being a learned man.⁶ His own official, Nizamuddin, in his *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* is reticent on the point. Jahangir himself (in his autobiography) has been taken to speak of the illiteracy of his father. He says, "My

¹ *Kaisar Akbar*, vol. II, pp. 56, 143.

² Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 21.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁴ *Akbarnama*, vol. I, p. 518, note 1. "It seems probable too that Akbar never knew how to read and write."

⁵ *Darbar-i-Akbari*, pp. 113, 114. This work has been taken by many as a piece of history. But from the literary point of view it is essentially an Urdu prose work. Though the subject-matter of the book is historical, it is not history in the true sense of the term; but it contains some very interesting facts which have been referred to in the work with its usual risks.

بآنکه امی بودند از کثرت مجالست بادانایان و از باب فضل در گفتگو ها چنان ظاهر می شد هیچ کس بودن آسان نمی بود - دقالتی نظم چنان می فهمیدند که ما فوق بران متصور نبود *

⁶ Badauni, *Muntakhabat Tawarikh*, vol. II, Bib. Indica.

father always associated with the learned men of every creed and religion especially with the *Pundits* and the learned of India, and in his conversation with them, no one knew him to be *ommi* (illiterate), and he was so acquainted with the niceties of verse and prose composition that this deficiency was not thought of. To add to the testimony of the Muhammadan historians, the Portuguese versions are quite clear on the point. Father Monserrat says, "He can neither read nor write, but he is very curious and has always men of letters about him." Father Xavier observes '.....he can neither read nor write.' These testimonies seem to fit in with the life-story of the Emperor:— His early life from his very birth in a desert when his father was fleeing for life to his accession at an early age of about 14 is a troublesome chapter of tribulations and vicissitudes leaving him hardly any continuous length of time to devote himself to his books in the way of an ordinary student. Specimen of Akbar's handwriting had not been found whereas almost all the Indian Mughal princes and princesses leave to their credit a large number of memoirs and autobiographies. Even in his later life when Akbar developed a passion for knowledge, books were read before him and he did not read them himself. To the historians, therefore, the conclusion seemed irresistible that Akbar was an "unlettered man," and they went even so far as to say that the emperor had not learnt even the alphabet.

Dr. N. N. Law was the first to write against the myth of Akbar's illiteracy in his famous work *Promotion of Learning in India during the Muhammadan Rule.*⁷ After him a few more articles came to support the literacy of Akbar but generally sufficient new materials were not put in support of their conclusions. So far as we have made our study of the subject, we have a definite con-

7 Pp. 139-143 and Addendum pp. 207-212, where the list of Akbar's tutors is given and the arguments in favour of the literacy of the emperor have been put very forcefully. For Beveridge's view, see *ibid.*, Foreword, pp. xix-xxi.

clusion. Firstly, family traditions and environments are in our favour. In the House of Timur, every member of the family was gifted with extraordinary literary taste. *Mulfuzat-i-Timuri* or Institutes of Timur is a monumental work from the hands of the slayer of 60,00,000. Omar Shaikh's literary taste is almost a proverb. *Babarnama* is a fine specimen of literary nicety; Babar's songs and compositions are still a joy to many. Babar could compose poems even on his wine cups as sweet as the liquid potion of the cup itself. *Humayunnama* is an excellent biography from the hands of a princess of the family, and there are few in the world like this piece of biography from the hands of a lady. Humayun's death from a fall from the steps of the library is a tragic reminder of his love of books even in the evening of his life. With such a cultural legacy and in the company of Humayun and Gulbadan Begum, it must have been a freak of nature if Akbar were born with a positive reluctance to learn the alphabets as V. A. Smith would have us believe.

Secondly, at the age of 4 years, 4 months and 4 days, he was taken to school and placed in the charge of Mullazada Mulla Ihsa-muddin Ibrahim "who was without equal in Arabic erudition."^{7a} On his dismissal, Maulana Bayazid was appointed. About him Abul Fazl says,⁸ "he performed his part well." This performance of his "part well" certainly means the performance of the part of a teacher in which he was employed. But still the progress was not as satisfactory as was expected and Abdul Qadir was appointed. Nizamuddin tells us in *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* that Maulana Abdul Qadir after continuing his task for some years retired to Mecca.⁹ Those teachers had certainly done their best, and positive statements are on record that the latter two gentlemen had done their duties. May be, Akbar was not a success from a school master's point of view; may be, he

^{7a} Badauni (Lowe), *op. cit.*, p. 190.

⁸ *Akbarnama* (Beveridge), vol. I, p. 316.

⁹ *Tabqat* (Nawal Kishore), p. 932.

was more given to games and exercises than to books; but to think that a man who "could remember everything in gross and details from the age of one" would not be able to remember even the alphabets seems to be a queer inconsistency. Lover of no restraint as he was, he was more given to pigeon-flying and athletic exercises but that three teachers for a period of eight years would not be able to make Akbar learn even the alphabets is something which passes comprehension.

When actually on the throne of Delhi, Bairam his regent selected Abdul Latif¹⁰ to be his private tutor who, in the words of Mulla Badauni, was the "paragon of greatness whose reputation had spread even beyond the limits of his own country." Badauni¹¹ has definitely said, "with him (Abdul Latif) he began reading Diwan of Mystic language" Even Abul Fazl tells us:—

از متن نظم مثنوی مرادی و دیوان لسان الغیب خود سعادت روان می شد
و از حقائق و لطائف آن — می یابند *

"Among books of the poetry he reads fluently the Maulavi's Masnavi and Diwan of the mystic tongue and takes delight in their beauties." This shows definitely that Abdul Latif had done something at least towards the education of his ward.

But how is it that Jahangir has styled Akbar as (امی) "ommi"?¹² The word signifies 'utterly illiterate'; in this sense it has been used while describing the Prophet. The Prophet had no learning except what he had received from his mother. By the 16th century, the word had undergone a change in meaning and was

10 We find that three more names were connected with Akbar's early education. (1) Pir Muhammad (Ferishta, *Hist. of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power*, vol. II, p. 193).

(2) Haji Muhammad Khan (*Ma'sir-ul-omara*, I, pp. 548-51).

(3) Maulana Alauddin—[*Tabqat-i-Akbari* (Nawal Kishore), I, p. 399].

11 Badauni, (Lowe), *op. cit.*, II, p. 24.

12 "Omni" may also mean "taciturn". See N. Law, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

used only in reference to a man who had no knowledge of Arabic. In those days, anybody who had no knowledge of Arabic was looked upon as 'ommi.' At that time when Arabic was the common language of learned men, Akbar would certainly appear very 'ordinary' in the presence of scholars like Shaikh Mubarak, Abul Fazl, Badauni, Faizi, Naqib Khan; it is only in this sense that we can accept the version of Jahangir's *Waqiyat-i-Jahangiri*.¹³

It is often argued that Abul Fazl who was all praise for his Master should have given his high compliments to his Master's learning if he were actually learned. Abul Fazl's silence, it is argued, is very significant. But perhaps it is more logical to think that Abul Fazl who desired to put his master in the rôle of the propounder of the Din-i-Ilahi in order to make him appear as much near to the Prophet of Islam as possible did not like to make a capital of his literacy. Abul Fazl hints at some such thing in a round about way in connection with the early education of his Master. "For him (Akbar) who is God's pupil, what occasion is there for teaching by creatures, or application to lessons? Accordingly Akbar's holy heart and his sacred soul never turned towards external teaching."¹⁴ Exactly for the very same reason Abul Fazl studiously represented Akbar as endowed with no secular knowledge except what he was born with. The ordinances, coming as they did from an unlettered Akbar, were expected to have as much value and force, as those of the unlettered Prophet himself. But in spite of this studied representation of Akbar by Abul Fazl, his writings unconsciously betray traces of Akbar's literacy; compare for example, in *Ain*, p. 103,¹⁵ "at whatever page the readers daily stop, his majesty marks with his own pen a sign according to the number of pages"

¹³ Price's translation of *Waqiyat*, p. 44-45.

¹⁴ *Akbarnama* (Beveridge), vol. I, p. 589.

¹⁵ Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 103. See N. Law, *op. cit.*, pp. 209, 210.

و هر کتاب را از آغاز تا بانجام شنوند و هر روز که بدانجا رسند بشماره آن هندسه
بقلم گوهر بار خود نقش کنند و بعد از اوراق آن خواننده را نقل از سرخ و سیاه
بخشش شود *

The text explicitly mentions that Akbar used to put the "numerical figures."¹⁶

We have definite proof from Abul Fazl that Akbar took great interest in calligraphy and in his court were the great calligraphists like Abdulla, Abdul Haq, Idris Hosain Munshi. Then he says, "Akbar takes a great interest in different systems of writing." He paid much attention to the art of writing and is an excellent judge of calligraphy and painting.¹⁷ He often gave prizes according to the beauty of writing. Muhammad Hosain was given the title of Zarrin Qalam¹⁸ "golden pen." How was it possible to take interest in different forms of writings unless he knew how to write? How could he judge handwritings in different systems himself unless he knew how to write?

In *Risala-i-Shibli* we have been told that he knew figures and could check accounts.¹⁹

In Ain No. XI, Book II, it is expressly written that "other Sanads are first signed and sealed by the ministers of State and are afterwards laid before His Majesty for signature."²⁰ Certainly the signatures were of his own hand.

In the last paragraph of the same Ain, we read "Nor does His Majesty sign the Sarkhats, Arznamchahs" (سرخط عرض نامه) etc. This implies that he signed documents other than these.²¹ It is argued that if he knew how to read and write, why did he employ readers for himself and why were there no documents

16 Blochmann has omitted to translate the 'numerical figures'.

17 *Ain-i-Akbari*, Ain No. 34.

18 زرین قلم Golden pen.

19 نیرنگ خیال Nairang-i-khayal. 1929-30.

20 Blochman, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

21 Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 260.

in existence containing his signature. To have readers for themselves is not a new thing in the family of Timur. It was a fashion with many to have books read out to them in those days. In Persia, this custom was uniformly followed in the royal family. The historian Arab Shah tells us that Timur appointed readers to read books before him every evening; and we know definitely that Timur was a learned man and some works were ascribed to him. It is possible that Akbar's handwriting was not good; in his early days he had no time to continue calligraphy owing to other preoccupations. Even Abul Fazl would not write with his own hand. He had his Munshi to write for him. A story is told in *Daftar-i-Abul Fazl*²² that Abul Fazl always wrote letters through his Munshi. Actually however the autograph of Akbar has been found in an extremely valuable manuscript of *Zafarnama* of Sharfuddin Ali. This copy contains on the fly-leaf the autographs of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Jahangir's note on the above is interesting.

” الله اكبر “

این کتاب ظفر نامه بخط مولانا شیر علی و هشت مجلس تصریر کار از انامل استاد
بهزاد از کتاب خانه حضرت عرش آشیانی پدر بزرگوار من داخل کتاب خانه این بنده
درگاه الهی شد حرره نور الدین محمد جهانگیر شاه ابن اکبر شاه
این کلمه خط مبارکه حضرت عرش آشیانیست و میر جمال الدین حمید اینچور
این نسخه را در دار الخلافه آگره پیشکش نمود *

It proves that the book was in the library of Akbar. Here is another definite proof testifying to the fact that Akbar could write words.

(فروردین)

This line, as Jahangir tells us, is in the fly-leaf.²³ If these words were

22 A very difficult Persian book compiled by a son-in-law of Abul Fazl. It contains many interesting details. The book has not been translated as yet.

23 The fly-leaf is found reproduced in Dr. Ibn Hasan's *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire* (1936), pl. facing p. 94. Dr. Hasan points out that "the word 'Furvurdin' as endorsed by Jahāngir, was written by Akbar himself."

in the handwriting of Akbar, certainly he contradicts himself by calling his father 'ommi'; the two statements can be reconciled only when we take the word used by Jahangir in his Memoirs to imply only a degree of learning.

There is yet another reference to the handwriting of Akbar in *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi* of Abul Baqi Nahawardi who composed his work in 1616 A.D. In that book a farman is reproduced which was sent to the Khankhanan in 991 A.H. The farman reads thus: "Copy of the farman which was sent to the commander-in-chief in 991 on the occasion of his appointment in Guzrat and in which he (Akbar) had, with his own hand, exalted him with the title of a son."

نقل فرمانے بتاریخ ۹۹۱ و ارد و یک ہنگام توجه کجرات دین سپہ سالار انشاء
نمودہ اند و دستخط خاصہ این بزرگ را بخطاب فرزند سرفراز ساختہ *

After the headline, the author gives the actual words used by Akbar:—"Copy of the royal autograph which was translated above Tughra in the actual handwriting of the vicegerent of God (i.e. Akbar) in which he exalted him (Khankhanan) with the title of a son".—

شرح دستخط خاصہ این خلیفہ الہی کہ بر بالائے طغرا این والا قدر را برتبہ فرزند
بلند مرتبہ گردانیده اند آنکہ فرزند عبد الرحیم بداند *

Here is a definite proof that Akbar was able to write words and sentences with his own hand.^{23a}

The above quotations have been given at full length only to contradict the definite and sarcastic statements of Smith that

23a This ms. in the India Office has a signature of Khankhanan. Another autograph of Akbar can be found in a copy of the *Quran* deposited in the India Office. In the description of the ms. Dr. Otto Loth says that it contains a "seal and signature of Akbar and others on the last page." Dr. Loth also remarks: "The last page bears six seals with signatures: viz., of two Ṣafawi kings named Ismāil and Abbās; of Akbar; of two servants of Shāhjahān....." *A Catalogue of the Arabic Mss. in the Library of the India Office*, p. 2. Mr. M. Haq has drawn my attention to this ms.

Akbar could not even sign his name till the end of his life. The above would definitely prove that he could write not only his name but also a few sentences.

Akbar not only knew Persian but could understand very difficult composition in that language.

The conversation of Akbar with Badauni regarding the translation of *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* as given in p. 416 of *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh* shows his depth of knowledge in Persian. Akbar rejected a translation of the book on the ground that the Persian words used were archaic and ordered Badauni to retranslate it.

From *Ma'sirul Omara*, p. 2, we learn that Akbar used to award prizes to poets Faizi, Nizam and others according to the intricacies and delicacies of style. It may be possible to understand Persian without reading, but to understand the intricacies of style of a poet like Faizi would have been impossible without a commendable knowledge of the literature in that language.

اکثر اوقات بمباحثه قال الله و قال الرسول می گذشت و بسخندان تصرف
و مذاکره علمی و تحقیق مسائل حکمی و فقهی و غیر آن مصروف می شد و بیشتر
شب ها در ذکر خدا می جل و علا و مشغولی ب اسم "یا هر" و "یا هاسی" که ملحق
ب آن شده بودند احیاء می یافت *

Akbar not only knew Persian but could also follow Arabic, Sanskrit, and Hindi; if he were not well versed in those languages, he had at least a working knowledge of them.

In *Ma'sirul Omara*, it is expressly stated that Akbar had begun to read 'Mizan' Arabic grammar; this is also in *Risala-i-Shibli*.

His knowledge of Arabic is testified to by Badauni himself who says that even before the building of the Ibadat Khana he passed much time in discussing "the word of God" i.e., Quran and Hadis. It certainly would not have been possible for any one to discuss the Quran and Hadis which were in Arabic unless he knew the language. Badauni's commentary on Hadis regarding Jihad and archery was

liked by him so much that he put them in his library.. To understand a commentary requires a good deal of knowledge of the original.

کتاب الاحادیث را که چهل حدیث است در بیان فضیلت غذا و ثواب تیراندازی
و نام آن مشتمل بر تاریخ است گذرانید و داخل کتاب خانه شد *

One of the problems that puzzled Akbar was the divergent opinions regarding the Islamic marriage system. Akbar had held a formal discussion on the subject of "Mut'ah Marriage." He followed the discussion very closely. Whenever there was an intricate point Akbar referred to the original and commentary. Thus when the commentary of Imam Malik was placed by Naqib Khan before Akbar he was very much pleased with it. This shows he could follow Arabic.

و موطاء امام مالک را نقیب خان نمود که در آنجا بتصریح حدیث بر منع
مته اسناد کرده *

When the monogram of seal and coins had to be recast, an interesting discussion took place with Haji Ibrahim. He ordered that the seal be embossed in Arabic.

Let us quote a passage from Badauni relating to the translation of the *Mahābhārata*. "For two nights, His Majesty translated some passages of the *Mahābhārata* and told Naqib Khan to write down the general meaning in Persian." Translation would have been impossible if the emperor had no knowledge of Sanskrit. There is no reason to disbelieve Badauni in this simple matter (Badauni, vol. II, p. 302).

"Atish Kada-i-Azar" quotes a very nice couplet attributed to Akbar.

در شینۀ بزمی مئے فروشان * پیمانۀ مئے بر خریدم
اکنوں ز خمار سر گرانم * زر دادم رد سر خریدم

"Last night I reached the street of wine sellers, I purchased

wine for high price. I am suffering from headache (due to wine). I paid my money and purchased headache.”²⁴

Here is a composition of Akbar in Hindi:—²⁵

जाको जस है जगत मै जगत सराहै जाहि ।

ताकौ जीवन सफल है कहत अकबर साहि ॥

From the passages quoted above it becomes clear that Akbar was a man who was not only well versed in Persian, the then court language, but also could follow Arabic, Sanskrit and Hindi. The story that he was illiterate is very striking and all unsuspecting readers swallow it as historical truth. The account of his early life and the attempts of Humayun and his teachers for his education, his discussions in the Hall of Worship and his interest and actual participation in the literary pursuits give the lie direct to the fiction of his illiteracy.

MAKHANLAL ROYCHOU DHURY SHASTRI

24 For other poems of Akbar, see *Majma-Fusaba*, vol. I, p. 9.

25 For stray verses of Akbar, see *Hindi ke Musalman Kavi* by Ganga Prasad.

सवै भूमि गोपाल की, यामै अटक कहा ।

जाके मन में अटक है सोई अटक रहा ॥

दीन जानि सब दीन, एक न दीन्हो दुःसह दुःख ।

सो हमको अब दीन, कलुक न राख्यो बीरबर ॥

The Age and Historicity of the *Prthvirāja Rāso*

There was a time when the work, *Prthvirāja Rāso*, was regarded as a genuine source of Indian history. Everything written in it was regarded almost as gospel truth, and Rājputs spoke with pride of their *sāmanta* ancestors mentioned in the epic. But of late the criticisms¹ by Dr. Bühler, Mm. Kavirāja Shyāmaladās, and Dr. G. H. Ojha have so far discredited it that it is now generally regarded as a forgery of the 17th century, having no claim whatsoever to be even thought of as a source-book of Rājput history. There is, no doubt, a lot of truth in what these savants have said. But my study of the various recensions of the *Rāso* has convinced me that their remarks apply only to its late recensions and have not much to do with the earlier recensions which have not hitherto been, unfortunately, given the attention that they deserve. The following historical mistakes and defects have been pointed out:—

1. It regards the Cauhāns, Solānkīs, and Pratihāras as Agnikula Kṣatriyas, while the old inscriptions of these tribes prove that they were not so.

2. It makes *Prthvirāja* the grandson of *Anaṅgapāla Tomara*, who is said to have retired to *Badarikāśrama* after making over the rule of his kingdom to *Prthvirāja*; while the facts are that neither was *Prthvirāja* the grandson of *Anaṅgapāla* nor could Delhi be made over to him by the Tomara ruler, because it had been conquered as early as V.E. 1220 by the Cauhān king *Vigraharāja IV*.

3. It says that *Prthā*, the sister of *Prthvirāja* was married to *Samarasiṃha*, the *Rāṇā* of *Mewār* who died fighting in the second battle against *Shihābuddīn Muhammad Ghori*; while the fact is that *Samarasiṃha*, having flourished about a hundred years after

¹ See *JASB.*, 1887, vol. LV, pp. 5-65; *IBRAS.*, 1927, pp. 203-11, and *Kośotsava-smāraka-samgraha*, pp. 32-60.

Prṭhvīrāja, could neither marry the Cauhān ruler's sister, nor fight for him against the invader.

4. According to the *Rāso*, Prṭhvīrāja's father Someśvara was killed by Bhīma Caulukya of Gujerat, who in his turn was killed by Prṭhvīrāja after some time; while the facts are that neither did Bhīma, who was a mere child in V.E. 1236 the date of Someśvara's death, slay Someśvara in battle, nor was he himself slain in battle by Prṭhvīrāja, because reliable historical evidence proves that he continued living up to V.E. 1298.

5. The *Rāso* marries Prṭhvīrāja to:—

- (a) the daughter of Nāhar Rāi, a Rajput hero known to have flourished some centuries before Prṭhvīrāja,
- (b) Icchanī, the daughter of one Salakha Paramāra, a name unknown to us from Paramāra inscriptions,
- (c) the mother of one Raiṇsi, stated in the *Rāso* to be the heir-apparent and successor of Prṭhvīrāja, though in fact the successor was Govinda, the founder of the Ranthambhor line,
- (d) the daughter of Rājā Bhāṇa of Deogiri and Bhāṇa Rāya of Ranthambhor, though in fact no rulers bearing these names were ruling there at the time.

6. Its genealogy and description of Prṭhvīrāja's family are incorrect.

7. It gives the following wrong dates:—

- (a) V.E. 821: Bisaladeva's accession,
- (b) V.E. 1115: Prṭhvīrāja's birth,
- (c) V.E. 1136: Shihābuddīn's capture by Salakha Paramāra of Ābū.
- (d) V.E. 1138: Prṭhvīrāja's coronation,
- (e) V.E. 1139: Prṭhvīrāja's marriage to Padmāvatī, the ruler of Samudraśikhara.

We propose to deal with these alleged mistakes and defects from the bottom of the list.

The above dates are no doubt to be found in the voluminous edition of the *Rāso* issued by the Nāgarī Pracārīnī Sabhā, Benares. But the earliest and shortest and therefore the most reliable edition of this work of which, we have fortunately three copies in the Fort Library, Bikaner² leaves out the story of Padmāvatī's marriage with Prthvirāja, and gives merely the years noted down below:—

1. V.E. 1138: Prthvirāja's accession.
2. V.E. 1148: Bhīma Caulukya's attack on Abu.
3. V.E. 1151: Prthvirāja's departure for Kanauj.
4. V.E. 1152: Puṇḍira's fight against Shihābuddin Ghori.

There is nothing out of the way about the sequence of these dates. We know for certain that Prthvirāja fought against Bhīma and Shihābuddin Ghori, and the fight against Kanauj too is supported by so much of tradition existing outside the *Rāso* that it has every reason to be regarded as a fact. The *Āin-i-Akbari* mentions it in detail, and the *Surjana-carita*, a work of the 16th century, devotes one full chapter to it and the fight with Shihābuddin Ghori. As the account given there is extremely interesting, and gives a very good idea of the text of the *Rāso* as it must have existed at that time, we propose to give below the synopsis of this very chapter. Some of the facts given are to be specially noticed, inasmuch as they have been either regarded as the work of interpolators or are so very similar to the account given in even our modern editions of the *Rāso* that one cannot help thinking that the two must have a common source.

2 The recension contains 19 chapters in all and is about 100,000 letters in extent. The Nāgarī Pracārīnī edition being 100,000 ślohas in extent is 32 times the size of the Bikaner recension, for a fuller account of which the readers are referred to my paper in the *Proceedings of the Hindi Sāhitā Sammelana*, 1939.

The story as given in the *Surjana-carita* runs as follows³ :—

Once while *Prthvirāja* was walking about in his pleasure-garden he was approached by a maid-servant from *Kānyakubja* who after making him a low obeisance began her story in the following style. "The ruler of *Kānyakubja* has," she said, "a daughter named *Kāntimati*. Nothing could surpass her in beauty; she had been verily created out of the choicest materials by the Creator. Once, sitting near her father, she heard your fame being sung by bards. Since that time she has thought of none but yourself; her daily recreations have been given up and she is getting leaner and leaner day by day. Finding that her father wished to give her in marriage to someone else, she at last disclosed her secret to a friend of hers, who not merely consoled her but sent me here to put the whole matter before you."

Prthvirāja heard the whole story with attention and then telling the maid-servant that he had already heard of the great beauty and virtues of the Princess, sent her back with the reply that he would very soon be reaching *Kānyakubja* and do all that he could to requite her love. Then making his bard the chief of his retinue, *Prthvirāja* entered *Kānyakubja* in disguise. He acted as a subordinate whenever he went to the court of *Jaicandra*, but in his own camp he behaved as a ruler. On a certain moonlit night *Prthvirāja* went out alone to the banks of the *Ganges* and finding the fish coming up as his horse drank water, he began throwing them pearls from his necklace. *Kāntimati* saw all this from her window and suspecting that he might be *Prthvirāja* sent one of her maid-servants to find out the actual facts. If he were a ruler, he would, she thought, as a matter of habit, stretch back his hand to receive more pearls as his own got finished—thinking that he was as usual accompanied by one of his servants. The plan succeeded uncommonly well. *Prthvirāja* did as was expected, threw all the loose pearls to the fish without giving any thought to the matter, and turned back only when he found a pearl-necklace, worn by women coming to his hands. Learning from her that she was a maid servant of *Kāntimati*, he promised to come back the next day and returned to his camp. Doing what he had promised, he entered her apartments unnoticed by the door keepers, and spent a few hours with his beloved. He wished thereafter to return to his camp and to come back again after sometime, but the forlorn looks of *Kāntimati* so moved him that, coming out of the apartments, he snatched the best horse there from one of the watchmen and putting *Kāntimati* behind himself rushed out for his camp and reached there before the bewildered guards could do anything. His *Sāmantas* offered to protect his retreat to *Delhi*, and determined to regain their original form of *Dānavas* by dying for their master. By the time *Prthvirāja* reached his capital most of these *Sāmantas* had perished in the fight, which they, though only 150 in number, had waged successfully against the numerous army of *Jaicandra*. At *Delhi* *Prthvirāja* gave himself up to sensual pleasures. Seven times he captured and released *Shihābuddin Ghorī*, but the eighth time *Prthvirāja* was captured and carried to the conqueror's country where he was blinded. *Cānd*, the bard, who was grateful to him for many past favours reached

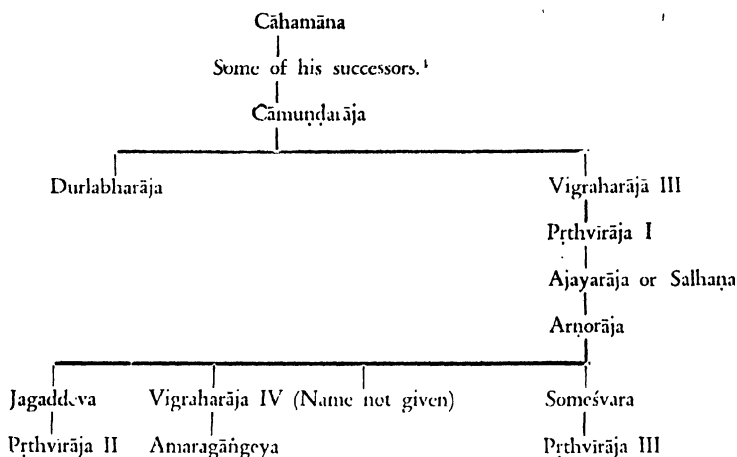
the place after some time and incited him to take revenge, even though *Prthvirāja* felt that he had neither the requisite strength nor the means to do anything against the Sultan. *Cānd* promised to find out the means. By his various gifts he so won over the Sultan that he agreed not merely to try the skill of the *Cauhān* as an archer but also to give orders for his shooting at the iron pans kept there as targets. Following the direction of the Sultan's voice, *Prthvirāja* shot him dead through the palate and so fructified the bold plan of *Cānd*, who thereafter brought *Prthvirāja* back to Delhi, where he ruled well and successfully for a long period.

We do not reproduce the story from the *Āin-i-Akbarī* which is in the main the same as that of the *Surjanacarita*. It is thus clear enough that the tradition coming down to us in the *Rāso* is fairly old, at least much older than the 16th century when the *Surjanacarita* and *Āin-i-Akbarī* were composed. So the date of the earlier recensions of the *Rāso*, which deal in the main with these very two episodes, must be pushed at least to the beginning of the 15th century, for the story must have taken sometime to get so very popular and standardised as to be reproduced in practically the same form in the apabhraṃsa *Rāso* of a bard, the Sanskrit epic *Surjanacarita* of a Bengali and the Persian classic *Āin-i-Akbarī* composed by perhaps the foremost Persian scholar of the age. But the date can be pushed still further back as will be shown later.

As regards the genealogy of *Prthvirāja*, the Bikaner shorter recension contains not the long list incorporated in the *Nāgarī Pracārīṇī* edition but only the following few names:—

Cāhamāna Māṇikyarāi
|
His various successors of brilliant achievements.
|
Dharmādhirāja
|
Viśala, the debauchee
|
Sāraṅga
|
Analla
|
Jayasimha
|
Ananda
|
Soma
|
Prthvirāja

The list is, no doubt, not exhaustive. But so far as it goes, it can be shown to be largely in agreement with the Cauhān genealogies generally admitted to be authoritative. The names in the *Prthvirāja-vijaya mahākāvya* are, for instance, as follows:—



Cāhamāna, thus stands at the head of both the lists. The *Rāso* gives him the name Māṇikyarāi. An unpublished plate of the Nadole Cāhamānas, of which I have a transcription from Dr. Ojha, gives this very name to the progenitor of the Cāhamāna line. Dharmādhirāja, the first ruler named in the *Rāso* after Māṇikya Rāi, seems to be identical with Cāmuṇḍarāja who probably bore this second name too, because of being very pious. The *Prthvirājavijaya-mahākāvya* says that he built for Viṣṇu a temple at Narapura and for himself an abode in heaven. Visala, the next ruler mentioned in the *Rāso*, is certainly identical with Vigraharāja III of the *Mahākāvya*. The *Rāso* describes him as a great debauchee. A Cāhamāna genealogy drawn up before 1285 A.D. corroborates this account by describing him as a man given to carnal enjoyments.⁵ Sāraṅga, the next ruler

4 The names have been given in the *Mahākāvya*. I, however, leave them out because of their being of no use for comparing this genealogy with that of the *Rāso*.

5 The genealogy is found at the end of three manuscripts of the *Prabandha Kośa*, collected by Munirāja Jinavijaya. Of these two bring it only to the time of Jaitra-Siṃha. The third adds the name of Hammira, showing clearly thereby that the original genealogy was drawn up before his time.

in the *Rāso*, has to be identified with Pṛthvirāja I. He might have borne this name before succeeding to the throne. Ānalla looks like a corruption of Ālhaṇṇa, the name given to Ajayarāja in the *Hamīramahākāvya* and the Cāhamāna genealogy given at the end of some manuscripts of the *Prabandha Kośa*. Jayasiṃha, though mentioned as the successor of Ānalla, is in fact identical with him. The redactor of the Bikaner recension has certainly committed a mistake in applying the names Ānalla and Jayasiṃha to two different persons. Ānanda of the *Rāso*, being the father of Someśvara, must be identified with Arṇorāja of the *Mahākāvya*. The next two names in the genealogies are undoubtedly identical. The *Rāso* does not give the names Durlabharāja, Jagaddeva, Vighararāja IV, Amaragāṅgeya, and Pṛthvirāja II. But the reason of their being left out is clear enough. They were not in the direct line of succession from Cāmuṇḍarāja Dharmādhirāja to Pṛthvirāja III, and therefore the author of the Hindi epic did not think it necessary to mention them.

Now we turn to the question of the marriage of Pṛthvirāja. The Bikaner recension does not contain any reference to the marriages with the daughter of Nāhar Rāi, Rāja Bhāṇa of Deogiri and Bhāṇa Rāy of Ranthambhore, and with the lady who is said to have become later on the mother of his heir-apparent and successor Raiṇsi. So these might be dismissed as later additions having no connection whatsoever with the age of the authentic *Rāso*. The marriage with Ichani, the daughter of Salakha Paramāra of Mt. Abu is mentioned there. It might possibly be a late addition made to account for the war between the Caulukyās and the Cauhāns, or it might be that Salakha belonged to the senior branch of the Abu Paramāras represented by Vikramasiṃha who had been deposed about V.S. 1202 by Kumārapāla Caulukya of Gujrat. As his descendant, or most probably as his son, he might have regarded himself as the rightful owner of

Mt. Abu, and might have been so regarded by the party opposed to the Calukyas. That Pṛthvirāja did attack the Abu Paramāra Dhārāvārṣa is well known from the drama *Pārthaviyaya* of his brother Prahlādanadeva. It is only the reasons of the quarrel between the two that are obscure, and to these the *Rāso* might perhaps furnish a clue, a clue however, about the truth of which we cannot be perfectly sure till better materials are available.

The other facts regarded as unhistorical by the critics of the *Rāso* can similarly be shown to be either absent from the Bikaner recension or to have some historical basis. The Bikaner recension omits, for instance, the story of the marriage of Pṛthā, the sister of Pṛthvirāja, with Samarasimha, the ruler of Mewār and of the death of the Rāṇā in the last battle of Pṛthvirāja against the invader Shihā-buddin Ghorī. It leaves out all mention of the death of Someśvara at the hands of Bhīma and of Bhīma at those of Pṛthvirāja. But it does speak of the Cāhamāna Caulukya struggle, of the fight between these two near Nāgore, and of the struggle near Mt. Abu. The fight near Mt. Abu has now to be admitted to be a fact, because of the reference to it in the drama *Pārthaviyayaprakaraṇa*. The inscriptions at Charlu (Bikaner State) dated in V.S. 1241 speak of a battle of Nāgore in which were killed some Cāhamānas of that locality. The battle looks like the battle of Nāgore mentioned in the *Rāso*. According to the *Kharataragaccha Paṭṭāvali* of Jinapāla, an author known to have written one of his works as early as V.S. 1262, i.e., about 13 years after the death of Pṛthvirāja, the war between the Caulukyas and the Cāhamānas ended before V.S. 1244. So V.S. 1241 surely looks like a reasonable date for the battle of Nāgore, waged between Kaimāsa, the general of Pṛthvirāja and Bhīma Caulukya, the ruler of Gujrat.

It seems, however, that in one case at least the Bikaner recension too is wholly in the wrong. It too makes Pṛthvirāja, the grandson of Anaṅgapāla Tomara which, as pointed out by Dr. Ojha, is not a

fact. But is it not possible that Delhi might have been actually given in dowry by the last Tomara ruler of the place to Visaladeva, the half-brother of Someśvara, from whom (Visaladeva) the story might have been transferred to Someśvara by some late redactor of the *Rāso*? We learn from the *Lalitavivraharājanātaka* that Visaladeva IV had actually determined to march towards Indraprastha, the ruler of which had a daughter who had fallen in love with Visaladeva. Unfortunately the drama, as we have it now, is not complete. But it would be quite in the fitness of things, if we found the hero therein marching to the relief of Delhi against the Muslims, accomplishing the task, and getting by way of return the hand of the princess with Delhi as dowry. Such things are not unknown in Rajputana. Cūṇḍo Rathore, we are told, was given Maṇḍore in dowry in similar circumstances by the Indā branch of the Pratihāras.

The last alleged defect in the work is the story of the birth of the four fireborn septs from the firepit of Vasiṣṭha at Mt. Abu. Turning to our recension we find that all that it says about the story is contained in the lines:—

ब्रह्मा न जग ऊपन्न भूर । मानिक राह चहुबान सुर ॥

(From the sacrifice of Brahmā was born the first valiant Cauhān Mānik Rāi). The account thus given is corroborated by other Cauhān sources of history. According to the *Surjanacarita* it was Brahman who while performing a sacrifice at Puṣkara, created the first Cāhamāna from the disc of the Sun (VII, 50. 8). The *Hammira-mahākāvya* gives the same story,⁶ and the *Prthvīrājaviṣaya* ascribes the birth of Cāhamāna to the request by Brahman for some one to protect his ancient sacrificial pit at Puṣkar.⁷ So there is nothing in the old *Rāso* which goes against the accounts accepted as authoritative by historians. The Agnikula myth as found in the later recensions of the *Rāso* is of course a late forgery, and as pointed out by us in

the pages of the *Rājasthānī*, an adaptation of some very old stories found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.⁸

So on the ground of these alleged defects alone, we need not regard the *Rāso* as a fabrication of bards. Many of its facts are historical, and the older the recension, the less is the number of historical mistakes in it. The *Āin-i-Akbarī* and the *Surjanacarita* show that it had most probably come into existence a good many years, probably some centuries, before their composition, and this surmise is fortunately verified by the recent publication of a collection of Jain historical and semi-historical notices called the *Purātana-Prabandha-Saṃgraha*. In its manuscript P, copied out in V.S. 1528 (c. 1471 A.D.) is found a historical essay, giving the following facts about *Prthvirāja*:—

- (1) *Prthvirāja* was the son of *Someśvara* and had a brother named *Yaśorāja*. He (*Prthvirāja*) ruled in *Yoginipura*, or *Delhi*, and was an enemy of *Jayacandra*.
- (2) *Prthvirāja* had two ministers *Kaimāsa* of the *Dāhimā* tribe, and *Pratāpa-siṃha Śrīmāla*.
- (3) *Prthvirāja* defeated, captured, and released the ruler of *Ghazni* seven times.
- (4) Instigated by *Pratāpasimha*, *Prthvirāja* killed *Kaimāsa*, and the event was thus described the night after by *Canda Baladdika*.

इकु बाणु पहुवीसु जुपइ कइ बासह मुकश्रो
 उर भितरि खडहडिउ धीर कक्खंतरी चुकउ ।
 बीअं करि संधीऊं मंमइ सूमेसरनंदण ।
 एहु सु गडि दाहिमउ खणइ खुइइ सइ भरिवणु ।
 फुड छंडि न जाइ इहु लुझिउ वारइ पलकउ खल गुलह
 न जाणउं चंद बलहिउ किं न वि छुटइ इह फलह ॥
 अगहु म गहि दाहिमओ रिपुरायखयंकह,
 कूड मंलु मम ठवओ एहु जं बूय मिलि जगगह ।
 सह नामा सिक्खवउं जइ सिक्खिविउं बुज्झइ
 जंपइ चंदबलाहिउ मज्झ परमक्खर सुज्झइ ।
 पहु पहुविराय सइ भरिधणी सयंभरि सउणइ संभरिसि
 कइ बास बिआस बिसटठविणु मच्छिबंधिबद्धओ मरिसि ॥

- (5) *Prthvirāja* put *Pratāpasimha*'s cousin into prison. This turned the Minister against him.

(6) Pṛthvirāja's capture in the last battle was due to means suggested by Pratāpasimha.

(7) Cānd happened to be shut up in a cave at the time.

(8) When Pṛthvirāja got captured, the Minister approached him saying, 'My lord, what can be done? All this has happened as the result of fate.' The King said 'If you give me my bow and arrows, I shall kill him.' Answering him in the affirmative Pratāpasimha approached the Sultan, and informed him of Pṛthvirāja's intention. The Sultan had an iron statue put on his usual seat. Pratāpasimha gave the bow to Pṛthvirāja. He shot an arrow and the iron statue fell divided into two pieces. The King threw aside the bow saying, 'My work has not been accomplished. Some one else has been killed.' After that Pṛthvirāja was thrown into a pit filled with stones, and thus killed.⁹

This notice of Pṛthvirāja is important in various ways. It substantiates in many respects the tradition continued in the *Rāso*, inasmuch as it shows that even earlier than 1471 A.D. Shihābuddin Ghorī was believed to have been captured and released seven times by Pṛthvirāja. The story of the Sultan being shot at, was also current at the time and Cānd was known to have been imprisoned within a cave at the time of the battle. But far more important than all these are the quotations from the *Pṛthvirāja Rāso*, because they prove conclusively that the original *Rāso* did exist before 1471 A.D., the year of the copying of the Pātan manuscript of the *Purātana Prabandha Samgraha*.

But how much older than 1471 A.D. could the *Rāso* be? The nature of the language used in the quotations shows that it is fairly old, as old as the time of Pṛthvirāja himself. Munirāja Jina-vijaya assigns the *Pṛthvirāja prabandha* to V.S. 1290.¹⁰ So the *Rāso*, from which it quotes, must be older still, i.e., it should be a work of about the middle of the thirteenth century of the Vikrama era. And, even if we be disposed to disagree with the Munirāja regarding the date of the *Prabandha*, on account of its giving a wrong name to Pṛthvirāja's brother and a slightly wrong date for Pṛthvirāja's death, the internal evidence supplied by the nature of the language used in

the quotations remains, and prevents us from pushing the date of the *Rāso* to any century later than the one to which we have assigned it. It is surely centuries older than *Rao Jetsiro Chanda* or any other old Hindi composition of definite date that can till now be put before historians and students of Hindi literature.

To conclude, *Prthvīrāja Rāso* might in its original form be regarded as a contemporary source of history for the reign of Prthvīrāja III. So what is now sorely needed is painstaking search on the part of scholars for a recension older than the one we have at Bikaner, which though fairly old is not free from interpolations, and requires to be critically edited and checked. The author of the *Surjanacarita* knew Cānd's work, and most probably used for his own book the recension of the *Rāso* current at the time. So an older recension of the *Rāso*, if we be fortunate enough to unearth one, will most probably be similar in its contents to the *Surjanacarita* which might partly be regarded as a synopsis of the *Rāso* in Sanskrit.

DASARATHA SARMA

Sultānah Rāziah

Islamic political theory, brief as it is, has no more explicit pronouncement to make on the question of women's eligibility for the throne than to include 'male sex' among the qualifications essential for the candidate for the office of *Imam*. But this applies to a system which, it was thought, would have a more or less an elective basis with all temporal and spiritual leadership centred on the *Imam* or the Caliph, and which, while it remained the ideal of the orthodox jurists, had to be continuously modified to suit the new state of affairs when the Abbaside Caliphate was gradually superseded by independent Sultanates.¹ A school of jurists then arose to elaborate a constitutional theory which accepted the new monarchy (Sultanate) as an unalterable reality and linked it up with the Caliphial system,² accommodating in it as much as possible the duties and privilege of the *Imam*. As the latter office gradually sank to a mere symbolic existence³ that of the Sultān assumed importance and attempts were made to define his status and lay down rules in terms of the original (*Shari'i*) conception of the *Imamat*. In other words, the Sultān was sought to be made an exact temporal counterpart of the *Imam*. But this, from its very nature, could not be wholly successful and further modifications had to be made. Thus, items like free status, physical integrity, and legal capacity (thereby barring minors), which figured prominently in the earlier lists of the *Imam's* qualifications,⁴ could not be insisted upon in the case of the Sultān.⁵ While emphasis was laid on such abstract qualifications as wisdom,

1 *al-Māwardī*, quoted by Arnold, *Caliphate*, p. 71.

2 *Ibid.*, (ed. Enger), p. 30-31; Nizāmi 'Urūzi,—*Chahar Maqala* (ed. Browne), p. 10.

3 Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddama*, p. 197.

4 For the full list see *Legacy of Islam*, p. 296.

5 Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

justice, knowledge and fear of God etc. both by *Ibn al-Tiqṭāqa* and *Nizām al-Mulk*,⁶ physical qualifications were, perhaps inadvertently, left out. Even these were found to be in conflict with reality, and the 14th century theologian, *Ibn Jam'ah*, frankly admitted that it was real power that confers legitimacy on the occupant of the throne, and "it matters not if he is ignorant or Godless."⁷ This was echoed earlier by an Indian writer who enjoined implicit obedience to the Sultān on pain of God's displeasure, "even if he was a negro slave or had physical defects."⁸

The only other disability attaching to women and which could be used in a purely theoretical sense against a female ruler, was her inferior status as a legal witness and the statutory ban placed on her leading the public prayers,—this last being one of the most original duties of the *Imam* and so also of the Sultān. But this duty had, through a long-standing practice, been delegated to the *Khaṭīb* in the chief cities and to the *Sheikh al-Islām* in the Capital, and it was only on rare ceremonial occasions when the *Imām* personally led the prayers.⁹

From the 10th century onwards, that is, from the beginning of Turkish ascendancy over the Islamic world, no accepted constitutional principle, much less any rigid rule, could, therefore, be cited against the female sovereign. Constitutional theory was in a state of continual flux, and the experiments in statecraft that the Turks introduced, influenced in no small way the ultimate form it assumed, combining, as it did, the Perso-Islamic with the tribal conception of polity. Without pursuing the subject any further here, it will be sufficient for our purpose to note that in the 13th and 14th centuries

6 *Kitāb al-Fakhri* (ed. Ahlwardt), pp. 19-88; *Siyāsāt Nāmāh* (ed. Khalkhali), pp. 5-8.

7 *Tahrir al-aḥkām fi tadbir millat al-islam*, quoted by Baksh, *Politics in Islam*, p. 219.

8 Fakhre Mudir, *Tarikh Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah* (ed. Ross), pp. 12-3.

9 Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

the idea of a woman ruler was no more repugnant to Islamic law than, for example, were the numerous Turkish Sultāns who included among them, not only unmanumitted slaves but also, like the Seljuq, Qizil Arslān, persons with physical deformities as well.

Turkish racial traditions also appear to have had no aversion to a female chieftain. In fact, both before and after their conversion to Islam, on a number of occasions women are known to have ruled over the principalities founded or acquired by them. The *Khitai* Turks, for instance, from whom not a few of the early nobles of Delhi were drawn, were, for several years in the 12th century, successively ruled in full sovereignty by the widow of the deceased Gur Khan and his daughter Koyunk Khātūn.¹⁰ According to Minhāj¹¹ one of the feudatory rulers of *Khwārizm* (Khiva) was succeeded early in the same century by his only child, a daughter, who even after her marriage to the founder of the *Khwārizmshahī* dynasty, retained her sovereign power and title. Yet another instance is offered by the principality of Halab in Northern Mesopotamia which was ruled in full sovereignty, till her death in 640/1242, by Safia Khatun, widow of the Ayubide prince, Malik 'al-Zāhir son of Ṣalāḥuddīn.¹² More well-known is the assumption of the crown of Egypt by the beautiful slave-girl of the Mamluke Sultān Ayūb, named Shajarat al-Durr, who, on her master's death in 1249, was unanimously accepted by the nobles as their full-fledged sovereign. She called herself *Malikat al-Muslimin*, and issued coins and edicts and had the *Khutba* read in her name along with that of the Abbaside Caliph, al-Mo'taṣim.¹³ If after three months she was, on the Caliph's initiative, compelled to transfer the crown to a male slave who eventually married her, it was not due to any recognised legal difficulty but to

10 *Tab. Nās.*, p. 328: Raverty, Transl. *Tab. Nās.*, p. 927-8 see also Juwaini, *Tarikh-i-Jahan Kusha* (ed. Qazwini), II, p. 88-9.

11 *Tab. Nās.*, p. 234.

12 Abul Fedā,—*Tarikh* (Egyptian ed.) III, p. 171.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 182.

the hostility of the influential Syrian nobles with whom the Caliph identified himself on political grounds.¹⁴

Equally common was the Queen-regent, and on several occasions 'Alāuddīn Muḥammad of *Khawārizm* (1200-1220) left his mother Turkan Khātūn in charge of the Imperial administration while he was away on military expeditions.¹⁵ After the death of Uktai, son of Changiz, the Mongol empire was ruled for four years by his widow Turākinah Khātūn till the accession of Koyuk Khan.¹⁶ Earlier still, in the 11th century, mention is made of the regency of the Buwīd prince, Majduddaulah's mother for several years during the reign of Maḥmūd Gaznawī.¹⁷

Steeped in Iranian culture as the immigrant Turks were, they could find a stronger support to their racial practice in Persian history and legend in which a daughter succeeding her father was no unusual occurrence. The legendary account of the Median dynasty can be cited for the example of Queen Humai or Khumai, daughter of Bahman, (Artaxerxes Longimanus), who succeeded her father and abdicated after a reign of thirty years.¹⁸ Resting on firm historical grounds however, are the accounts of Purandukht and Arjumand Dukht, daughters of Khusrau Perviz of the Sassanian dynasty, who, early in the 7th century, ascended the throne one after another, and ruled with success,—their reigns terminating only on their untimely death.¹⁹

It may be noted in passing that for the Persians, and therefore, the Turks who were fast assimilating the Persian political traditions, the acceptance of a female sovereign was rendered unavoidable by their monarchical theory, according to which Divinity was believed

14 For details see the article in *Ency. Islam*.

15 Juwaini, *op. cit.*, II, p. 90.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 401.

17 Daulatshah, *Tazkirah*, quoted by Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, II, p. 159.

18 *Tab Nās.*, Raverty's Transl., p. 3. See also Browne, *op. cit.* I, p. 117.

19 Malcolm, *History of Persia*, I, p. 54; Browne, *op. cit.*, I, p. 182.

to reside in the person of the king.²⁰ Since none but persons of royal blood had any right to assume royal titles, and since this divinity could not be transferred except through direct descent, it is not difficult to see that the possibility of a daughter succeeding her father could not be excluded.

Besides, a most overriding consideration, which their racial history had taught the Turks to respect, was the greater ability and fitness of the candidate to rule. Time and again in the past this quality alone had led them to ignore all other claims whether based on seniority,²¹ descent,²² nomination or investiture of the Caliph.²³

It was therefore no very great "innovation" or departure from current political ideas²⁴ when Iltutmish, faced with the choice of a successor on the untimely death of his eldest son and heir-apparent Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd, in 629/1229, selected his daughter Rāziah. She was the eldest of his surviving children, and had already been marked out for uncommon sagacity and political insight. To try her still further he left her in charge of the administration during the year he was engaged in operations against the Parihara ruler of Gwalior.²⁵ She must have discharged her duties singularly well, for immediately on his return he announced his choice and a proclamation to that effect was ordered to be drafted.²⁶ A commemorative coin was also struck in silver, possibly issued as a medallion, with the name of the Crown princess inscribed along with that of Iltutmish.²⁷

20 Browne, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-31.

21 The seniority or the Caliph's recognition by which he had originally claimed his father's throne did not prevent Masud Ghaznavi from being dethroned and put to death because of his proved unfitness to rule. *Tab. Nās.* p. 15.

22 e.g. the son of Alptigin was set aside in favour of the abler Sabuktigin, *Tab. Nās.*, p. 7.

23 The victorious Seljuqs, on being told that Ma'sūd was not only nominated by his father but was also invested by the Caliph with authority, replied that they recognised no other claim but capacity to hold power and rule. Baihaqi, p. 865.

24 Cf. Tripathi, *Some aspects of Muslim administration*, p. 28-9.

25 Ferishta, *Tarikh*, I, p. 68.

26 *Tab. Nās.*, p. 185-6.

27 *JASB.*, 1896, p. 218, no. 30. See however, Wright, *Coins of the Sultāns of*

No constitutional objection to the proposal was evidently expected, and, indeed, none was raised. The representation of the courtiers, to reconsider the decision, quoted by Minhāj,²⁸ was obviously made on the political inadvisability of superseding a grown up son, equally eligible for the throne, and thus creating a possible cause of discord. This apprehension was finally and completely removed by Iltutmish's assurance, strengthened by their own observation, that "after my death no one will be found more worthy of heir-apparentship than her." That the jurists of Delhi did not view the prospect of a female sovereign with marked disfavour is evident from the language of Minhāj, a reputed lawyer and Qāzī, and soon to be the principal of the Nāṣirī College in Delhi and chief Qāzī of the empire. It is important to remember that he had no reason to show undue deference to Rāziah as he had to his own patrons, Balban and Maḥmūd, and, writing more than 20 years after the event, he would have certainly pointed out the illegality of the proceedings if he thought there was any. It is true that he regrets the fact that she, with all her eminent qualities fit for a sovereign, was not born as a man,²⁹ but this obviously is not a legal opinion but an expression of the prevalent attitude of the male sex to whom a woman was always *Nāqis al-'aql* (of weak intellect) and like children, utterly unreliable.³⁰ These sentiments are further elaborated by 'Iṣāmī,³¹ who, unlike Minhāj, was no lawyer and whose remarks cannot, therefore, be suspected of having any legal implication. It is not without significance that no subsequent writer felt it necessary to examine the legal aspect of the event, for constitutional law itself, as shown above, had long been an un-

Delhi, no. 161A, where this is ascribed to Rāziah and on the strength of a similar but better-preserved specimen is dated 635/1237, a year after Iltutmish's death.

28 *Op. cit.*, p. 185.

29 *Ibid.*

30 See Nizām-al-Mulk, *Siyāsat Nāmah*, p. 136, for detailed illustrations of this attitude which was summed up in the expressive proverb, popularly ascribed to the Prophet: Consult them (the women) and act contrary (to their advice).

31 *Futūḥussalātīn* (ed. Husain), p. 129.

certain guide. It was only the 17th century theologian, 'Abdul Haqq Dahlavi, who, taking his stand on the orthodox but long-discarded theory of the early jurists,³² expressed his astonishment at the action of the contemporary lawyers of Dehli in supporting a female ruler which, he held, was opposed to the rules of the *Imamat*.³³

There is also reason to believe that there was no hesitation on the part of the Qāzis and *Khatibs* and other ecclesiastical dignitaries of the capital in taking the oath of allegiance to the new Sultān or incorporating her name as the rightful ruler in the *Khutba*.³⁴

This nomination notwithstanding, 'the people,' we are told 'had their eyes on Ruknuddin Firoz', the eldest surviving son of Iltutmish and at that time *Muqti* of Budaon and subsequently of Lahore.³⁵ Who this people were is not explained,³⁶ but it is not unreasonable to suppose that the courtiers who succeeded in persuading Iltutmish to reconsider the decision were instigated by Firoz's partisans in the palace, headed by the ambitious Shah Turkan. It was probably to test his abilities by associating him in governmental work in the capital before the earlier nomination could be justifiably cancelled that Iltutmish brought Firoz to Delhi in 633/1235 on his return from the frontier expedition, which had to be abandoned on account of his sudden illness. To this period should perhaps be ascribed the issue of a silver piece bearing the joint name of Iltutmish

32 For a detailed discussion on the history of this theory see Arnold, *Caliphate*.

33 *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, quoted by Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

34 For the lawyers these were an effective means of according or withholding legal recognition and no accession was binding until it was confirmed by these two ceremonies. See Ibn Baṭūṭa, II, p. 25, for Iltutmish's concern over the jurists' hesitation to take the oath. For the importance attached to *Khutba* even as late as the time of Aurangzib see *Tavernier's Travels*, I, p. 355-6.

35 *Tab. Nas.*, p. 181-2.

36 The word used is *خلق* (people), but in the account of Iltutmish's eldest son, Maḥmūd, it was the 'maliks and grandees of the kingdom' who are said to have entertained that hope. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

and Firoz.³⁷ It does not however appear that the earlier proclamation was finally cancelled before his death which occurred soon after, or that Firoz was formally nominated for the throne.

Technically, therefore, the elevation of Firoz to the throne on the morrow of Ilutmish's death was a clear breach of the arrangement made in the proclamation. It was conducted by the provincial governors and military officers who had joined the late king in his last expedition and were present at the capital at the time of his death.³⁸ There is no doubt that the intrigues of Firoz's mother, Shah Turkan, must have strengthened the objection that was originally voiced by the courtiers, including, as it appears from his subsequent conduct, the wazir, Nizāmūl Mulk Junaidi, at the time of Rāziah's nomination. In the ceremony of taking the oath of allegiance to the new monarch that followed, the citizens of the capital, as distinct from the nobles, the ecclesiastics and the officers, do not appear to have taken any part. This omission would no doubt have been rectified by an abler ruler, but Firoz, after the provincial governors had left the capital, lost no time in confirming by his actions the misgivings of his father. He commenced a life of unrelieved sensuality while power passed to his mother, a most jealous woman who relentlessly persecuted her former co-wives and their children. The treasury was emptied to cater for the Sultān's pleasures, and "affairs of state fell into confusion." This vicious petticoat rule soon led the disillusioned governors, along with the wazir and other

37 Rodgers, *JASB.*, 1894, p. 66, no. 11. Nelson Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 381, no. 153D, however ascribes the issue to Firoz himself which, considering the fact that joint names, without the usual appellations showing one's subordination or relation to the other are not found in coins of any other sultān except Rāziah, seems hardly justified.

38 *Tāb. Nās.*, p. 182; Haji Dabir, *Arabic History of Gujrat* (ed. Ross), II, p. 760. There is reason to believe that it was conducted secretly and on the very day of Ilutmish's death, see Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 126. Cf. however Yahya Sarhindi, *Tarikh-i-Mubārak-shāhi*, p. 21 who states that the accession took place on the 3rd day of Ilutmish's death.

officers of the capital, marching against Delhi to undo, if possible, their own mistake. Fīroz's attempt at opposing them resulted in the desertion of his own army officers a few miles from Delhi, and he returned to find his mother a prisoner in her palace. His own imprisonment and death at the hands of the army officers followed soon after.³⁹

Rāziyah had utilised the general discontent against Fīroz most cleverly to her advantage. Clad in the red garment of an aggrieved person she had appealed from her palace to the populace assembled for the Friday prayers in the name of her father to save her from the persecutions of the Queen-mother.⁴⁰ In the enthusiasm and loyalty to the memory of Iltutmish that she was thus able to rouse, it was easy not only to have Shāh Turkan and her son seized, but also to have her own right to the throne, by virtue of her father's proclamation, recognised and given immediate effect to. She could base her claim also on the fact that after Fīroz's dethronement and death, she happened to be the eldest of the surviving children of the late monarch. Her universally recognised superior ability was another important asset and the citizens, led by the army officers,⁴¹ unanimously acclaimed her as "the rightful Sulṭān and successor to the throne of Iltutmish."⁴²

Although she was immediately raised to the throne and an oath of allegiance from the assembled people, composed presumably from

39 *Tab. Nās.*, p. 181. 'Iṣāmī, p. 126, gives a different account according to which Fīroz was imprisoned and sent off to Hansi.

40 Ibn Baṭūṭa, —*Kitāb al-Rahlah* (Cairo, ed.), II, pp. 25-6.

41 The words used here are قلب and بندگان خاص و امرای ترک. The first obviously refers to the troops usually occupying the centre position in the battlefield and in permanent attendance on the Sulṭān, the last referring to the Household officers and retinue.

42 *Tab. Nās.*, p. 184. Iṣāmī, p. 127, gives an interesting account of how Rāziyah entered into an agreement with the people by which she was to be retained on the throne 'if she proved herself better than men,' and if not 'my head is to be struck off and the crown be given to whomsoever they thought fit.'

all classes of the population, was taken, there was no time for the elaborate ceremonials of a coronation.⁴³ For the insurgent Maliks,⁴⁴ unaware of this turn of events, were steadily approaching the city to establish once again their exclusive right of appointing the ruler. Apart from the confusion and oppression that a military occupation by such a large body of 'provincials' would introduce into the city, the citizens' right in having a say in matters affecting the throne, established ever since Iltutmish was invited from Budaon to assume the crown,⁴⁵ was thereby directly threatened. The defences of the city were, therefore, hastily put in order and when the insurgents arrived, the citizens, in co-operation with the army officers, put up a stiff resistance. Information of Firoz's imprisonment and Rāziah's accession did not abate their hostility for their contention now appeared to be, not that Rāziah had no right to rule, but that her accession having taken place without their previous consent, was not binding on them. The wazir, who was absent from the capital when this *coup* occurred, also considered his own right to be consulted on such an affair ignored, and so joined forces with the insurgents. Hostilities continued in front of the city for a long time, during which the *Muqti* of Awadh, who does not appear to have joined the opposition and so was summoned to Rāziah's aid, was seized by the insurgents and died in prison. Rāziah now came out of the city and tried to sow dissension among the enemy, adroitly manipulating their mutual jealousies and secret ambitions. By persuading two of them to join her camp on the assurance that the rest, including the wazir, were to be closely imprisoned and then, allowing this news to spread among the latter, she succeeded in breaking up the party. Junaidi fled to the Sirmoor Hills while Maliks Jani and Kochi were seized

43 The commencement of her reign is dated 18th Rabi I, 634/19th Nov., 1236; but 'Iṣāmī, p. 128 curiously enough, places her accession in 635/1237.

44 These were Maliks Salāri of Budaon, Kabir Khān of Multān, Kochi of Hansi, and Jani of Lahore.

45 *Tab. Nās.*, p. 170.

and slain.⁴⁶ In so defeating them she prevented the growth of a dangerous constitutional precedent,—that of allowing the provincial officers a predominant voice in the ruler's appointment.

Having thus vindicated her accession she set about reorganising the state departments. Junaidi was replaced in the *Wizarat* by his erstwhile Naib, Khwāja Muhazzabuddin, while the army command was put under the *Nāib-i-Lashkar*, a new office created by her, and held by Saifuddin Aibak, and on his death soon afterwards, by Malik Hasan Ghōrī.⁴⁷ A reshuffling of some of the important governorships followed, and the *Muqti* of Lakhnawti, on the arrival of his token of submission, was raised to the dignity of a viceroy.⁴⁸ An important appointment made a little later was that of Malik Ikhtiyāruddin Aitigin, the Amīr-i-Hājib, who also held the '*Iqtā*' of Budaon.⁴⁹ It is not certain if the postponed coronation was held at all, but 'Iṣāmī'⁵⁰ gives us a partial description of her first public court. It is interesting to notice that the throne on which she was seated "with the consent of the notables of Hind" was separated from the courtiers and the general public by a screen,—the persons stationed nearest to it being, first, the female guards and relatives and then her own blood-relations. In the ceremony of oath-taking that must have preceded the holding of this court not only were the ecclesiastics and the people represented,⁵¹ but also "all the Maliks and Amīrs from Debal to Lakhnawti" tendered allegiance.⁵² The name which she officially assumed and in which she is generally referred

46 *Tab. Nās.*, p. 186-7. Cf. Raverty's translation, p. 640 and his notes on this passage which has been incorrectly rendered.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 187. This, incidentally, is the only occasion in the 13th century when a permanent commander is mentioned, possibly an exception made on account of her sex.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 243.

49 *Ibid.*, p. 253.

50 *Op. cit.*, p. 128.

51 Yahya Sarhindi, *Tarikh-i-Mubārakshāhi*, p. 25, states that the 'Ulema and religious dignitaries of Delhi played an important part in winning over the insurgent Maliks to Rāziyah's side.

52 *Tab. Nās.*, p. 187.

to in the chronicles as well as in her coins, was *Sultān Raziat al-Dunyā wal-Dīn bint al-Sultān*.⁵³ She however appears to have had another title, *Sultān Jalālat al-Dunyā wal-Dīn*,⁵⁴ and it is by this name that she is known to non-Muslim accounts and inscriptions.⁵⁵ Because she derived her title to the throne from Iltutmish who, in his turn, based it on the Caliph's investiture, she continued in her coins and also in the *Khutba* to use the name of the reigning Caliph,⁵⁶ although she does not appear to have been specially invested by the latter.

The chronicler states that "peace and tranquility now prevailed everywhere and the kingdom grew strong". Details of her 3 years' rule are lacking and no outstanding military or political achievement can be cited to her credit. On the contrary there is evidence to show that, far from continuing her father's unfinished work of recovering territories lost to the Hindus during the years immediately following Aibak's death, her reign marked the beginning of a military set-back to the Muslim state and consequent increase in Hindu aggression. It was, for instance, a virtual surrender to the rising Cauhans of Ranthambhore when the fortress, unable to withstand their continuous assaults, was dismantled and its garrison evacuated by the *Nāib-i-Lashkar*, Malik Hasan Ghōrī, who was specially sent for that purpose immediately after her accession.⁵⁷ The Cauhans, thereafter, not only swallowed up the whole of North-Eastern Rajputana,

53 Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 128. 54 *Ind. Mus. Cat. of Coins*, II, p. 26, no. 93.

55 See *Hamīra Mahākāvya*, and English summary published in *Ind. Antiquary*, 1893, p. 63. For the use of the title in Skt. inscriptions, see *EP. Indo-Moslemica*, 1913-4, p. 43. Cf. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, II, p. 1095.

56 Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 40, no. 161. For Iltutmish's investiture see *Tab. Nās.*, p. 174, and his coins bearing the Caliph's name, Wright, p. 17. It is interesting to observe that almost every one of the early Sultāns, referred in his titles, coins and inscriptions to his relation with the previous ruler, who by the stability of his position and achievements had established, in the public eye, an inherent right to the throne; hence the appellations al-Qutbi, al-Muizzi, al-Shamsi. Sultāni, etc., discontinued only when he could invoke the greater name of the Caliph.

57 *Tab. Nās.*, p. 187.

but also, in alliance with the predatory Mewatis, commenced an aggressive guerilla war which was carried, towards the end of Maḥmūd's reign, right into the Delhi territory itself. Similar was the case in Gwalior where an expeditionary force had to be sent about the same time to stop the encroachments of the newly established Jajapella ruler, Cahara Deva of Narwar,⁵⁸ "the greatest of all the Rais of Hindustan, and commander of a great army."⁵⁹ This expedition having failed to effect any improvement another army was sent to reinforce the garrison and, if necessary, to evacuate it and abandon the fortress.

Yet the few events that are recorded of her reign clearly show the vigour of her rule and her uncompromising determination to assert the royal authority. This is best seen in her relentless pursuit of the rebel governor of Lahore, Malik Kabir Khān, who escaping towards the frontier before the royal forces, led personally by the queen, was at last confronted by the Mongols across the Chinab and was thus compelled to turn back and make his submission.⁶⁰ In a casual reference to her diplomatic relations with Hasan Qarlugh, an ex-Khwārizmī governor of Ghazni and now reduced to submission by the Mongols, we can discern in her character an amount of foresight and statesmanship rare in those days of reckless adventuring. It appears that some sort of alliance existed between Iltutmish and Qarlugh when the latter was still holding out against the Mongols in Ghazni and their combined forces are said to have driven out, in 627/1229, the Khwārizmī general, Uzbek Pai,⁶¹ who had been left

58 For his coins found in Gwalior, Jhansi and Marwar and dates thereof, see Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 93.

59 *Tab. Nās.*, p. 292.

60 *Ibid.*, p. 188 and 235; it is dated both in 636/1238 and 637/1239.

61 En-Nessawi, *Sirat-i-Jalaluddin Mangbarni*, ed. Scheffer, pp. 190 and 217. It is not mentioned by any other writer, but Iltutmish's anxiety to free his recently conquered provinces of foreign adventurers and Qarlugh's desire to bring Delhi on to his side make such an alliance more than probable.

by his fugitive master Sultān Jalāluddin Mangbarni, to hold together the conquests he had made in the Punjab and Sindh during his three years' sojourn. In spite of his 'submission to the Mongols in 1230⁶² Qarlugh was finally dispossessed of his territory in 636/1238⁶³ and was thus compelled to seek refuge in the western provinces of the Delhi kingdom. The political changes in Delhi during the last few years gave him no hope, which he had held since his co-operation with Iltutmish against Pai, of enlisting its active support against the Mongols and thus bring about that anti-Mongol front for which the Khwārizmī rulers had vainly tried. The accession of a talented and strong-willed ruler in the person of Rāziah and his own urgent need led him to renew his attempts at converting the earlier friendship into a full political and military alliance, and he accordingly sent his son to persuade the Delhi government to agree to his proposals.⁶⁴ This Rāziah, however, was not prepared to do. With the fate of the Khwārizmī empire and numerous other smaller states before her eyes, the growing power of the hostile Hindu princes in India and the precarious position of the sovereign among her powerful and ambitious courtiers, she was no fool to court the enmity of the invincible Mongols, much less hope to defeat them. With the courtesy and tact of her father she received the Qarlugh prince with honour and assigned the revenue of Baran for his expenses. Her firm disinclination to entertain the proposal must have been made plain to him for he left soon after without any formality and rejoined his father who, now left with no alternative, commenced operations to carve out a principality for himself in Sindh. This determination on her part to remain friendly with the Mongols must have pleased them, for her western frontier, now fixed along the Chinab, was never molested during her reign, and this, in spite of their having recently decided on a fresh reconquest of the outlying

62 *Tab. Nās.*, p. 38863 *Ibid.*, p. 392.64 *Idem.*

territories.⁶⁵ It was immediately after her deposition and Bahram's accession in 639/1241 that the Delhi kingdom was brought within the scheme of Mongol military operations and not only was the frontier pushed back further eastwards but Lahore, as well as part of of the Sindh province, were completely lost for several years. The soundness of her policy was realised by Balban, who took steps, towards the end of Maḥmūd's reign, 'to avoid strife on the frontier',⁶⁶ while the Mongols, under Hulaku, on their part forbade their general Sali Bahadur in 655/1257 to 'allow a single horseman to cross into Delhi territory'.⁶⁷

No other event of any political significance is recorded of her reign except that she discarded female attire, and appeared in public on elephant, and that this coincided with the favour that the Abyssinian master of horse acquired in attendance upon her,⁶⁸ and which was followed by Iltuniah's rebellion and her own deposition and death. But it is clear that these facts, in the casual way they are related, do not explain all or fill up the whole period, and that important political activities must have been going on, details of which the chronicler was in too great a hurry to record. There are indications to show that a movement was afoot among the Turkish Maliks to counter the queen's determination to break their political power once for all and restore the crown to its rightful place in the state. The exact composition and status of the "Forty" (بندگن چهلگانی) is not known, nor is it ever mentioned in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*,⁶⁹ but that the "Khāns, Maliks and Amirs" by virtue of their rank held a pre-eminent position in the state and formed a kind of close corporation is beyond doubt. The "Mulūk wa Umarā," mentioned frequently along

65 Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, I, p. 126-7.

66 *Tab. Nās.*, p. 278. Because Sher Khan, governor of Bhatinda, was hostile to Kashlu Khan, a Mongol protégé of Sindh, he was transferred to Gwalior.

67 *Ibid.*, p. 322.

68 *Ibid.*, p. 188.

69 It is mentioned for the first time by Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, p. 28, who states, p. 65, that every one of these Shamsi slaves attained the rank of *Khān*.

with the, 'Ulemā and Mashāikh," constituted the most important element in the state and were recognised as such in the Turco-Persian constitutional tradition.⁷⁰ We do not know if their power and privileges had originally been defined, but their pretension to be king-makers was clearly demonstrated in the elevation of Firoz and also in the formidable opposition that her own accession without their consent had provoked. The jealousy with which they guarded their privileges which included, among others, a monopoly of such household offices as the *Amir-i-Hājib*, *Wakil-i-Dar* and *Amir-i-Akhūr*, can be seen in the case of Rayhān, an untitled Indian Muslim, whose appointment as Maḥmūd's *Wakil-i-Dar* in 651/1253, united all the Turkish nobles against the crown and so had to be eventually cancelled.⁷¹ Iluttmish had been able to divert their energy by his frequent military expeditions, but with his death the crown appeared to be faced with total eclipse unless they could be checked or at least kept busy with military activities.

This was no easy task. What with her youth and sex, the intrigue of her brothers and the absence of any sense of loyalty in the soldiers, success seemed well-nigh impossible. The only support upon which she could reasonably count was that of the citizens of Delhi and it was possibly to inspire them with a stronger sense of loyalty and enhance her own popularity with all classes of people that in the third year of her reign she regularly used to ride in public through the city.⁷² To counteract the impression of effeminacy and weakness that her sex was likely to create, she discarded female dress when appearing in public and held a court every week in which the earlier arrangement of female guards and the screen was done away with, and transacted state business and dispensed justice "in the manner of

⁷⁰ See Barani, *op. cit.*, p. 145, for Bugra Khan's elaboration of the various elements, forming the state, without which "a kingdom is only a Zamindari."

⁷¹ *Tab. Nās.*, p. 219.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 188; 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 129. The latter makes it clear that these changes in her conduct occurred towards the end of her reign.

kings.”⁷³ What practical steps she was able to take to curb the nobles have not been recorded for us, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that the favour or “preference” shown to the *Amīr-i-Akbūr*, Jamaluddin Yāqūt, was part of her policy to break their monopoly of all state patronage. Scattered references in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* show that the post of *Amīr-i-Akbūr* used always to be held by a Turkish Amīr before his eventual promotion to the rank of Malik,⁷⁴ and like the office of *Amīr-i-Hājib* the proximity to, and consequent influence on, the Sultān which it carried, were considered part of the exclusive privilege the nobles enjoyed. Yaqut’s appointment, however, was not made by Rāziah herself,⁷⁵ for ‘Iṣāmī calls him the *Amīr-i-Akbūr* of the “*Shah* and *Shāhzāda*,” referring obviously to Iltutmish and Firoz. If this is true he must have been appointed immediately before the former’s death, and his retention in the same office by Firoz must have contributed to the discontent leading to his fall. The threat held out to their power became apparent to the Turkish nobles when Rāziah, on her accession,⁷⁶ not only confirmed him but, because she could count on his faithful support,⁷⁷ also showed marks of preference, the exact nature of which, unfortunately, has not been made clear,⁷⁸ and so has given rise to all kinds of unwarranted suppositions as we shall presently see.

It is no wonder, therefore, that, as Minhāj states,⁷⁹ a secret compact existed among the Amīrs and Maliks of the court and the

73 *Tab. Nās.*, p. 188.

74 See, e.g. the career of Maliks Tugan Khān and Tamar Khān.

75 *Op. cit.*, p. 129. Yahya Sarhindi, *op. cit.*, p. 26 says that he was appointed by her. There is absolutely no warrant for Ferishta’s statement, I, p. 68, that he was raised to the rank of Amīr al’ Umarā.

76 *Tab. Nās.*, p. 187-8.

77 ‘Iṣāmī states that he had attached himself to Rāziah’s cause ever since Firoz’s accession and was thus a faithful supporter of her policy; p. 129.

78 The word used by almost all early historians is *قربى* favour or preference.

79 *Tab. Nās.*, p. 188.

provinces near Delhi, at the head of which stood the *Amir-i-Hājib*, Malik Aitigin. What the ultimate object of this conspiracy was it is not at all difficult to see. As realised after her fall, it was not only to depose her but to ensure, by rendering the sovereign constitutionally impotent, that no encroachment was again made on their predominant position in the government. It speaks a great deal of her popularity in the city and also of the measures she must have devised to prevent a secret revolution, that the conspirators did not dare attempt to capture the palace or besiege the city as was done in the case of Firoz, and subsequently, Bahram and Ma'sūd. That she was able to rule, and not merely reign, for three years without any visible weakening of her hold over such outlying provinces as Bengal or Uch, also shows the strength she was able to gather by her diplomacy and efficient administration. Delhi thus being solidly behind her, it was necessary for the conspirators to decoy her from the city, and this could be easily done by raising a rebellion in a distant province. It is more than probable that Kabir Khān's rebellion, occurring in 637/1239, alluded to above, was in accordance with this plan. Its failure to lead to the desired consummation must be ascribed to her own courage and loyalty of the soldiers and citizens of the capital. A second attempt was, however, made soon after, in fact only a fortnight later,⁸⁰ thus allowing her no time to take further steps to consolidate her position. Malik Ituniah the superintendent of the *Khālīṣah* of Bhatinda, with whom the *Amir-i-Hājib*, Malik Aitigin was specially connected "by a firm compact and bonds of intimacy"⁸¹ and who used to receive secret informations from the court, "openly revolted from royal authority." Determined as she was to crush this incipient conspiracy, she set out immediately with all available forces, disregarding the heat and inconvenience of the

80 She returned from her pursuit of Kabir Khān on the 19th Shaban, and on the 9th of the following month set out against Ituniah. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

81 *Ibid.*, p. 251.

month of Ramzān. This was precisely what the conspirators desired, and on arriving at Bhatinda they first vented their wrath on Yāqūt⁸² who was murdered, and then, by a process which has not been detailed, captured the queen and placed her in charge of Iltuniah.⁸³ Now that the Delhi citizens were without any military force to support them in their espousal of the queen's cause, the rebels found it easy to proceed with their plan of raising her younger brother Bahram to the throne. It required only an intimation from the camp at Bhatinda⁸⁴ that the queen was captured for the new sovereign to be proclaimed in Delhi on the 27th of the same month. Having thus secured their victory and made arrangements for Rāziah's continued captivity, the Maliks leisurely returned to the capital to participate in the coronation and enter into the new positions vouchsafed for them by their agreement with Bahram.⁸⁵

Iltuniah, it seems, had reason to expect a substantial reward for his services to the Maliks in the shape of offices that were now distributed, and so long as his friend, Aitigīn, now the *Nāib-i Mamlikat*, lived, he waited in the hope that as soon as the new regime was firmly established he would get his due. But the latter's assassination three months later⁸⁶ and the consequent, though temporary, set-back the nobles received, destroyed his prospects. Bahram's growing unpopularity on account of Aitigīn's murder gave him reason to expect at least a partial support from his previous con-

82 It is likely, as Mir Khwand, quoted by Raverty, Transl. *Tab. Nās.*, p. 645, note 3—states that the main body of her troops was commanded by Yāqūt, (a position which his recognised faithfulness would naturally lead him to occupy) so that it was necessary to remove him before Rāziah could be captured. Minhāj calls him *Shabeed* (martyr), implying thereby that he was unjustly killed.

83 Cf., 'Iṣāmī, p. 130, who states that she was captured in the open court at Delhi from where after Yāqūt's murder, she was sent to Bhatinda, which, he adds, was captured a year and a half later, by Iltuniah, a wandering Turkish chieftain, who captured towns here and there, but never staying long anywhere!

84 *Tab. Nās.*, p. 191.

85 For details of the arrangements see *Tab. Nās.*, pp. 191-2, 253.

86 *Ibid.*, p. 154.

federates if, along with his captive, who was after all, far abler than any of her brothers and in great favour with the people,⁸⁷ he made a bid for the capital. This was exactly what suited Rāziah's purpose, and their eventual marriage not only cemented the alliance but gave Iltuniah a quasi-legal right to the throne as well. Two of his former associates, Malik Qarāqāsh and Malik Salārī, having, probably for similar reasons, joined them at Bhatinda, he collected a mercenary force of Khokars, Jats and Rajputs⁸⁸ and assuming royal insignia,⁸⁹ marched with Rāziah towards Delhi. Their troops were, however, no match for the regular of Bahram and were easily routed in front of the city.⁹¹ On their retreat towards Bhatinda the troops deserted them and on the next day, the 25th Rabi 1, 638/13th October, 1240, they were both murdered by robbers while asleep under a tree near Kaithal.⁹²

Thus died—a lonely refugee, unattended and far from human habitation,—the only queen India had ever known,—a queen whose heroic qualities, justice, sagacity, patronage of learning and concern for the welfare of her subjects evoked warm tributes from every writer of history. And yet, strangely enough, her virtue has been assailed, though with less unanimity, by a host of historians whose capacity of enlarging upon a perfectly harmless phrase is most amazing. That most imaginative of medieval historians, Ferishta, has the

87 Iṣāmī, p. 133.

88 Yahya Sarhindi dates the marriage in Ṣafar, 638/September, 1240, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

89 Iṣāmī, p. 133.

90 Haji Dabir, *op. cit.*, II, p. 704.

91 *Tab. Nās.*, p. 190, 192. Cf. Iṣāmī, p. 134-36, where she is said to have twice led her army against Delhi, and this obviously has been accepted by almost all later writers, e.g. *Tab. Akb.*, I, p. 33, Ferishta, I, p. 68. Minhāj himself, however is not quite clear for he gives a confused sequence of events and uses the phrase "a second time" (p. 190) in connection with Iltuniah's intended march to Delhi.

92 *Tab. Nās.*, pp. 190 and 251; Haji Dabir, *op. cit.*, II, p. 704; Yahya Sarhindi, *op. cit.*, p. 29; as well as *Tab. Akb.*, I, p. 33, however, state that they were sent as prisoners to Delhi and were executed under Bahram's orders.

following remark as a postscript to his account of Rāziah's reign: "The wise and discerning persons know wherefrom rose this storm of destruction and uprooted the tree of Rāziah's fortune; indeed, what pretence has a Habshi slave to the *Amīrul Umarā*-ship of Delhi, and what can such depraved rascals have to do with the leadership (in the affairs of) such a queen?"⁹³ A little earlier, while describing Rāziah's favouring Yāqūt and copying the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, he adds that Yāqūt was promoted to the rank of *Amīrul Umarā*. The latter work from which both he and Budaoni⁹⁴ demonstrably drew, in describing his alleged familiarity with the queen as expressed in his actions, states that "he put his hand under her arms and placed her on the animal she rode."⁹⁵ The publication of 'Iṣāmī's work has made it possible to trace the origin of this particular description⁹⁶ which, along with her public appearance, was regarded as sufficient proof for the conclusion suggested by Ferishta and picturesquely summed up by Edward Thomas.⁹⁷ That she was unchaste⁹⁸ or guilty of intimacy with Yāqūt is, it is to be noted, never positively asserted by any early writer, not even by that gossipy journalist, Ibn Baṭūṭa, who merely records, what must have been told him, "that she was imputed of having connection with one of her Abyssinian slaves."⁹⁹ A closer examination of the relevant verses in 'Iṣāmī would also show that, far from making any such accusation or believing in it he makes it quite clear that this "preference" shown to Yāqūt had nothing to do with the "public disapproval" which, in fact, preceded it and became evident within six months of her committing the "triple offence" of discarding the veil, holding public court and riding out in the city. It is after recording this fact that Yāqūt is men-

93 *Tarikh*, I, p. 69. 94 *Muntakhab al-Twarikh*, I, p. 84. 95 p. 32.

96 *Op. cit.*, p. 129. 97 *Chronicles of the Pathan kings of Delhi*, p. 106.

98 Cf. Ranking's *Translation of Budaoni's work*, p. 120 where the original word

سَتَر meaning seclusion, has been rendered as chastity.

99 *Kitab al-Rablah*, II, p. 26.

tioned, and if any reflection is found in the verses that follow, purporting to be the deliberations of the 'Arkan-i-Daulat', it has no reference to any individual, much less to the queen;¹⁰⁰ what is expressed therein is really the opinion of the bachelor 'Iṣāmī on the unreliability of female character. Whether he had good evidence for his statement respecting Rāziah's riding we do not know, but the only contemporary account of the reign, namely the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, has the unambiguous sentence respecting Yāqūt that "he acquired favour in attendance upon the Sulṭān¹⁰¹ so that the Turk Amirs and Maliks began to be envious thereof." Yahya Sarhindi, while copying this exact phrase, elucidates it a little by adding that she appointed him near her person,¹⁰² while Haji Dabir, a very careful and conscientious writer, elucidates it further by saying that "Yāqūt continued getting promotions to the higher ranks until the Turkish Maliks became envious of him¹⁰³ and a feeling of shame seized them (on account of his high position).¹⁰⁴ It is thus perfectly clear that Minhāj's phrase *قربتی افتاد* refers to Rāziah's increasing dependence on him as a counterpoise to the dominance of the Turkish heirarchical

100 The following couplets, containing the only reference to the possibility of Yāqūt's taking undue advantage of her, would clearly show that their fear was, not that Rāziah would disgrace herself with him, but that he might, now that he has advanced so far among all the servants (of state), lay his hand on the Seal (of authority, that is, the crown) itself.

گزین گویند کین دیر در ملک جم * مسخر تر آمد ز جهله خدم
عجب نے کہ گرسنت یابد کہے * بے نص خاتم بگیرد ره

101 *Op. cit.*, p. 187-88; Raverty's translation, p. 643. The sentence reads *بخدمت سلطان قربتی افتاد*. The term *قربتی* as Raverty has shown, is also used in describing Aibak's relations with his master; see p. 139.

102 *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

103 This fact of their resulting jealousy is repeated by many writers, see e.g. *Mirat-i-Jaban Nurna*, British Museum Ms. Or. 1998, f. 53.

104 *Op. cit.*, II, p. 703.

و ترقی علی الدرجات القرب ملک جهل الدین یا قوت و ام تزل ینقدم حتی
حسدہ الملوک الا ذلک و خلفهم الغیرة عنه

nobility, which it was very easy, in the case of a young women like her, for her opponents to construe into undue intimacy.¹⁰⁵ In view of this trust reposed in him it is but natural, if we accept 'Iṣāmī's account as true, that she would require not only his presence but also assistance on the occasion of her riding, which in any case would be part of the duties of the Amīr-i-Akhūr (Master of the Stables). It is unthinkable that Ituniah, being a leading member of that group of nobles which was supposed to have been so 'scandalized' by her moral lapse, would have married her himself if he believed her to be really guilty. Her greatest fault according to 'Iṣāmī which the nobles could find, and which they later pointed out as proof of her unfitness and reason for consequent removal, was her disregard of all conventions in throwing up the veil and thereby creating 'public suspicion.'¹⁰⁶

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105 A verse in the *Tab. Nās.*, p. 253 may, however be siezed upon as a conclusive proof of Minhāj's belief in her guilt. It is as follows:

عنان تافت درت ز پیرامدش * چ گردی سیه دید بر دامدش

But the context in which the lines occur would reveal that it could never have been a part of the original text and is an obvious interpolation by a later scribe. Raverty,—Transl. of *Tab. Nās.*, p. 750,—states that this sentence is not found in earlier manuscripts. The same verse is quoted by Yahya Sarhindi, *Op. cit.*, p. 27, as his own composition, without any reference to its earliest origin.

106 'Iṣāmī, p. 132.

English Missions to Mir Jumla*

(1650-'52)

The Conquest of the Carnatic

The conquest of the Carnatic was a turning point in the career of Mir Jumla and it profoundly influenced his relations with the English. The Persian merchant-adventurer, till lately a noble and minister in the court of an independent king, had himself carved out an almost independent kingdom, at once rich and powerful.¹ The English found their erstwhile commercial rival and dangerous friend installed in the position of almost their overlord. So they looked upon the Nawab's conquest of the Carnatic with mixed feelings of apprehension and eagerness to secure his favour and support. But Mir Jumla, far from manifesting any hostile designs against the English at a critical stage in his career, showed a friendly disposition to them and confirmed their existing *Qaul* and privileges on behalf of the Golkonda sovereign (June 1647).²

Reasons of Nawab's hostility to the Dutch

Besides the English, the Dutch were extremely anxious 'to keep in the good graces of the all-powerful Nawab.' But it appears from the report of Walter Littleton and Venkata Brahman³ (January 17, 1651) that the Nawab, who was formerly well disposed towards the Dutch, grew displeased with them for several reasons: (i) The Nawab had "very well perceived abundance of pride and infidelitie in the Dutch," who aimed at monopolising the whole trade of India in their own hands, as the Danes were "quite blown up" and

* Based on English Factory Records.

1 Vide the Report of Littleton & Venkata Brahman, January. 17, 1651.

2 My article on 'Early Relations of Mir Jumla with the English (upto 1650),' *Proceedings of the Third Session of the Indian History Congress*, December, 1939.

3 FEF., 1651-54, p. 13.

the Portuguese "in a very low condition."⁴ (ii) The Nawab had written, at the solicitation of the Governor of Pulicat, a letter to the Dutch Governor-General at Batavia.⁵ For three years no notice was taken of it. (iii) Again the Nawab was angry at the Dutch interference with his trade at Queda and Achin.⁶ Formerly Mir Jumla used to buy spices from the Dutch at his own prices and prevent other merchants from coming to them. But the Dutch authorities at Batavia had issued orders that the goods should be stored in their godowns till the Nawab himself would, or allow others to, purchase them at such high rates as prescribed by the Dutch.⁷ This had compelled the Nawab almost to give up a very profitable trade.⁸ (iv) The Nawab heard that the Governor of Pulicat had insolently boasted that this country could easily be taken by the Dutch, and so he was highly displeased with them and had declared that they would not be allowed to trade within his jurisdiction.⁹ (v) The Dutch endeavoured "to quench this heate" i.e. to placate the Nawab and reopen the trade. In the autumn of 1650, they sent to the Nawab, then encamped at Gandikota,¹⁰ an envoy with a large present, but without any reply to his previous letter. This the Nawab considered a great slight and so he 'scornfully rejected' the present and the messenger returned disgracefully without any reply.

4 *FEF.*, 1651-54, p. 13.

5 *Ibid.*, XXV, 13.

6 *Ibid.*, XXV. Queda was a city, port, and kingdom on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. It has a long antiquity, being probably referred to by Ptolemy and identical with Kadalā [Kedāram] of the Śailendra empire, and the Kalah of early Arab voyagers. Its commercial importance has been attested to by different persons like Barbosa (1516), Barros (1553), Linschoten (1598), Bocarro (1614) and Capt. Sherard Osborne (1838). In the 16th and 17th centuries it was specially famous for this pepper trade. See Hobson-Jobson *SV.*, Quēdda 567-8. Achin was a state and town in the N.W. angle of Sumatra. During the 16th and 17th centuries it was the greatest native power there. *Ibid.*, *SV.*, Acheen, p. 3.

7 The factors observed: 'the reason we could get none for your account.'

8 Letter of Jan. 18, 1651. *FEF.*, 1651-4, 22-24.

9 *Ibid.*, 13.

10 In Cuddapa district. *Ibid.*, 22n. It is 42 miles N.W. of Cuddapa town. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, vols. I & II, p. 194 & n.

Commercial plans of Mir Jumla

Being angry with the Dutch, Nawab Mir Jumla wanted to frustrate their commercial aims. In the first place he aimed at becoming a monopolist himself, and thereby strengthening his territorial and commercial position. Deprived of the profits of the spice trade with the Dutch, he established a monopoly of the trade in all 'brown' or unbleached cloth in his "new conquests." No piece of cloth was to be sold by anybody except by his own 'ministers' i.e. agents, who were 'to engross all from the weavers,' and had 'order to rate them at 20 per cent proffitt to whomsoever will buy or keep them in his warehouse, as the Dutch do their spices.' He was determined to persevere in his scheme of monopoly till he could 'bring a monopoly upon all imported goods.'¹¹

In the second place, he endeavoured to enter into a commercial agreement or contract with the English E.I.C. by which they would get their supplies of piece-goods from his agents and "share with him in the profits of voyages made to Persia and other parts."¹²

Attitude of the English

The English, on their part, wanted to secure the co-operation of the Nawab, by taking advantage of his displeasure with their rivals, the Dutch.¹³ Moreover, the Agent and the factors at Fort St. George feared that the proposed monopoly of the Nawab would affect the chances of the English trade as adversely as the Dutch, though they hoped that the Nawab had then no eye on the English trade as it was 'of small consequence' as compared to the 'vast traffic' of the Dutch. Thus they observed: "his policy now must poiz us

¹¹ FEF., 1651-54, XXV, 22-23. In March 1654, Venkata Brahman was accused by Henry Greenhill of 'subverting the Company's free trade by inciting the Nabob to monopolize it.' *Ibid.*, 235. The monopoly over cloth manufacture was not very unusual. See Moreland, *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 147-149.

¹² FEF., 1651-54, XXV; p. 232, 133. Love, I, 100-101. ¹³ FEF., 1651-54.

both in one scale, though it seemes with different affections.”¹⁴ For though the Nawab refused the Dutch mission in September, 1650, he courteously received an English mission ‘about the same time and for the same end.’¹⁵

English Mission (Sept. 1650)

In the autumn of 1650 (Sept.) Agent Greenhill (1648-52) and his Council sent a broker, Venkata Brahman by name, to Nawab Mir Jumla, then encamped at Gandikota, with a present consisting of ‘a horse, six yards of scarlet, 24 yards of gold and silver lace, with some other toys.’ The mission was courteously received by the Nawab. In his letter of reply, which was “full of fair promises and shows of friendship” he invited the Company to a “neerer correspondence and amity”¹⁶ and promised to subscribe to the Company’s stock¹⁷ and share in the profits,—he earnestly desired “to join in a stock with the Honourable Company on such terms as are there proposed, either for a generall trade or having only reference to voiaiges to and from this coast, as you shall approve off.”

The Nawab represented to the English that by joining him they would profit immensely, they might even ‘enjoy the whole trade,’ i.e. just as the Nawab would monopolise and control the marketing organisation (i.e. production, sale, and price) and be the sole stockist and agent, so the English would become the sole distri-

¹⁴ *FEF.*, 1651-54, 22-23.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.* The Nawab’s propositions were sent through Venkata Brahman. They were communicated by the Madras factors in their letter to Bantam dated 10th January, 1651 and in their instructions to Littleton (who was employed with Venkata) of 12th January, 1651. Sir William Foster writes that neither of these documents is extant. *Ibid.*, f.n.

¹⁷ Probably it is to Mir Jumla’s plans that Bruce referred in his *Annals*, I. 454-55: “The station of Madras having been obtained from the King of Golconda and the English trade appearing to him to be of great consequence, he made a proposal, this season, to the Agent and Council, of forming a Joint stock with the Company on which a coasting trade might be carried on, between the ports of his dominions and those of the other Indian powers.”

butors both inland and abroad, of articles of trade available in the coast. He also tried to excite the English against the Dutch by explaining to them that the Dutch wanted to exclude the English from any share in the Coromandel trade. So far as the English were concerned "they (the Dutch) could soon cause them (the English) to desert the trade here by overbuying and underselling them."¹⁸ The Fort St. George factors in communicating the Nawab's propositions to the Company (January 18, 1651), translated the substance of his letter, written in Persian, into English, lest no interpreter might be readily available. They requested the Company to send their answer in Persian as early as possible.¹⁹

The presents which the Nawab offered to the English included "a box of *bezar*,²⁰ seald up with his scale, and a fardle of fine cloth, marked Nabob's presents, together with the letter in a waxt bagg." They were given to Captain Brookehaven.²¹

Mission of Littleton and Venkata Brahman (Dec., 1650)

In December, 1650, Greenhill responded to the Nawab's desire for closer intercourse by sending the same broker Venkata Brahman together with Walter Littleton on a further mission to the Nawab.²² The Fort St. George Council explained that though Walter Littleton did not belong to the Company's service (but to the Courteen's Association), they had selected him as 'none of the Company's servants was so fit as he to continue the negotiations' by virtue of 'his civil comportment, language and experience'.²³ He came back

¹⁸ FEF., 1651-54, p. 13.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 23.

²⁰ *Bezar* or *Bezoar* is a kind of stone, an animal concretion, employed medicinally. There are various bezoars in use, acc. to the animal producing it e.g., goat, camel, fish, monkey, snake etc. Etymologically, it is derived from Pers. *Pāzahr* or 'remedy of poison or venom.' The term came to use from the Arab medical writers, and this accounts for *b*, as Arabic has no *p*, and write *bāzahr*. Love, II, 324n; Hobson-Jobson, *SV.*, *Bezoar*, 68-69.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Love, I, 106-101. FEF., 1651-54, XXV.

²³ FEF., *op. cit.*, 23, 44.

much impressed with what he had seen and submitted a joint report to the Company (January 17, 1651).²⁴ "We were courteously received when we went to visit him, and cannot perceive otherwise by all circumstances than^e that he bears a real affection to the English. Therefore (he) desires to be united with your honourable society, not only for any short time, for he expressed himself so fully nobly that this league of friendship should be continued by his children after his decease; nor can we conceive or believe that he has any reach or circumventing invention; but on the contrary to make your business in this country a flourishing business, freely proffering to assist you on any needful occasion with 50 or 60,000 pagodas without looking for any more than love and amity.....

It is our opinion as well-wishers to your affairs, which be pleased favourably to accept of, that this business will redound much profit to your Honourable Employment, and prove a flourishing and prosperous trade for the future....."²⁵ The agents thus 'urged that an agreement with the Nawab would be very advantageous to the Company's trade.' They further observed that if the Company agreed to the terms of the Nawab he would frustrate the aims of the Dutch.²⁶

It is apparent from the above that Walter Littleton and Venkata Brahman were so much swayed by the Nawab's professions of goodwill and cordiality that they, on their own admission, failed to perceive the real intentions of Mir Jumla, which were just to keep the English over to his side during a very critical period in his own career. It was quite natural for him to offer generous loans to the English, for he had acquired the immense Carnatic plunder, which he tried to put to a profitable investment in this manner. At the same time he would appear as a real benefactor of the Company

²⁴ FEF., *op. cit.*, 13.

²⁵ Love, I, 99; 100-101. FEF., 1651-54, 12-13. Srinivasachari, *History of Madras*, 50.

²⁶ FEF., *op. cit.*

and thereby earn its gratitude and sense of obligation to be used in emergency.

The Nawab showed his earnestness by sending, through Littleton and Venkata, a letter to the Company, together with some presents, consisting of "3000 pieces of long cloth and 'Sallam-poores,'²⁷ of which as many as could be got ready in time have now been sent home, specially marked." Though their prices were not then known, they were "invoiced at the rates usually paid."²⁸ The above presents were dispatched to England by the *Lioness* sailing in January 1651.²⁹

Objections to the Nawab's offer

The proposal of the Nawab was examined by Greenhill, the Agent at Fort St. George, and he pointed out its "conveniences or inconveniences" in his letter to the Company, dated January 18, 1651.³⁰ Among the objections to the scheme Greenhill mentioned the following:—

(i) *The hostile attitude of the Dutch*:. The Dutch became already aware of the proposed agreement of the Nawab and the English, which was necessarily 'prejudicial' to their trade on the East Coast, "on (one) of the best flowres (flowers) in their India garden." So they endeavoured by all means in their power to 'dissuade' and threaten and offer 'affronts' to the English.

27 A variety of cotton goods, mentioned among other articles provided by Fort St. George, Jany. 12, 1714 (5). (Love, II, 134); and by the newly founded village of Chintadripeta (March 1738) (*Ibid.*, 260); and among Cuddalore goods (Fort St. George Consultations, Jany. 1, 1780) (*Ibid.*, III, 146). According to Hobson-Jobson (pp. 593, 505) it is a kind of chintz. *Palempore* was also a kind of chintz bed-cover made at Madras and Masulipatam and other places of India for export to Europe.

28 FEF., 1651-54, XXV, 22-24, 232, 133. Love, I, 100-101.

29 *Ibid.*, It arrived at Fort St. George, August 22, 1650; and left for England on Jany. 18, 1651. (FEF., *op. cit.*, 13, 20' or January 19, (*Ibid.*, 48).

30 *Ibid.*, 22-24.

So the Agent apprehended danger from this hostile attitude of the Dutch.

(ii) *Possible effects on other Presidencies and factories:* The Agent feared that other princes might imitate the example of Mir Jumla and set up similar but more harmful monopolies generally, which would cause complete ruin of trade. Then they would appropriate "to themselves a kind of power (as the intreaties of great men differ little from commands to dispose of your principall servants....)"

(iii) Moreover, the Company would be deprived of such profits as might be expected from goods imported by the Company from Europe. But Mir Jumla would "reap in all other trades an equal benefit with the Company."

Its advantages

Offsetting these serious objections, there were certain advantages which, as Greenhill pointed out, would accrue from accepting the agreement, either partly or wholly. (a) It would go a long way to solving the financial difficulties of the Company. They would be sure to get the cotton manufactures of the locality of the required size and goodness "at the cheapest rates," whether they had funds or not. (b) Payment could be made only at the arrival of the ships. No waiting would be necessary; the goods to be exported being ready beforehand the despatch of the ship would be timely. (c) The Company would be free from bad debts. (d) The servants of the Company would be free from much troubles (i.e. connected with advance of money, recovery of goods and debts etc.). (e) No 'dead stock' would remain 'unemployed.' (f) Private trade would be abolished. (g) The Company's share in the freight and profitable voyages which the Nawab would make to Persia, Mocha, Pegu and other places would not be small, so that the Company could easily furnish him with pilots, gunners and carpenters for better security of his ships.

View of the Agent and Council

In his letter to the Company the Agent wrote that he would again communicate with the Company overland from Masulipatam, after consulting the local factors.³¹ The consultation was held at Masulipatam on February 19, 1651. Agent Greenhill and his Council considered the proposals for trade made by the Nawab, but they were sceptical of the wisdom of the agreement.^{31a} They held that "it would be safest to agree to the third article, by which the Nawab consents to take all their Europe goods and pay for them in cloth and other commodities of this country at rates to be fixed later." The final decision was however deferred till the visit of President Baker^{31b} (then at Bantam). The Council hoped that if the Company thought it expedient to entertain the Nawab's offer, they would empower the President, Agent etc. "to treat and conclude with the Nawab." To the objection, raised by some, that the Dutch might "retaliate at sea", it was replied that the Nawab had already promised "to vindicate himself" and the English "by land." The Agent and the Council resolved that as the Nawab had written in Persian and sent a present, the Company should be advised to send their reply in Persian and "to authorize the presentation to him of 15 yards of scarlet cloth; 6 pairs of pistols; 10 gallons of the best spirits, and 15 of strong waters (both in handsome cases); 12 yards of rich gold lace, and 12 of gold and silver lace; 6 broad sword blades." The Council decided, in consideration of the invaluable services of Walter Littleton, to give him a salary of 12 rials of eight a month, till the Company's final opinion was known *i.e.*, he was to be employed on future missions to the Nawab.³²

31 *FEF.*, 1651-54, 22-24. 31a *Ibid.*, 261, 262.

31b Sept. 1, 1652.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 44. The list of presents throws some light on the Nawab's character,—his weakness for presents, curios and drinks. The Spanish rial of eight was the commonest European coin in the East then, being generally equivalent to about two rupees. Variations in value occurred where silver was not minted. Moreland, *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 330.

After having written to the Company by the *Lioness*, (Jany. 18, 1651) Agent Greenhill and the Masulipatam factors sent their broker (Venkata Brahman) once more to the Nawab at Gandikota, 'to learn what goods might be expected towards the landing of the next fleet and what price was to be fixed for those he had already supplied.'³³ But no reply had been sent by the Nawab to the letter carried up by the Brahman.³⁴

The Company's reply

The Company replied to the Nawab's offer about a year later. They avoided 'any pledge to make all their purchases from the Nawab's agents,' but agreed to give 'preference' to them.³⁵

In the summer of 1652, Littleton and Venkata again went to the Nawab, apparently carrying the letter of the Company and the accompanying present, which "met with a seemingly friendly reception" (Company's letter to Fort St. George, Feb. 20, 1654.) The Nawab seemed to have been well-satisfied, but the Company observed that the promised preference "was not intended to cover any concession in the rate of freight." However the Company regarded the Nawab's 'request' to be tantamount to 'command', and explained that "as the factors had agreed to his request ('or rather his command') nothing can now be done. Should, however, an opportunity occur of making him pay the usual rate, they see no reason why this should not be attempted."³⁶ This would make it clear that the factors had already agreed to the Nawab's demand of some concessions regarding the rate of freight, the Company disapproved of it, but found the position helpless, as his request was nothing but a command. Consequently the Company instructed the factors to rectify the mistake in future and endeavour to secure the usual rate if an opportunity arose.

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33 *FEF.*, 48.

34 Letter of Agent Greenhill to the Company (Febry. 28, 1651); *FEF.*, 1651-54. pp. 48-49.

35 *Ibid.*, 232-33. 36 *Ibid.*

Rudra*

The clue to the exact interpretation of the Rudra-myth lies in its being a mixture of opposites. He is beneficent Śiva (10, 92, 9), and is supplicated to avert the anger or the evil that comes from the gods (1, 144, 4; 2, 33, 7), to save beings from calamity (5, 51, 13), to bestow blessings (1, 114, 1, 2; 2, 33, 6), and wish welfare for the man and beast (1, 43, 7). His malevolence is frequently alluded to in *RV.* (1, 114, 7, 8; 2, 33, 1 etc.) and he is implored to avert his great malevolence and his bolt, when he is furious (2, 33, 11, 4; 6, 28, 7; 46, 2-4). He is also fierce (2, 33, 9-11) and is even once called man-slaying (4, 36). His form is dazzling (1, 114, 5) and lips beautiful (2, 33, 5) and he wears a glorious multiform necklace (*niṣka*. 2, 33, 10).

This mixture of good and evil, beauty and terror reminds one of the parallel character of the winter night of the Arctic region, which Nansen describes thus: ¹

.....But, O Arctic night, thou art like a woman, a marvellously lovely woman. Thine are the noble pure, outlines of antique beauty, with its marble coldness. On thy high smooth brow, clear with the clearness of ether, is no trace of compassion, on the beautiful cheek no blush of feeling. Among thy raven locks, waving out into space, the hoary frost has sprinkled its glittering crystals. The proud lines of thy throat, thy curves, are so noble, but, oh! unbendingly cold; thy bosom's white chastity is feelingless as the snowy ice. O! chaste, beautiful and proud, thou floatest through ether over the frozen sea, thy glittering garment, woven of Aurora beams covering the vault of heaven....."Oh, how tired I am of thy cold beauty!"

In fact, Rudra is the god of the Arctic nocturnal sky of winter combined with the phenomena of storms which are most prominent in the winter night and the middle part of the long Arctic day. Thus he is not only the god of winter night but also of the summer day, for he is associated with the noise of ice-breakings and lightn-

* References here, are from *Rgveda*, unless mentioned otherwise.

¹ *Farthest North*, p. 213.

ings and rainbows of Aurora borealis in the form of thunder, lightning and rainbow of the storm-cloud.

In his physical features, therefore, we find many traces of nocturnal sky. He is brown (2, 33, 5 f.), dazzling (1, 114, 5), brilliant like sun or gold (1, 43, 5) and multiform (2, 33, 9). He is self-glorious (1, 129, 3; 10, 92, 9) as the winter sky with the changing colours of Northern lights and is decorated with golden ornaments (2, 33, 9). He wears a glorious multiform necklace (*niṣka* 2, 33, 10), evidently of the various hues of Aurora borealis, of which the following account will clarify the idea:

".....the northern lights flashing in matchless power and beauty over the sky in all the colours of the rainbow. Seldom or never have I seen the colours so brilliant. The prevailing one at first was yellow, but that gradually flickered over into green, and then a sparkling ruby-red began to show at the bottom of the rays on the under side of the arch, soon spreading over the whole arch. And now from the far-away on western horizon a fiery serpent writhed itself up over the sky, shining brighter and brighter as it came. It split up into three, all brilliantly glittering. The serpent to the south turned almost ruby-red, with spots of yellow, the one in the middle, yellow; and one to the north, greenish white.....The serpents reached and passed the zenith.....only a faintly glowing fiery serpent near the horizon showed where it had begun.....Later the masses of light had passed northwards and spread themselves in incomplete arches over the northern sky." (*Farthest North*, pp. 187-188).

Thus not only did we find the golden ornament or multiform necklaces, but also the necklaces of serpents which the later mythology attributes to Śiva or Rudra. One more illustration will make it more expressive:

"The glowing fire-masses had divided into glistening, many coloured bands, which were writhing and twisting across the sky both in south and north. The rays sparkled with purest, most crystalline rainbow colours, chiefly violet, red or carmine and the clearest green. Most frequently the rays of the arch were red at the ends and changed high up into sparkling green, which quite at the top turned darker, and went over into blue or violet, before disappearing in the blue of skyor.....Sometimes the spectacle reached such a climax that one's breath was taken away; one felt that now something extraordinary must happen—at the very least sky must fall.' (*Ibid.*, pp. 191-192).

So there is terror in the beauty of the Arctic nocturnal sky, there is joy and sorrow combined.

Śiva, the Nīla-kaṇṭha

Now we can better appreciate the personal appearance of the god. He has thousand eyes (*AV.*, 11, 2, 2, 7; *VS.* 16, 7) which are stars of heaven. His blue neck (*VS.*; 16, 7) or blue tuft (*AV.*, 2, 27, 6) is the blue Zenith of the sky, where Auroras are rarely present, and which Nansen describes as follows:

"The sky is like an enormous cupola, blue, at the Zenith, shading down into green, and then into lilac and violet at the edges.....up in the blue of the cupola shine the stars, speaking peace.....Presently the Aurora borealis shakes over the vault of heaven its veil of glittering silver--changing now to yellow now to green, not to red.....Presently it shimmers in tongues of flame over the very zenith; and then again it shoots a bright ray right up from the horizon, until the whole melts away in the moonlight... Here and there are left a few waving streamers of light..... But now it is growing again; new lightnings shoot up; and endless game begins afresh." (*Ibid.*, p. 153).

His weapons mentioned variously are also the arches, shafts semicircles or other forms of light made by Aurora borealis or lightnings, and meteors. Thus he is said to be armed with a bow and arrows (2, 33, 10, 11; 5, 42, 11; 10, 125, 6) which are strong and swift (7, 46, 1). He is an archer (6, 20, 9; 2, 33, 11; *AV.*, 1, 28, 1; 6, 93, 1; 15, 5-7) and is invoked to come with archers (10, 6, 8). He is once said to hold the bolt in his arm (2, 33, 3) and his brilliant shaft discharged from the sky traverses the earth (7, 46, 3). In the later Vedic texts we find the frequent mention of his arrows, weapons, bolts and club (*AV.*, 1, 28, 5 etc., *ŚB.* 9, 1, 16).

These lightnings and gorgeous shafts of lights were always fear-exciting and constantly discharged against the darkness of the winter night. Therefore he was called unsurpassed in strength (2, 33, 10), unassailable (7, 46, 1), strongest of the strong (2, 33, 3), and strong (1, 431, 114, 1). He was formidable and terrible (2, 33, 9, 11; 10, 126, 5; 2, 33, 1). Sometimes lightnings fell, or meteors really proved to be deadly. So all these shafts of light were dreaded and even the gods were afraid of the bow and numerous arrows of Rudra, lest he should destroy them (*ŚB.*, 9, 1, 1, 1-6).

The epithet *jalāṣa* or *jalāṣa bheṣaja* (1, 43, 4; *AV.*, 2, 27, 6) applied to Rudra have baffled the scholars a great deal. *Jalāṣa* may be referred to two Sanskrit roots which Pāṇini mentions. The one is *jala* 'to destroy, to avert,'² and the other *as* 'to shine, to take.'³ Thus *Jalāṣa* would mean destructive or averting and moving or shining in one. Therefore his title *Jalāṣa Bheṣaja* meaning 'possessing destructive or averting and shining' remedies refers to the Rudra's luminous weapons of lightnings and electric discharges of Aurora borealis which are the effective remedies of cold and darkness, as Agni is said to be the medicine of cold (*Agnir himasya bheṣajam*). The idea of light-rays as remedies was most common in Norse, Iranian and Ṛgvedic mythology. We come across frequent references to the medicinal qualities of the rays of the sun and moon.

That these remedies refer to the electric discharges of Aurora borealis is corroborated by *Rgveda* itself. Thus by the help of these beneficial remedies (*śatamebbiḥ bheṣajebbiḥ*) his worshipper hopes to live a hundred days of winter (2, 33, 2) (*himāḥ*), when there will be no sun at all. In his hand are the resplendent (*bibhrat*) remedies, preventive⁴ (*vāryaṇi*) and, protective (1, 114, 5). He is *Jalāṣa bheṣaja* and alternatively shining like brilliant sun of gold, (1, 43, 3, 4). The remedies (*bheṣaja*) moving in heaven now in the group of two (*dvike*) now in the group of three (*trike*) (10, 59, 9) also seem to refer to the changing flashes of Aurora borealis.

His abode seems to be the winter night of that Arctic region, where it lasts for hundred ordinary days. One can pass *śatam himāḥ* with the help of these remedies (2, 33, 2). These winter-nights of 100 days may be concluded by the existence of 30 days dawn in *RV.*, pointed out by Tilak and six months sleep of Ṛbhus who are the

² जल घातने जल अपवारणे

³ अस गतिदोष्यादानेषु cf. Apte's *Practical Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 180.

⁴ *Jalāṣa* itself means both in one.

rays of Aurora borealis, twilights, and rising and setting sun that sleep during long Arctic day. Thus, 100 days of winter night + 60 days of two twilights + 180 days (typified in 12 fortnights—Ahah; see *A.H.V.*) of R̥bhus' sleep⁵ = 340. The remaining 20 days may be allowed for the mild rays of sun making the ordinary days of 24 hours, with night lit by Aurora borealis when R̥bhus (the rays of rising and setting sun and of Aurora borealis) are awake and not sleeping (not transformed into the milky sun-shine of Arctic region). Rudra lives therefore in the winter night of 100 days, and that is why he remains behind, when gods attain heaven (*SB.*, 1, 7, 3, 1), that is, the luminaries of sunshine, dawn etc. enter the scene. The same night seems to be as a basis, when Siva, in the later literature, is said to abide in the North, in a dreary place, roaming in the company of multiform *bbūtas* and *pretas* (probably the flashes of auroras) and his wife (possibly night) who was now formidable, now beautiful like the winter-night itself.

Though his abode was in their winter night, he was the universal god, the lord of this world (*RV.*, 2, 33, 9) and his presence was felt even in the period of sunshine. For now and then there were as in winter night, clouds, thunders and lightning and fierce wind. All this happened mostly in the advanced period of sunshine, when the sun was hot in the northern hemisphere and attracted the vaporous winds from the south. It is why we find Rudra as one of the chief deities of the mid-day libation.⁶ All the chief characteristics of the winter, namely darkness, wind, noise were present in the stormy weather of Arctic day, only the lightning was single, while in aurora borealis they were many lightnings.

Tryambaka, an usual epithet of Siva in later literature is already applied to Rudra in the Vedic texts (*VS.*, 3, 58; *SB.*, 2, 6, 2, 9) and

5 Cf. *RV.*, 4, 51, 6, and *Vedic Index* under R̥bhu (R̥bhu = deities 'of dawn).

क खिदासां कतमा पुराणो यया विधाना विदधुर्भूणाम् Uṣas = two twilight.

6 *AV.*, 3, 30, etc.

is once mentioned even in *Rgveda* (7, 59, 12). The word is obviously connected with *ambikā*, which is a post-vedic name of Śiva's wife, and which occurs for the first time in *VS.*, 3, 5 as the name of his sister. *Ambikā* is most probably derived from *ambi* 'to sound' (*ambī śabde*). The winter night of Arctic region is greatly famous for the turbulent atmosphere and the noise produced by the breakings and pressings of the ice-layers.^{6a}

Therefore we would naturally expect four *Ambikā* (noise making periods). We have seen that the noise produced by ice pressures, caused by tidal waves is mostly, at the time of our spring and autumn which correspond respectively to the Polar twilights along with sunrise and sunset. The other two noise periods are the winter-night and summer day when the southerly and the northerly winds respectively howl with the velocity of 13 to 42 ft., causing a great pressure on the ice of the sea. Of these four periods, the conception of Rudra included all as he was the universal god, the lord of

6a Fridtjof Nansen describes them with fear: "As I was sitting drawing in the afternoon I was startled by a sudden report of crash. It seemed to be straight overhead, as if great masses of ice had fallen from the rigging on to the deck above my cabin." (*Ibid.*, p. 190). "The theory of ice pressures being caused to a considerable extent by the tidal wave has been advanced repeatedly by Arctic explorers.—And our experience seems to leave no doubt that over a wide region the tide produce movement and pressures of the ice. It occurs especially at the time of the spring tides, and more at new moon than at full moon. During the intervening periods there was, as a rule, little or no trace of pressure. But these tidal pressures did not occur during the whole time of our drifting. We noticed them especially the first autumn . . . Pressure occurs here (Polar region), occurs irregularly and is mainly caused by the wind driving the sea. (*Ibid.*, pp. 165-166).

"Such an ice conflict is undeniably a stupendous spectacle. One feels one's self to be in the presence of Titanic forces, and it is easy to understand how timid souls may be over-awed and feel as if nothing could stand before it. For when the packing begins in earnest, it seems as though there could be no spot on the earth's surface left unshaken. First you hear a sound like thundering rumble of an earthquake far away on the great waste; then you hear it in several places, always coming nearer and nearer. The silent ice-world re-echoes with thunders . . . There are howling and thunderings round you . . . (*Ibid.*, pp. 166-167).

this vast world (2, 33, 9). But the three periods that could be conceived as having feminine beauty and also a sort of sister-hood were the periods of two twilights with sun-rise and sun-set respectively and the winter night, all dressed in beautiful colours of varied nature. In fact the dawn is often said to be the sister of night, (1, 113, 2, 3; 10, 127, 3) and when Uṣas is said to be the elder sister of night (1, 124, 8), probably its identity with the evening twilight is present in the poet's mind for the two twilights being similar should be called by the same name, Uṣas. That both the twilights were known by that name is clear from the fact that night and Uṣas are said to follow each other.⁷ When night is said to drive away Uṣas, it cannot but be the evening twilight (RV., X, 127, 3).

It is, however, evident that Rudra was called Tryambaka because of the three Ambikās, the noise periods, conceived as females and they were the two twilights along with sunset and sunrise respectively and the winter night. These Ambikās, being closely associated with, and even partaking the noisy and beautiful nature of, Rudra, were thought to be related with that great god primarily as sisters, as in *T.S.* and *T.B.* When Rudra was conceived as the lord (Īśāna) (12, 33, 9) or the father of this whole world (6, 49, 10), because of his rule and universal dominion (cf. 7, 46, 2), the three ladies (Ambikās) were thought to be the mothers of the whole world or his queens. Of these the Ambikā *par excellence* was the winter-night, the true associate of Rudra. Therefore she is probably the basis of the Umā of later literature.

The myth of Satī

The later myth of Satī is also based upon the Polar phenomenon. The destruction of Satī in the sacrifice is identical with the disappearance of Aurora borealis in the growing fire of dawn, and her

7 RV., 1, 113, 2; SV., 2, 1100 cf. Laksman Sarup *Nir. Tr.*, p. 32.

rebirth and remarriage with Śiva means the reappearance of the Aurora borealis after the period of sun-shine and her consequent entering into the nocturnal land of winter night—the abode of Śiva.

The myth of Sāgara

The myth of Sāgara also must have been handed down, at least in substance, from generation to generation, from the Arctic-life. We have seen that the period of sun-shine with which the R̥gvedic Indians were well acquainted was probably the 180 days bright sun-shine and the 20 days of red-white sun-shine.⁸ Of this period of sun-shine, the first half belonged to the ascending sun, the triumphant Indra, full of energy and vitality, while the second half (hundred days) belonged to the descending or declining sun. Thus by hundred circles (*kṛtus*) of the sun-horse, Indra, the ascending day, became the lord of heaven, seated at the exalted position. While the sun of the next half was the horse of latter half-day, Sāgara (born with *gara*—the swallower of poison i.e. declining) who could complete only ninety-nine circles (*kṛtus*), the sun (the horse) being stolen during the 100th circle to the nether world the 60,000 sons of Sāgara (the setting rays of daylight), and are seen destroyed in the huge conflagration ("twilight fire") flaming up to heaven. Then Amśumān (having rays i.e. moon) and others (all moon gods) practise penances for long ages (for whole of winter night) and at length Bhagīratha (*lit.* the chariot possessing Bhaga, (the sun god) succeeds in bringing down the Ganges (the sun-shine) from heaven and purify and pacify the souls of the 60,000 brothers in the form of flashes¹⁰ (of Aurora borealis) who were playing fierce gambols everywhere.

8 See above, p. 787—100 days of winter-night, 60 days of two twilights, 180 days, and 20 days of sunshine=360 days.

9 See Nansen, *Farthest North*, Arctic twilight, described as "the glowing fire lit at the uttermost edge of the ice." p. 244.

10 Soul of the dead was regarded as luminous cf. *RV.*, 15.

Maruts

Maruts are generally held to be the storm-gods, and their brilliance is said to be due to the lightning. But so much luminosity and lustre as we find in Maruts cannot have been based upon the phenomenon of lightning with which the phenomenon of dark clouds would have been more important.

In fact, Maruts their patronymic name Rudriya suggests, belonged to the domain of Rudra and were the gods of the flashes of Aurora borealis of winter-night and the storms of wind occurring at the time of day or night. In the Arctic region, the Auroras, being an important phenomenon, the brilliance formed a main part of their nature, but in course of movement towards the southern countries, the phenomenon of lustre being completely absent, the stormy character of the god was only retained. This is the reason why we find that Marut is only a name of wind in classical literature.

Thus their brilliance resembles Aurora borealis. They are fires (3, 26, 4) or like fires (2, 34, 1; 6, 66, 2) or golden, of sun-like brilliance like blazing fires, of ruddy aspect (6, 66, 2; 7, 59, 11; 8, 7, 7). They shine like tongues of fire (10, 78, 3) and have the form and resplendence of Agni (10, 84, 1; 3, 26, 5). Their title *Abibhānavah* (1, 172, 1) reminds us of the serpentine flash of Aurora borealis seen often in Arctic region.

"He (Aurora borealis) would, itself a fiery serpent in a double coil, cross the sky. The tail was about 10° above the horizon in the north. Thence it turned off with many windings in an easterly direction, then round again, and westwards in the form of an arch from 30° to 40° above horizon, from which several branches spread out over the sky. The arches were in active motion, while pencils of streamers shot out swiftly from the west toward the east, and the whole serpent kept incessantly undulating into fresh curve."¹¹ They are said to shine in the mountains (8, 7, 1) which are clouds with lightnings or Aurora borealis for "the dark low clouds on a background if dim red seem like distant ranges of hills."¹²

They are essentially self-luminous (1, 37, 2; 1, 165, 12 etc.).

¹¹ Fridtjof Nansen, *Farthest North*, p. 332.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 165.

Their parentage and birth also show their association with *Aurora borealis*. Thus they are born from the laughter of lightnings (1, 23, 12; 38, 8) and they go with the flaming cows (2, 34, 5). Rudra is their father (1, 114, 6, 9; 2, 23, 1) who produced him from the shining udder of *Prṣṇi* (2, 34, 2) and they are often called Rudras or Rudriyas (1, 39, 4, 7; 38, 7; 234, 10 etc.) and *Prṣṇimātaraḥ* (1, 23, 10 etc.; *AV.*, 5, 21, 11; cf. 5, 52, 16, 8, 83, 1). The *Prṣṇi* is identified with storm-cloud,¹³ but more naturally it seems to refer to sky-spotted with stars, and the word is really used once in the sense of speckled (cf. 7, 103, 6, 10).¹⁴ That the *Prṣṇi*, their mother, is the sky producing *Aurora borealis* is supported by the fact that they are also said to be the sons of sky (10, 77, 2), heroes (*vīras*) of sky (1, 64, 4; 122, 1; 5, 54, 10), and the mortals¹⁵ (*maryaḥ*) of heaven (3, 54, 13; 5, 59, 6). Moreover when they are born from *Prṣṇi*, they are like fires (plural 6, 66, 1-3), obviously *Aurora borealis* flashes.

Their personal appearance and radiance and splendour as described could not have been possible by mere association of transitory streak of lightning. The *gaṇa* or *Śardhas* or their number thrice sixty (8, 85, 8) or thrice seven (1, 133, 6, *AV.*, 13, 113) all equal in age (1, 165, 1; 5, 59, 6; 60, 5), growing together (5, 56, 5; 7, 58, 1) have often been referred to, and they are said to have golden ornaments on their breasts, fiery lightnings in their hands, golden helmets up on their heads (5, 54, 11). They are armed with bows and arrows, garlands and golden ornaments (5, 53, 4; 57, 2; 8, 204, 12) which cannot but be, and in case of Rudra, the arches and shafts of *Aurora borealis*. They having armlets or anklets (the arches of light) golden mantles shine with stars like heaven or like the shining showers (of light).¹⁶ They wear golden mantles (5, 55, 6), when

13 Roth, *Nir.* 10, 39, p. 145.

14 Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 125.

15 They are mortals, for *Aurora* lights appear and disappear one after another. There is birth and death both.

16 2, 34, 2.

the lightnings in plural or the laughter of lightnings is mentioned. It certainly refers to the lightnings of Aurora borealis that appear simultaneously and illumine the whole sky. They are born from the laughter of lightnings (1, 23, 12; 38, 8) and the lightnings smile down on earth when the Maruts shed their *ghṛta* (1, 168, 8; cf. 5, 52, 6) which may be light.

Nonetheless, their connection with ordinary lightning is undisputed, and as said before, they are the gods of storm and winds also. They are often called *ṛṣṭividya* (1, 168, 5; 5, 52, 13) and they are often associated with lightning (5, 54, 2; 3, 11). As the god of winds they are generated by Vāyu (1, 134, 4), they come with winds that quake the mountains (8, 7, 4). The noise of winds (7, 55, 3) and of thunder is also associated with them (1, 23, 11).

The shedding of rain is chiefly attributed to them. They obscure their brilliance with the rain (5, 59, 1) for where there is cloud, Aurora borealis is not seen. They rush on with thunder, desiring to give water, whirling hail (5, 54, 3) and cover the eye of the sun (5, 59, 5). The spring which they milk makes thundering noise (1, 64, 6). In this way we have various allusion to this trait of theirs.

But their rain is not always the rain of waters, and there are many traits of Maruts which cannot be explained by their being merely the gods of wind, storm and rain. Thus they assume golden colours when they make water with the horse (2, 34, 13), a fact referring probably to the transformation of Aurora borealis into the golden light when the sun (horse) comes and makes water by melting ice. They also dispel darkness (7, 56, 20), produce light (1, 86, 10), make the path for the sun (8, 7, 8) and they create Indra-might (1, 85, 2). They like Daśagvavas were first to perform sacrifice (2, 36, 2) which is attributed to all twilight or fire gods,¹⁷ and which is the Arctic dawn-light, described by Nansen as 'glowing fire lit on the uttermost edge of ice' (*Farthest North*, p. 244)

17 See 'Agni and Soma', *Poona Orientalist*, Oct., 1936.

APPENDIX

Himāḥ and Samāḥ

The words Himāḥ and Samāḥ are often taken to signify the year, but it can hardly be borne by the facts.

The word Himāḥ, occurring always in the expression of 'Śatam himāḥ' seems to mean the 100 days of Arctic wintry night which, as we have stated, was probably known to the ancestors of the Ṛgvedic people. Our reasons are as follows:—

(1) The word occurs five times and always in the expression 'Śatam himāḥ' which seems to be dreaded by the people, as they invoke deities to protect them.

(2) At three places Maruts (1. 64. 14; 5. 54. 15), once Rudra (2. 33. 2) (both associated with Aurora borealis), and once Agni (the cure to cold) are invoked to let them cross or pass (*tarema*), to protect (*pāhi*) them for that period.

(3) Maruts are prayed to put (*dhattan*) on the most shining prowess (*dyumantaṃ śuṣman*) with which to protect them (people for *śatam himāḥ* (1. 64. 14). The *dyumantaṃ śuṣman* must refer to Aurora borealis (see Maruts above).

(4) The remedies given by Rudra can enable them to cross these *śatam himāḥ* are also the flashes of Aurora borealis as stated before. (See Rudra above).

(5) The *himāḥ* destroying the leaves of the plants (X, 68. 10) suggest that the climate refers to a colder climate than that of the Punjab where there is no such snow fall.

(6) The winter night of 100 days is met with so often in ṚV., (see Sec. VI, para, 11).

The word *samāḥ* which occurs twice in ṚV., (X. 124. 4; V. 83. 7) seems to signify the days of summer. In one verse the word occurs in the sense of similar. In one verse, of which Agni is the Ṛṣi, Agni is said to have made many *samāḥ*, choosing Indra. When Indra

comes to the kingdom (*rāṣṭram*), Agni, Soma, Varuṇa, all fall (*cyavante*), and the Asuras become devoid of their *māyā* (*nirmāyā*). This making of *samāh* most probably refers to the beginning of the Arctic summer day, when all the demons (of darkness or frost) loose their power. Of the gods who fall at the advent of Indra,¹ are the Agni (dawn-fire),² Soma (probably as moon) and Varuṇa (with whom sometimes night is associated). Therefore *samāh* refers to the days of the summer of Arctic region.

The reason why the summer days were so called may be that all were similar (*sama*) in being lighted up by white sun-shine opposed to *himāh* (the days of winter) variegated with Aurora borealis, and moon, hence different.

That in later literature, the word *samāh*, and *himāh* is the name of year is also natural. Though the *Śatam himāh* constituted originally the wintry night, cold period was not only that much. The periods of twilights (30 + 30) and 20 days of glow and mild sun-shine (10 + 10) were also cold. Therefore the year could be divided into two parts, *samāh* and *himāh*, comprising summer and winter respectively. The same tradition may be found preserved in *AV.*, 8. 9. 17, where six cold and six warm months are mentioned, as *Rtu*. Such kind of division was no more correct in India, where all the days are almost similar. Therefore the word *samāh* and *himāh* began to be used for the whole year of twelve months.

FATAH SINGH



1 Cf. *TS.*, 4-11, Indra born after dawn.

2 See 'Agni and Soma', *Poona Orientalist*, Oct. 1938.

The Talpurs of Sind

(An outline of their diplomatic and political vicissitudes)

A.D. 1783-1843

I. Introduction

The family of Talpurs first emerge into prominence during the rule of Mian Din Mohammad Kalhora about the end of the 17th century when Mir Shahdad Khan Talpur rendered distinguished military service to Prince Moiz-ud-Din, Governor of Multan (afterwards, emperor Jahandar Shah) in putting down the turbulent Kalhora ruler. Mir Shahdad was granted a *jagir* by the Prince as a reward for his timely services. Mian Din Mohammad was taken a prisoner by the Prince and was never returned. His brother Yar Mohammad Khan Kalhora was later (in 1701) installed as a Governor of Siwi (Sibi, which then included Shikarpur) with the title of Khuda Yar Khan. Mir Shahdad attached himself to Khuda Yar as his spiritual guide and military chief.¹

The earlier history of the Talpurs is not much known. They are said to have had very humble beginnings and to have been simple shepherds before they were first known to history. They appear to have at one time migrated from their native mountains to the left bank of the Indus where they settled down early in the 17th century at a distance of about 12 miles from the ancient ruins of Brahmanabad where, after Shahdad came into prominence, they founded a town which still bears his name, *viz.*, Shahdadpur.

The origin of the Talpur family is traceable from a Persian work called *Fatehnama* written by one Azim in the reign of Mir Fateh Ali Khan Talpur (1783-1802 A.D.), the first *de-facto* ruler of Sind in his line. According to it the dynastic name "Talpur" originated

¹ *Gazetteer of Sind*, p. 113.

from one Talo Khan who was the uncle and probably also the adoptive father of one Shahu Khan who was the father of one Kako Khan (*alias* Sulaiman Khan) who in his turn was the father of one Hotak Khan from whom sprang Mir Shahdad Khan, the first Talpur chief that is known with any bearing on the history of that dynasty.²

The racial origin of the Talpurs is a matter of controversy. They themselves claim to be of Arab descent and disdain to be identified with the Beloch clan. In his accounts Burton³ too often refers to them as a family of Belochs. He has nowhere traced the genealogy of their descent but appears to have drawn the conclusion as to their being Belochs by the similarity of their habits and predispositions with the national traits of the Beloch clan. Belochis themselves, however, claim descent from the Arabs and believe their original home to be 'Haleb' (Aleppo). They are said to be divided into two distinct families namely (1) the aborigines of Mekranad and (2) those Arabs who emigrated from Arabia with Hajjaj son of Yusuf and settled in the conquered provinces of Mekran and Baluchistan while the rest of the invading army marched into Sind.⁴ Whatever, therefore, may be the nomenclature of their clan, *viz.*, the Beluch or the Arab, their claim to Arab descent does not seem to be entirely without foundation, for even if they were not the progenies of an Arab clan different from the Beluchis, they belonged to the Beluch clan whose claim to Arabian origin is not disputed.

Conflict with Kalhoras and the emergence of the Talpurs

Now to turn to Mir Shahdad. After his death, his son Mir Behram became the chief minister of Nur Mohd. Kalhora and held

² The genealogical tree of the Talpurs is also given on page 303 of Fredunbeg's *History of Sind*, II.

³ Notes submitted by Burton to Govt. dated 31. 12. 1847, (*Bombay Govt. Records*).

⁴ Burton, 237.

the same office under Ghulam Shah. On a mere suspicion but in fact from an impulse of jealousy the latter dismissed Mir Bahram. Sarfraz Khan, who succeeded his father Ghulam Shah in 1771, went further and had Bahram and his son Sobdar treacherously murdered. Sarfraz was later deposed by his chiefs as he was an incompetent ruler. His tyranny over the Talpurs who had by now come to occupy a position of influence in the public also did much to precipitate the issue. The same fate befell Sarfraz's successors until Ghulam Nabi, a brother of Ghulam Shah, was elected to succeed to the throne. Mir Bijar Talpur another son of Bahram who had since long been away on pilgrimage to the holy places, returned at this stage to Sind, organized a successful rebellion of Beluch tribes to avenge the assassination of his relatives and defeated and killed Ghulam Nabi. A compromise was, at this stage, effected between Mir Bijar and Abdul Nabi, brother of Ghulam Nabi, whereby the latter was acknowledged the lawful ruler and the former appointed as his chief minister. Abdul Nabi proved no less treacherous than Sarfraz and had Bijar treacherously assassinated one day. This and subsequent events of similar nature gave rise to serious misunderstandings between the rulers and the ruled, culminating in a more decisive rebellion in A.D. 1783. Fateh Ali Khan, grandson of Bahram, placing himself at the head of the Beluchis whom he had excited to the highest pitch against the rulers, launched a powerful rebellion and completely defeated the Kalhora armies in the battle-field of Halani in the Kandiaro Taluk of Hyderabad district. Abdul Nabi the discomfited ruler vainly appealed to the Afghan king Taimur Shah for help,⁵ but the latter instead conferred the robe of honour upon Fateh Ali Khan Talpur thereby recognising him as the lawful ruler of Sind.

⁵ Taimur Shah, however, granted him the Govt. of Leia but he (Abdul Nabi) rebelled in his new kingdom and was defeated by royal troops. He spent his remaining days in exile and poverty in Dera Haji Khan in Upper Sind. (Elphinstone's *Cabul*).

under the suzerainty of Afghanistan. He thus became the first ruler of the house of Talpurs.

The Kalhoras had at the time of their overthrow ruled for over 80 years, and as their tombs and other architectural remains indicate, had reached a high stage of civilization and taste which is nowhere to be found in the dwellings of their successors.

Divisions of Sind

From the very start of the rule of the Talpurs, Sind was marred by division among different chiefs, for in the tumult and confusion which in those times was inevitable when a dynasty was yet hardly established, every chieftain tried to have authority and power. Mir Sohrab, nephew of Mir Fateh Ali Khan, was the first to assume independence. He left Hyderabad and formed his own kingdom in Khairpur and laid the foundation of his own branch of the Talpurs called "Sohrabani" line. Another chieftain named Thaira occupied Shabbunder in lower Sind and formed an independent province of his own called Mirpur. These divisions were probably not the outcome of political rupture but were the result of mutual family arrangement such as Sohrab himself had later made for his own sons in Khairpur and Fateh Ali for his brothers in Hyderabad. Thus Mir Fateh Ali Khan, taking his three brothers Ghulam Ali, Karam Ali and Murad Ali into partnership ruled at Hyderabad; Mir Sohrab Khan ruled at Khairpur with his three sons ruling over territories apportioned amongst them, while Mir Tharah Khan ruled at Mirpur. The Govt. of Sind thus became a confederacy of chiefs each ruling over his own share independently. Later, on the death of Mir Murad Ali and Fateh Ali, their sons took their places and similar changes continued in the triumvirate as time went on. Similar successions took place at Khairpur and Mirpur. This arrangement, peculiar in those times to Sind alone, was inherently defective, for they squabbled over the division of the country and

were never able to come to any terms.⁶ Their rule was thus necessarily short-lived and precarious. This indeed was the main cause of the eventual disintegration and the extinction of their rule; for, as we will see later, it was the disputes about the division of territories between Mir Rustam Ali and his younger brother Ali Murad of Khairpur that accelerated the fateful battle of Miani culminating in the extinction of their rule.

II. *Relations with the Afghans*

Sind, situated as it is on the borders of Afghanistan, could not remain independent and be allowed to work out its own destinies, the more so as in the establishment of the rule of the Talpurs the Afghan king had played the rôle of a suzerain. The Amirs were frequently pestered with demands of tribute which they failed to pay to Afghanistan in their attempts to secure independence. Whenever there was a respite to the king of Afghanistan from his own domestic troubles he turned to impose his demands on the Amirs. Between 1783 and 1792 the Afghan king sent several expeditions against Sind to demand arrears of the tribute. Finally in 1792 a treaty was signed at Shikarpur, whereby Mir Fateh Ali Khan paid 24 lakhs of rupees on account of arrears of tribute and engaged to pay somewhat enhanced tribute in future. About this time he moved his headquarters from Khudabad (near Hala) to Hyderabad which thenceforth became the capital of the Talpurs.

Annexations

The Amirs had no ambition of foreign conquest but they were anxious to wrest back those towns of Sind which were under the sway of the Afghans. From 1795 onwards the Amirs annexed some

⁶ Enclosure to Col: Pottinger's letter to Cap: Wade dated 18. 5. 1834. (*Punjab Govt. Records*).

of these important towns and areas to the kingdom of Hyderabad, especially those that had great commercial importance. Karachi was the first to be so annexed.

Karachi

It had been ceded to the Khan of Kalat by Kalhoras as compensation for the life of the former's brother who had been killed by them in a battle. By this time it had grown to be a great sea port second in importance only to Bombay. It was fortified and garrisoned by the Hindu merchants to whom it owed its rise; but they were compelled to surrender it to the Amirs because the Khan of Kalat to whom it owed nominal suzerainty was at that time too engrossed in his own troubles elsewhere to be able to protect them. The Amirs were anxious for its possession as it was one of the few towns capable of yielding large revenue to the State owing to the flourishing trade it possessed. Before its annexation the merchants used to import goods by the port of Sonmiani, where duties were more moderate and, through agents residing there, sent them from that place to Kalat and eventually to Kandhar by the Beyla route. On becoming its masters the Amirs strictly forbade this arrangement and compelled the merchants to import everything into Karachi. The trade and revenue accruing from it accordingly increased to a considerable extent. That the acquisition of this town proved to be a 'gold mine' to the Amirs is evident from the fact that while before the annexation the revenue derived from the customs was Rs. 9,000/- per annum it increased to an average of Rs. 1,50,000/- annually soon after the town passed into the hands of the Amirs. By 1837 it went up to about Rs. 1,74,000/- per annum.⁷

In 1813 the Amirs captured another town named Umarnkot which was till then under the nominal possession of Jodhpur. The

⁷ Memoir by Commander T. G. Carless, submitted to Government in August 1838 (*Bombay Govt. Records relating to Sind*).

forts of Islamkot and Fatchgarh which had been built to protect the town also came into the possession of the Amirs.

Shikarpur

In 1824 they cleverly secured the possession of Shikarpur,⁸ by far the most important of all the acquisitions of the Amirs. It is situated 24 miles to the north-west of the Indus and 40 miles from Larkana. It was founded by Daudputras⁹ in 1617 to serve as their *shikargah*. In about 1748 the Daudputras were expelled from it and the town was annexed to Kandhar. The Afghan king, Taimur Shah, encouraged the *Banias* to settle in Shikarpur, which thus became a centre of trade and commerce because of their inherent ability and intelligence in business. This town was favoured by nature to grow commercially into prominence owing to geographical advantages it possessed, being situate on the trade route from Sind through Bolan Pass to Kalat and Afghanistan and also to the rich valleys of Khorasan, Turkestan and Central Asia. These natural advantages inspired the merchants of Shikarpur with greater commercial enterprise and initiative than was the case anywhere else in the east in those times. Trade thus increased by leaps and bounds to an extent that these merchants employed agents in all parts of Afghanistan, Persia, Arabia, Central Asia and even in Russia.¹⁰

The districts of Boordicka Ropah and Chak Mazarcha, the town of Sukkur and the states of Mohammadabagh, Soreja, Kulwari and

8 A rumour of a contemplated attack on Shikarpur by the Sikhs spread through the country at a time when the Governor of Shikarpur had been summoned to Kandhar, and the Amirs finding the occasion propitious gathered an army under the walls of the town and persuaded the weak *locum tenens* into leaving the defence of the town to them. Having thus taken possession of the town they never gave it back. (*Gazetteer of Sind*, 119).

9 Sons of Daud Khan, a tribe of weavers and warriors. The Daudputras were expelled for their continued turbulence and rebellion about A.D. 1748 and formed afterwards the Bahawalpore State. (*Ibid.*, 54).

10 Ross, *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sind*, p. 54.

Sukhajee had, at various periods between 1809 and 1824, been taken possession of by trick or treaty, by force or purchase, from Afghans and annexed by the Khairpur Mirs.¹¹

The revenues of Shikarpur were shared by the Mirs of Hyderabad and Khairpur and for the collection thereof separate Governors were installed by the respective chiefs. According to Lt. Postans' estimate the revenue derived from the trade of Shikarpur amounted to about Rs. 55,000 per annum.

Apart from its commercial importance, Shikarpur, by reason of its situation, was of a high strategical importance, being connected, as already stated, by a direct route to Afghanistan through Bolan Pass. This dual importance of Shikarpur had been the main cause of the successive misfortunes of Sind—the frequent visitations of Shah Shuja and Ranjit Singh's hostilities towards the Amirs because of their ambition to take possession of Shikarpur.

Tribute payable to Afghans

Ever since the loss of Shikarpur and other towns by the Afghans they had ceased to exercise any authority over Sind. When, however, Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, prior to Mr. Elphinstone's mission, finally settled himself at Kandhar, the Amirs presented him one year with a sum of Rs. 27 lakhs as tribute.¹² Taking advantage of the king's difficulties which rendered him less formidable, the Amirs reduced this sum to Rs. 7 lakhs. Shah Shuja was driven out of Afghanistan in February 1810 as a result of the family feuds for supremacy and had to take shelter at Ludhiana under the protection of the British Government.

¹¹ Memoir on Shikarpur by Cap. Goldsmith, submitted to Govt. in Novr. 1854 (*Bombay Govt. Records*).

¹² Memoir by Captains Preedy and Rathborne, submitted to Govt. in December, 1847 (*Bombay Govt. Records*).

In February 1833 Shah Shuja set out from Ludhiana for a campaign in Afghanistan and on his way received presents from the rulers of Malerkotla, Kapurthala and Bahawalpur by way of material support in his bid to regain his lost throne. Maharaja Ranjit Singh also sent him a large sum of money. Shah Shuja compelled the Amirs to contribute to this fund a 'present' of Rs. 50,000/-.¹³ Another account says that Mir Murad Ali of Hyderabad himself invited him to Shikarpur promising him to restore some of the districts captured from Afghans and also to give him financial aid. This was evidently done because of the growing power of Khorasan and the menacing attitude of Ranjit Singh. But, by the time the Shah, availing himself of the offer, reached there, Mir Murad Ali had died, and Mirs Rustum and Mubarak requested the Shah to go back, failing which they hinted recourse to arms.¹⁴ He, however, paid no heed and remained at Shikarpur for a long time under the plea of making preparations for an expedition to Kandhar. The Amirs were incapable of turning him out, but were on the other hand compelled to help him with considerable amount of money for the purchase of equipment for the contemplated expedition. But he evidently wanted to establish himself at Shikarpur, for he began to run almost a parallel government there. Those who favoured the Shah (mostly inhabiting the areas on the west bank) were taken under his direct protection. He appointed his own officials, commenced legislating for his Sindhi protégés and assumed the powers of a ruler.

Shuja-ul-Mulk's adventures

As the patience of the Sindhis had thus been exhausted they marched under the command of Mir Mubarak and attacked the Shah at Sukkur but were signally defeated by the ex-king's forces

13 Cap. Wade to Govt. dated 30. 1. 1834.

14 Memoir by Captains Preedy and Rathborne (Decr. 1847).

under the command of his able general Samundar Khan. They were compelled to pay 5 lakhs of rupees in cash and 500 camels and to give a promise of future submission.¹⁵ It was however later agreed between the Shah and the Amirs that the former should proceed towards Kandhar, and that if he succeeded in regaining his lost dominions they would restore to him all his former possessions in Sind. The ex-king led his expedition in July 1832 but suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of Dost Mohammad Khan; Samundar Khan in whom many of his future hopes had centred was killed in the battle and the unhappy ex-king returned to Rojhan discomfited and disappointed. The question either of the cession of the territory conditionally promised by the Amirs or of the payment of the tribute thus never arose, but the Amirs were gracious enough to give him some money to enable him to return to Ludhiana.

From Col. Pottinger's report ¹⁶ it appears that in 1833 Shah Shuja had solemnly renounced in favour of Mir Murad Ali through releases written on copies of the Holy *Quran* all further claims on Shikarpur in return for the financial aid the Amirs had given him when he was preparing to lead his ill-fated expedition to Afghanistan. Later in 1833¹⁷ when the Amirs were required to assist the passage of the British army through Sind to Afghanistan regardless of the treaty of 1832 another heavy amount was wrung out of these luckless rulers for Shah Shuja in return for their emancipation from the Afghan suzerainty over Sind, in spite of the releases written on the Holy *Quran*.

15 Cap. Wade to Govt. dated 30. 1. 1834. In Goldsmid's Memoir (Novr. 1854) the amount paid is stated to be 4 lakhs of rupees.

16 Letter No. 19 dated 25. 2. 1835 from Col. Pottinger to Cap. Wade.

17 There is a little confusion in dates, for if the release was written in 1833 as Col. Pottinger says, as also corroborated by *Bombay Govt. Records*, the date of the actual launching of the expedition cannot be July 1832 as recorded in Goldsmid's Memoir (Novr. 1854).

III. *Relations with the Sikhs*

The beginning of the 19th century was a momentous period in the history of Northern India when all the conflicting forces on the scene of Indian politics were striving for supremacy. Conflicts of different powers had reached a climax and it was evident that a decisive battle was only a question of time. Unfortunately for the Amirs, they were at that time the centre of attention of all those who were struggling for the ultimate sovereignty of North-West India—the Afghans, the Sikhs and the English—because Sind was then a 'mine of gold' on which all eyes were covetously fixed. The Amirs were believed to be possessed of large sums of money and considerable revenue.¹⁸ Ranjit Singh believed that Sind yielded an annual revenue of two crores¹⁹ of rupees, although the money actually found forthcoming on the British occupation "disappointed all expectations."²⁰ For an ambitious man like Ranjit Singh it was no wonder that he should be exploring all possible avenues for the gratification of his passion for wealth. Moreover Shikarpur offered to its conquerors the prospects of a flourishing maritime trade and it is highly probable that Ranjit Singh had been meditating upon the conquest of Shikarpur with that end in view.²¹

¹⁸ Govt. of India in the course of their observations regarding the Amirs and their resources made in a letter dated 26. 7. 1838 to the Resident in Sind remarked that "the Amirs may fairly be supposed to be wealthy in consequence of long suspension of the tribute which was formerly paid to Kabul and with reference to the known fact that during this interval they have not been engaged in any extensive operations."

¹⁹ Resident, Delhi to Govt. dated 15. 7. 1809.

²⁰ It is stated in the *Gazetteer of Sind*, p. 137 that the annual revenue of the Amirs was estimated to be at least about 50 lakhs and that just before the British conquest it was computed not to exceed 35 lakhs; whereas the Resident, Delhi, computed it to be 2 crores (vide footnote 19 above). The different versions are thus greatly divergent, and it appears that the extent of their prosperity must accordingly remain undetermined.

²¹ Cap. Wade in his letter dated 11. 9. 23 to the Agent to G. G. Delhi states, *inter alia* "There is no doubt that the invasion of the district of Shikarpur is the chief object of the expedition,.....and that it is the Raja's design to extend his power

Ranjit Singh's designs

Ranjit Singh had a vast scheme of conquests, and the occupation of Sind was, for above-mentioned reasons, an important part of it. At the beginning of his rule he had been much occupied in consolidating his power in the Punjab and in reducing that of his neighbouring chiefs so as to remove from the field all competitors for the sovereignty of the Punjab. He had at the same time a definite design on Sind as early as 1809 as is evident from his correspondence²² with Mohd. Amir Khan (who was a chief of Kabul and had taken shelter in Jodhpur).

The Amirs were, on the other hand, anxious for a defensive alliance with Ranjit Singh against any possible foreign aggression, whereby each State was to assist the other with troops in the event of its being attacked by an enemy. They sent messengers to the Maharaja with this object on the 29th September 1809,²³ but Ranjit Singh thought it fit to reject these overtures thereby paving the way for the ultimate collapse of Sind as well as of his own kingdom. Both the States, *viz.* Sind and the Punjab seemed, however, to have remained outwardly on a footing of friendliness (till 1823) and a regular friendly intercourse existed between the Maharaja and the Amirs through the medium of their Vakils²⁴ although he had all along been covetous for the possession of Sind and had been making occasional demands on the Amirs for tribute or "presents" on one pretext or another.

Apart from economic considerations, Maharaja Ranjit Singh was anxious to wage war against the Amirs for political reasons, *viz.* for the capture of Shikarpur; for besides being a commercial centre of first rate importance this was a place of great strategical value

to that part of India with a view (perhaps it is hardly chimerical to suppose) to attempting to secure a maritime intercourse in that direction."

22 Residt. Delhi to Govt. dated 15. 7. 1809. 23 *Ibid.*, dated 26. 10. 1809.

24 Cap. Wade to A. G. G. Delhi, dated 24. 8. 1823.

commanding the gates of Afghanistan and the countries beyond through the Bolan Pass. As a military base, therefore, its importance as a key-position could not be over-estimated. By its possession he sought to become a stronger competitor of the Afghans for the sovereignty of the North-West, the more so because of the continued dread of invasions from them.

It was a known probability that the Amirs, surrounded as they were on all sides by powers having conflicting ideals and ambitions, would succumb to the overlordship of one or the other foreign powers, *viz.*, Afghanistan, Persia, Russia, England, etc. As Afghanistan was, during that period, involved in her own domestic troubles, Sind was virtually enjoying independence, but it was evident that the Afghans would re-claim the allegiance of the Amirs as soon as circumstances favoured them. Similarly the other powers were trying to get possession of Sind more particularly owing to its strategical position and the question must have presented itself to the Maharaja as to how far such contingencies affected the safety and tranquility of his own kingdom. This consideration seems also to have inspired him with a desire to conquer Sind.

In case he failed to conquer the country, his alternate aim seems to have been to compel the Amirs to pay him tribute by recognising him as their overlord and thus to prevent any foreign influence in the courts of Sind, other than his own.

Ranjit Singh's limitless ambition

There is yet another factor which might in all probability have inspired his contemplated design on Shikarpur; it was his desire for the ultimate conquest of Ghazni—a rather too pretentious ambition! Guru Nanak had prophesied that the *khalsa* army would conquer Ghazni and recover the sandal portals which Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni had despoiled from the temple of Somnath. Maharaja Ranjit Singh was a great military adventurer and was naturally rest-

less for adding new laurels to his fame. The fall of Ghazni, if it could be achieved, would have been an achievement far more daring than any he had hitherto accomplished and, as he believed, would have immensely raised him in the estimation of the Hindus. Whether Ranjit Singh really thought of undertaking such a hazardous venture, and if so, whether he believed his *khalsas* to be equal to the enterprise is a difficult matter for speculation, but Captain Wade in the course of his report to his Government about the occupation of Dera-Ismail-Khan by the Sikh forces under Prince Nau Nihal Singh, observes that "should nothing untoward occur, and the Maharaja's life be spared for another year, I will not be surprised to find the Sikhs at Ghazni fulfilling the prophecy of their law-giver by recovering the sandal-portals of Somnath."²⁵ That being the case there was no other route to Ghazni except through Bolan Pass, which, as already stated, was commanded by Shikarpur. There was a route through Peshwar too, but passage through the Khaibar Pass was fraught with insurmountable difficulties and perils, and an attempt of that kind was apparently believed to be neither wise nor feasible. The fact that there was no direct route from D. I. Khan to Ghazni at the time, is borne out by Cap. Wade's reports to Govt.²⁶ It may therefore fairly be assumed that Shikarpur was the means to the end which Ranjit Singh had in view, and that may be one of the important reasons why that 'prohibited land of promise' was an object of such a recurring ambition, never destined to materialise.²⁷

Frustration of the Maharaja's hopes

When the Governor-General (Lord William Bentinck) met Ranjit Singh at Ropar on 26. 10. 1831 the latter proposed joint action

25 Cap. Wade to Govt. 13. 7. 1836. (That view was, however, unduly optimistic for, as the later events proved, e.g. their simultaneous attack on Kabul as a sequence of the Tripartite treaty, the 'khalsas' hopelessly proved incapable of the rigours of attack on Afghanistan).

26 Cap. Wade to Govt., dated 9. 12. 1838.

27 Govt. to Lt. Col. Pottinger, Resident in Kutch, dated 22. 10. 1831.

against Sind. The Governor-General had, however, already deputed Col. Pottinger a little earlier on a political mission to the courts of Sind to open negotiations with the Amirs for the opening of the Indus to commerce between upper Hindustan and Central Asia on one side and the Deccan and the countries beyond the sea on the other.²⁸ It was not thought proper to apprise the Maharaja of this mission lest he should endeavour through secret means to counteract the scheme of the British Government, because such a move on their part would have been regarded as one calculated to compromise his own intentions with regard to Sind.²⁹ The British representatives at Ropar therefore evaded this issue at the meeting.

Near the close of the year 1831 Ranjit Singh seems to have given up, at any rate for the time being, the idea of invading Sind, presumably because he must have by that time learnt of the British mission to Sind and would thus have realized that because of the British interests in Sind, he could not enter into open hostilities against that country without provoking the displeasure of the British Government. He had, however, tried by other peaceful and diplomatic means to wring money from the Amirs, but they proved too clever for him. For instance, he offered to bestow Dera-Ghazi-Khan on Mir Murad Ali of Mirpur if the latter would pay a *nazrana* of five lakhs of rupees,³⁰ but the Mir did not agree to the bargain. This offer, in the opinion of Cap. Wade was made "either with the view of constraining the Nawab of Bahawalpur to accede to the payment of ten lakhs of rupees demanded from him for the recovery of that place rather than to see it in the possession of a rival, or of exciting the fears and the jealousy of the other two Amirs of Sind as the best means of converting them to His Highness's interests."³¹

28 Govt. to Lt. Col. Pottinger, Resident in Kutch, dated 22. 10. 1831.

29 *History of the Punjab*, II (1846), p. 114.

30 Cap. Wade to Govt. dated 21. 12. 1831.

31 *Idem.*, (That district was thereafter leased for Rs. 2,25,000/- p.a. to the

Another attempt for obtaining money from the Amirs was made in 1834, by which time the Maharaja had definitely realized³² that it was already too late for him to entertain any active designs against Sind. On another occasion he expressed his displeasure to the Sind Vakil at his court for the assistance³³ rendered by the Amirs of Hyderabad to Shah Shuja and "insinuated that if he sent an army to punish them, he would not be satisfied with less than twice the sum they had paid to the king."³⁴ The Amirs did not, however, pay any heed to this threat and refused to recognise the Maharaja as *their director in foreign relations*.

In 1834 when Ranjit Singh captured Peshawar from the Afghans, Mir Nur Mohammad Khan sent him a congratulatory letter which was couched in a friendly tone.³⁵ The likelihood of Ranjit Singh's coming to blows with Dost Mohd. Khan in consequence of the capture of Peshawar by the former gave the Amirs delight, inasmuch as it would, they believed, keep at least two of his enemies engaged for some time.³⁶ As the Amirs were, however, only reluctant partners in the British scheme of navigation, it was thought probable that they would go even to the extent of offering Ranjit Singh "the

Nawab of Bahawalpore, but as he later withheld the payment for two years his property to the amount of six lakhs was confiscated by the Maharaja. (Latif, 455).

32 In December 1834 Ranjit Singh was officially intimated of Col. Pottinger's mission to Sind in connection with the commercial scheme of the British Government and was requested to open Satlej for free navigation as a sequence of the same project. He reluctantly gave assent to the proposal because he had realised that the commercial scheme of the British had definitely compromised his own designs on Sind, and that it was impossible to defy their wish.

33 Shah Shuja set out from Ludhiana in 1833 to recover his lost kingdom and halted at Shikarpur enroute to Afghanistan. (Wade to Govt. dated 9. 6. 1833). He was paid Rs. 5 lakhs in cash by the Sindhis after their defeat in an endeavour to expel him from Shikarpur. From this time the district remained in the possession of the Shah till it was given back by him to the Amirs by way of free gift.

34 Pottinger to Govt. No. 397 dated 1. 11. 34

35 Cap. Wade to Govt dated 21. 9. 1834.

36 *Ibid.*, 1. 11. 1834.

gratification of his long-cherished desire for the occupation of Shikarpur in order to gain his support for counteracting the scheme of navigation.³⁷ Cap. Wade believed that the congratulatory letter referred to was a gesture in that direction. From a subsequent despatch of Cap. Wade to his Govt.³⁸ it appears that the Amirs actually offered to surrender Shikarpur to Ranjit Singh on condition of a guarantee being given them against the designs of the ex-king Shuja, but Ranjit Singh did not fall in with the proposal. On the other hand, taking advantage of the immense difficulties in which the Amirs were involved the Maharaja presented a demand for a tribute of 12 lakhs of rupees under the name of *ziazat* which he demanded to be paid when he proceeded to Multan.³⁹ This demand was not complied with and the Amirs' agents at the court of Ranjit Singh 'met it by saying that the intercourse between the two States had hitherto been confined to exchange of presents and that there should be no question of tribute.'⁴⁰ The Maharaja thereupon wrote to the Amirs (in about June 1836) to send a fully accredited representative to Multan on 19th October, 1836 when the Maharaja proposed to be there, in order that the question might be fully discussed. The Amirs thereupon felt very much perplexed, for they were being simultaneously pressed for pecuniary aid from Dost Mohd. Khan, the Amir of Kabul. The proposed conference did not, however, take place as actual hostilities had started earlier, of which we will make mention presently.

From a further report of Cap. Wade to his Govt. it appears that the Maharaja's desire for the conquest of Shikarpur had been revived since the defeat of Shah Shuja, but it was not believed to be likely that he would engage in so distant and important an enterprise until he was relieved of all anxiety as to the state of his affairs near Peshwar.⁴¹

37 Cap. Wade to Govt. dated 21. 9. 1834.

39 *Ibid.*, dated 19. 8. 1836 & 29. 8. 1836.

40 *Ibid.*

38 *Ibid.*, dated 6. 2. 1835.

41 *Ibid.*, dated 23. 10. 1834.

The Mazaris

Now we come to a series of most important events which owed their origin to what may be termed as the "Mazari trouble," of which a brief résumé may be given.

The Mazaris were one of the 79 principal Beloch clans settled in the plains of Sind, who had taken to robbery and lawlessness. They were nominally subject to the Amirs of Sind but were too unruly to be amenable to control and discipline. They numbered about 4,000 fighting men and their stronghold was Rojhan which was also the residence of their chief, Bahram Khan. They used to carry their depredations alike into Sind, Lahore and Bahawalpore territories. These raids contributed largely towards bringing the Amirs and the Maharaja into conflict. The Maharaja alleged that the raids of the Mazaris were incited by the Sind Govt. and excused himself for his contemplated invasion of Sind on grounds of self-defence. Whether the Mazari trouble was actually inspired by the Sind Govt. there is no evidence to prove, but the British Agent believed that it was only a "convenient plea" on the part of the Maharaja for an invasion of Sind.⁴²

Ranjit Singh's invasion of Sind

Be that as it may, war was declared by the Sikhs in August 1836 against Sind on the plea of the Mazari problem.⁴³

42 Cap. Wade to Govt. dated 5. 10. 1836.

43 Ranjit Singh sent an order to Kanwar Kharak Singh that having established himself in a secure position at Mithankot he should despatch his officers in advance to Shikarpur so that the 'honour of conquering Shikarpur might fall to his lot' (Wade to Govt. 19. 8. 1836). Cap. Wade in the course of his report to Govt. dated 19. 8. 1836 accounts for the anxiety shown by the Maharaja to move his troops at that inclement weather towards the frontier of Sind, and even before the proposed conference on 19. 10. 36, by supposing that he was afraid of being thwarted in his project by the invitation which the Amirs had lately sent to Shah Shuja who had proposed to move towards Sind in the beginning of the cold weather of that year. It is possible that having failed to persuade Ranjit Singh to an alliance with them

Hostilities were thus opened on the Sind frontier with Dewan Sawan Mal's attack on Rojhan in August 1836. Two months later another action was fought between the Mazaris and the Sikhs, in which the former were replused with heavy loss. Prince Kharak Singh and his son Nau Nihal Singh having completed the conquest of Dera Ismail Khan were, about this time on the bank of the Indus with large armies, ready to engage with the Sindhis. The Amirs had also collected armies at Shikarpur from all quarters and had gathered a force of ten thousand horse and foot, and also fifty pieces of artillery under the command of Mir Nasir Khan. Mir Mehrab Khan Birphi, the chief of Kalat and other Beloch tribes of the hills had also placed their resources at the disposal of the Amirs who were consequently optimistic of their success. Before, however, they were actually drawn to an engagement, the Amirs made another effort to arrive at an honourable compromise with the Sikhs. They sent their envoys to Dewan Sawan Mal and Prince Kharak Singh with a proposal for the establishment of a boundary between the territories of Sind and the Punjab Govts. They proposed that the Sikhs should confine themselves to Rojhan which was formerly held by Behram Khan Mazari, who had fled to the hills, and that Ken which was about 13 miles from Rojhan, and Shah Wali, should be restored to the Amirs. The Dewan declined the proposal on the ground that these places formed part of the Mazari territory which the Sikh Govt. had decided to occupy. The usual demand for a *nazrana*⁴⁴ was again put forward as the price of the withdrawal of the Sikh forces. The Dewan's proposals were confirmed by Prince Kharak Singh

against Shah Shuja, the Amirs had turned to the ex-king for a similar defensive alliance against the Sikh menace.

44 In the *History of the Punjab*, II (London 1846), pp. 134 the tribute demanded is stated to be ten lakhs of rupees, but this is evidently incorrect. The British agent on the other hand, in his letter to Cap. Wade daed 23. 11. 1836, mentions that *nazrana* of two lakhs was demanded. The latter figure seems more authenticated.

when the envoys later waited on him.⁴⁵ The Amirs expressed their inability to tender the *nazrana* and the two powers were thus on the brink of war, when there came the inevitable intervention anticipated alike by the Maharaja and the Amirs; for the British came forward at this juncture and prevented the clash on the ground that the commercial arrangements arrived at in connection with their scheme of navigation on the Indus required continuance of tranquility which these hostilities threatened seriously to upset.

(To be continued)

MOHAMMAD YASIN

⁴⁵ British Agent, Camp Satej to Cap. Wade dated 23. 11. 1836 (*Punjab Govt. Records*).

MISCELLANY

A new Vihāra at Valabhī

It is now well known that Valabhī was a great centre of Buddhism during the reign of the Maitraka rulers of Saurāṣṭra and a far famed centre of learning as stated by the Chinese traveller I'tsing. Among the vihāras situated in the Svātala of Valabhī the following have been already known from the copper plate grants of the various Maitraka kings:

- (1) Duddā Vihāra,¹ named after Duddā, Dharasena I's wife's sister. It was a very important Vihāra at Valabhī and received many grants from the Maitraka rulers at least for 140 years (216—356 G.E.). It became the head of a very big Vihāra-Maṇḍala which included many others built by various devotees.
- (2) Buddhādāsa Vihāra² named after a monk Buddhādāsa and included in the Duddā Vihāra Maṇḍala.
- (3) Bhaṭṭārka Vihāra,³ probably named after Senāpati Bhaṭṭārka the founder of the Maitraka dynasty.
- (4) Abhayāntarikā Vihāra,⁴ built by the Nun Mimmā, and included in the Duddā Vihāra.
- (5) Gohaka Vihāra⁵ constructed by Gohaka and forming a part of the Duddā Vihāra Maṇḍala.
- (6) Schiramati Vihāra,⁶ built by Ācārya Bhikṣu Sthira-

1 Dr. Bhandarkar's List of Northern Indian Inscriptions, *Appendix, Epigraphia Indica*, XIX-XXIII, Nos. 1304, 1305, 1311, 1312, 1313, 1327, 1595, 1331, 1341, 1598, 1354, 1360 and 1600.

2 Dhruvasena I's grant of 217 G.E. *JRAS.*, 1895, 379.

3 Guhasena I's grant of 248 G.E. *Indian Antiquary*, V, p. 206.

5 Dhruvasena II's grant of 310 G.E. *Indian Antiquary*, VI, 15.

4 *Ibid.*

6 Śilāditya III's two grants of 343 and 356 G.E. *JBRRAS.*, (N.S.), I, 39, 63.

mati, who was different from the Sthiramati, mentioned below.

- (7) Vimalagupta Vihāra⁷ named after Ācārya Bhikṣu Vimalagupta, and included in the Sthiramati Vihāra.
- (8) Yakṣa Sura Vihāra⁸ named after Yakṣa Sura and formed another Vihāra Maṇḍala like the one by Duddā.
- (9) Purṇa Bhaṭṭa Vihāra⁹ named after Pūrṇabhaṭṭa and included in the Yakṣa Sura Vihāra Maṇḍala.
- (10) Vāṇijakājit Vihāra¹⁰ constructed by Ajita, the trader.
- (11) Śrī Bappapādiya Vihāra¹¹ named after Bappapāda, some ancestor of the Maitrakas, at whose feet the members of the family made their obeisance. This Vihāra was built by the Ācārya Bhadanta Sthiramati.
- (12) Vamśakāṭa Vihāra¹² built by king Śīlāditya I and known from two grants made by him.
- (13) Skandabhaṭa Vihāra¹³ named after Skandabhaṭa who figures as the Divira-pati in many Maitraka grants.

Of these the Vamśakāṭa and the Skandabhaṭa Vihāras were situated in the villages Vamśakāṭa and Yodhāvaka respectively.

The existence of a new Vihāra has been brought to light from the unread¹⁴ portion of a copper plate grant of Dharasena II, found

7 *JBHRAS.*, (N.S.), I, 39, 63.

8 Śīlāditya I's two grants of 287 G.E. and 290 G.E. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, III, pp. 82, 84, also Dhruvasena II's grant of 319 G.E., *ibid.*, p. 90.

9 Dhruvasena II's grant of 319 G.E. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, III, p. 90.

10 Gārulaka Varāhadāsa's grant of 290 G.E. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, III, 79.

11 Dharasena II's grant of 269 G.E. *Indian Antiquary*, VI, p. 12.

12 Śīlāditya I's two grants of 286 G.E. *JBHRAS.*, (N.S.), I, 27, 33.

13 Dharasena IV's grant of 326 G.E. *Ind. Ant.*, I, 45.

14 The plates were covered with thick verdigris when Mr. G. V. Acharya published his notes on this plate in the *JBHRAS.*, New Series, vol. I, and therefore some part of it was omitted from the text. On subsequent cleaning the new name came to be revealed. I am indebted to Mr. R. G. Gyani, M.A., Curator of the

at Vālā and now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

This portion mentions the Vihāra as constructed by Vānija Kakka near the Duddā Vihāra to which some village was granted by Dharasena II in the year 270 G.E.¹⁵ It reads: दुग्गविहारस्याभ्यन्तरे वाणिजककम्मकिलकारित विहारे ।

[Constructed by the Trader Kakka (of the) Mānkil¹⁶ (gotra).]

The Vihāra thus formed a part of the famous Duddā Vihāra and was quite adjacent to it.

It will be seen from this that besides enjoying the royal patronage and help from the feudatories, officers of the state, nuns, bhikṣus and monks, the vihāras at Valabhī also had their contributions from persons belonging to the trading class which did much to further the cause of Buddhism, as is evident from their frequent donations to the various Buddhist Caves in Western India.

MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT

Prince of Wales Museum and the Trustees for kindly allowing me to read the plates from the original and to publish the unread portion here with facsimile.

¹⁵ The plates are No. 1327 of Dr. Bhandarkar's List of Northern Indian Inscriptions.

¹⁶ वैश्यानां त्रयाण्येयः प्रवरो भवति । भालन्दनवात्सप्रिमांकीलेति । *Gotra-Pravara-Nibandha-Kadamba*. (G.O.L, Series Mysore. Bibliotheca Sanskrita. No. 25), p. 126.

A NEW VIHARA AT VALABHI



By the courtesy of Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay

Materials for the Interpretation of the term 'Gommata'

Signification of the term Gommata, which occurs in the popular name Gommaṭeśvara given to the colossal images at Śravaṇa Belgola, Kārkaḷ and Veṇūra and in the title of the Prākṛit text *Gommaṭasāra*, has been subjected to a good deal of discussion.¹ The issue, I believe, can be decided by a clear and correct understanding of a few gāthās of *Gommaṭasāra* containing a few words which have been often misunderstood. I propose to give here their translations with a few critical and historical notes.²

Jivakāṇḍa, Gāthā No. 733:³

अज्जसेणगुरागरासमूहसंभारिअजियसेणगुरु ।

भुवरागुरु जस्स गुरु सो राओ गोम्मटो जयउ ॥

"Victory to Gommaṭa Rāya whose teacher is the preceptor Ajitasena, the tutor of the world, that upholds the range of virtues and the religious order of the respectable preceptor Āryasena."

Notes: Repetition of both *gaṇa* and *samūha* tempts me to follow SC which sees a reference there to the Gaṇa, the ascetic order

1 *Indian Historical Quarterly*, IV, pp. 270 ff.

2 The following editions and translations are utilised in this paper:

(i) *Gommaṭasāra*, Jivakāṇḍa, with the Hindi translation of Khūbachanda, Rāyachandra Jaina Sāstramālā (RJS), Bombay 1916;

(ii) *Gommaṭasāra*, Karmakāṇḍa, with the Hindi translation of Manoharalāla, RJS, Bombay 1928;

(iii) *Gommaṭasāra*, with two Sanskrit commentaries, *Jivatattvaṇṇaṇṇipikā* (JP) and *Mandaṇṇaprabodhikā*, and a Hindi commentary *Samyagjñānacandrikā* (SC) of Tōḍaramalla, Gāndhī-Haribhāi-Devakaraṇa-Jaina-Granthamālā, No. 4, Calcuttā;

(iv) *Gommaṭasāra*, Jivakāṇḍa, with the English translation of J. L. Jaini, *Sacred Books of the Jains* (SBJ), vol. V, Lucknow 1927;

(v) *Gommaṭasāra*, Karmakāṇḍa, Patrs I-II, with the English translation of J.L. Jaini and Sital Prasādaji, SBJ, vols. VI & X, Lucknow 1927 and 1937.

3 Some of these eds. differ in the numbering of the Gāthās.

of Jaina monks. Possibly the author implies that Ajitasena not only possessed the virtues of Āryasena but was also a support of the Sena-gaṇa. Cāmuṇḍa Rāya is often mentioned simply as Rāya (Skt. Rājan) which was a title bestowed on him by Rājamalla in recognition of his munificence.⁴ Gommaṭa is a personal name and Rāya, a title of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya. We get the following facts here: Āryasena was a meritorious teacher of old, possibly of the Sena-gaṇa; Ajitasena possessed virtues like him and was a support of the Sena-gaṇa; Ajitasena was held in great respect, as he is called *bhuvana-guruh*; and Gommaṭa Rāya *alias* Cāmuṇḍa Rāya was a *śiṣya* of Ajitasena.

Karmakāṇḍa, Gāthā No. 965 :

गोम्मटसंगहसुत्तं गोम्मटदेवेण गोम्मटं रइयं ।

कम्माणा रिज्जरट्ठं तच्चद्वधारणाट्ठं च ॥

“This text (= *sūtra*) Gommaṭa-saṃgraha by name is composed in an attractive manner (= *gommaṭam*) by Vardhamāna Mahāvira (= *Gommaṭa-devena*) for the shedding of the Karmas and for the ascertainment of the significance of reality or principles.”

Notes: The word *sūtra* implies the sanctity and authority of the work. *Gommaṭa-saṃgraha* is the name of the text; and it is popularly called *Gommaṭasāra*, *sāra* and *saṃgraha* being synonyms. *JP* gives the name of the work as *Gommaṭa-sāra-saṃgraha-sūtram*. It is the belief of all Jaina authors that the contents of the scriptures, so far as the present ones are concerned, belong to Vardhamāna or Mahāvira, the 24th Tirthāṅkara of the Jains. So *JP* translates: ‘*Gommaṭa-devena Śrī Vardhamāna-devena.*’ Gommaṭa is the name of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya who is a pious devotee of Tirthāṅkaras in general and Mahāvira in particular. So Mahāvira (or any other Tirthāṅkara, see No. 968 below) could be called ‘*Gommaṭasya devaḥ.*’ Further the author is expressing his modesty by attributing the work to Tirthāṅkaras. *Gommaṭam* may be taken as an adjective of *-sutram*,

or understood adverbially following *IP* which says, '*gommaṭam* = *naya-pramāṇa-viśayam*,' 'conforming to Nayas and Pramāṇas,' or in other words "in an authoritative and attractive manner." Taking it as an adjective, it means 'this attractive scripture *Gommaṭa-sam-graha*.' In Marāṭhi the word *Gommaṭa* means 'fair,' 'charming,' 'attractive' etc. The repetition of the word *Gommaṭa* with varying shades of meaning appears to me only a way of glorifying *Gommaṭa* *alias* *Cāmuṇḍa Rāya*. Jināsena also has done like this with respect to *Virāsena* which name also is given to *Mahāvīra*⁵ The verse runs thus :

भूयादावीरसेनस्य वीरसेनस्य शासनम् ।

शासनं वीरसेनस्य वीरसेनकुशेशयम् ॥

and its clear interpretation is still a desideratum.

Karmakāṇḍa, Gāthā No. 966 :

जम्हि गुणा विस्संता गराहरदेवादिइडिपत्ताणं ।

सो अजियसेराणाहो जस्स गुरु जयउ सो राओ ॥

"Victory to that *Rāya* (*i.e.* *Cāmuṇḍa Rāya*) whose preceptor is *Ajitasenanātha* that possesses (literally, in whom are resting) the virtues of *Gaṇadharadevas* and others endowed with supernormal powers."

Notes: *Ajitasena* is ranked with *Gaṇadharas*, the direct disciples of a *Tirthaṅkara*. *ṛddhi* refers to some miraculous or supernatural powers acquired by the practice of penances, which are of eight kinds: *Buddhī*, *Kriyā*, *Vikriyā*, *Tapas*, *Bala*, *Auśadhi*, *Rasa* and *Kṣetra*. In short it means that the saint *Ajitasena* possessed great merits through penances.

Karmakāṇḍa, Gāthā No. 967 :

सिद्धंतुदयतडुग्गयणिम्मलवरणेमिचंदकरकलिया ।

गुणारयणाभूसाणंहुहिमइवेला भरउ भुवणायले ॥

"May the tide in the form of wisdom of the ocean in the form of *Guṇaratnabhūṣaṇa* (*alias* *Cāmuṇḍa Rāya*, also the ocean

⁵ *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, vol. I, edited by Prof. Hiralal, Amraoti 1939, Intro. p. 37, verse No. 17 quoted from *Jayadhavalā*.

containing meritorious gems) urged on by the rays of brilliant and full (= *vara*) moon in the form of Nemicandra rising on the eastern mountain in the form of Siddhānta (i.e. the Jaina scripture), flood the surface of the earth."

Notes: Just as the tide of the ocean, which possesses many jewels, incited by the full moon rising on the eastern mount, floods the earth, so also the author wishes that the wisdom of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, who has got the title *guṇa-ratna-bhūṣaṇa*,⁶ might spread or be well-known all over the earth being nourished by Nemicandra possessed of the scriptural knowledge. The verse is full of *śleṣa* and hence somewhat difficult: but the meaning is quite clear. Nemicandra according to the Hindi Translation, might refer to the image of Neminātha erected by Cāmuṇḍa Rāya (see No. 968 below). I think, it stands for the author himself who extracted *Gommaṭasāra* from the Siddhānta, namely, *Dhavalā* etc. Guṇaratna-bhūṣaṇa is a title of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya and it is mentioned elsewhere too.

Karmakāṇḍa, Gāthā No. 968:

गोम्मटसंगहसुतं गोम्मटसिहरवरि गोम्मटजिणो य ।

गोम्मटरायविणिम्मियदक्खिबराकुक्कडजिणो जयउ ॥

"Victory to the scripture Gommaṭa-saṅgraha (i.e. *Gommaṭasāra*), to the Gommaṭa-Jina (i.e. the image of Jaina Tirthaṅkara Neminātha in the temple built by Cāmuṇḍa Rāya) on the beautiful mountain and to the image of Kukkaṭa-Jina⁷ of the South installed by Gommaṭa Rāya (i.e. Cāmuṇḍa Rāya).

Notes: This is an important verse and deserves a cautious interpretation. First, the author wishes victory to this text *Gommaṭasāra*. Secondly, he glorifies Gommaṭa-jina on the Gommaṭa mount. Earlier scholars⁸ have understood that this refers to the image of

6 See the concluding verses of *Cāmuṇḍarāya-purāṇa* (ed. Bangalore 1928, p. iii. of the Intro); *Karṇātaka Kavacarita*, vol. I, p. 46 of the revised ed. Bangalore 1924.

7 Kukkuṭa is the usual form met with elsewhere.

8 M. Govind Pai: *IHQ.*, vol. IV, p. 28; also A. Shantiray Shastri in his *Kannada Śrī Gommaṭeśvara Carita*, Mysore, 1940, p. 22.

Gommaṭeśvara on the Vindhyagiri at Śravaṇa Belgōḷa, but their interpretation is wrong for the following reasons: According to the Skt. Commentary *JP.*, Gommaṭa-jina stands for the image of the Tirthaṅkara Neminātha, one cubit in height and made of Indra-ṇila stone, erected in the temple built by Cāmuṇḍa Rāya; and moreover the statue of Bāhubali is being separately mentioned in the second line. We have seen above how our author uses Gommaṭa-deva, or Jina in the sense of Tirthaṅkara. There is absolutely no improbability in the interpretation given by *JP.* So Gommaṭa-Jina means the Jina (-image) of Gommaṭa, that is, installed by Gommaṭa Cāmuṇḍarāya in the temple built by him. This temple is to be identified with the famous Cāmuṇḍarāya Basti (see Gāthā 970 below) on the Candragiri at Śravaṇa Belgōḷa.⁹ There appears to be some foundation of facts for the interpretation of *JP.* that it was the image of Neminātha made of Indra-ṇila precious stone and one cubit in height. Originally Cāmuṇḍarāya Basti contained the image of Neminātha is clear from the figures of Yakṣa and Yakṣī of Neminātha at the sides of the Garbhagṛha doorway in the Sukhanāsi. To-day the temple contains the image of Neminātha, about five feet high; this is not to be identified with the image installed there originally by Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, but it appears that this image was got prepared by Ecaṇa, for a temple built by him some time before A.D. 1138. The fact that it is the image of Neminātha tempts me to surmise that the original image of Indra-ṇila stone not being there, some body has put this image there from another temple founded by Ecaṇa.¹⁰ What happened to the original image we cannot say in the absence of any evidence. In the light of the interpretation of Gommaṭa Jina, Gommaṭa-śikhara literally means 'an attractive mountain'; and this meaning is not inconsistent with that of Candragiri. That mount being smaller of the two could be called 'lovely,

9 *EC.*, II, Intro. p. 6.

10 See R. Narasimhacharya's remarks in *EC.*, II, Intro. p. 6.

attractive'. Thus the second item glorified is the image of Nemi-nātha installed by Cāmuṇḍa Rāya in his temple on Candra-giri. Thirdly the author wishes victory to Kukkṛa Jina of the South, i.e., the colossal statue of Bāhubali at Śravaṇa Belgola installed by Cāmuṇḍa Rāya on the mountain Vindhya-giri. The word 'South' distinguishes the image at Belgola from the mythological image of Bāhubali, 525 bow-lengths in height, erected by Bharata at Paudanapura.¹¹

Karmakāṇḍa, Gāthā No. 969:

जेरा विरिगम्मियपडिमावयरां सव्वट्ठसिद्धिदेवेहिं ।
सव्वपरमोहिजोगिहिं दिट्ठं सो गोम्मटो जयउ ॥

"Victory to Gommaṭa (i.e. Cāmuṇḍa Rāya) who has installed the statue, the face of which is seen [with reverence] by the gods of Sarvārtha-siddhi (i.e. the highest heaven) and by the saints that are endowed with full and clairvoyant knowledge.

Notes: This gāthā only continues the reference to the image of Bāhubali made in the second line of the above verse. The author particularly refers to the face of the colossal image of Bāhubali; and those who have personally seen the image will appreciate it. The serene face of Bāhubali's statue is so charming and impressive that even great gods and gifted saints came to see it.

Karmakāṇḍa, Gāthā No. 970:

वज्रयरां जिहामवरां ईसिपभारं सुवराणकलसं तु ।
तिहुवरापडिमाणिक्कं जेरा कयं जयउ सो राओ ॥

"Victory to that (Cāmuṇḍa) Rāya who constructed a Jaina temple, *Īṣatprāgbhāra* by name, whose foundation is of adamant, which has a golden dome and which is a unique standard beyond comparison in all the three worlds.

Notes: *Īṣat-prāgbhāra* is the name of the domain of liberation,¹² the abode of liberated souls at the top of the Universe accord-

¹¹ EC., II, Intro. pp. 12-15.

¹² Trilokasāra (Bombay 1918) p. 231, verse No. 556.

ing to Jainism. It is really a happy name that can be given by a pious devotee to a temple. I am inclined to believe that our author is referring to the Cāmuṇḍarāya Basti on the Candragiri¹³ especially because it has a conspicuous and prominent dome or Kalaśa. We cannot expect the golden dome to be there to this day, but the dome on which gold-plating might have been put still characterises the Cāmuṇḍarāya Basti. The base of the temple is quite massive, and it stands there at least for the last one thousand years. So our author's reference to its adamantine base is more than justified. Perhaps we are to read *vajjayalarṇi*. Its real name Īsat-prāgbhāra appears to have been superseded by the popular name Cāmuṇḍarāya Basti.

Karmakāṇḍa, Gāthā No. 971 :

जेणुन्मियथ भुवरिमज्जत्तिरीटग्गकिरणजलधोया ।

सिद्धारा बुद्धपाया सो राओ गोम्मटो जयउ ॥

“Victory to that Gommaṭa Rāya (i.e. Cāmuṇḍa Rāya) who has washed the holy (literally, pure) feet of Siddhas (i.e. the liberated souls) by the water in the form of the fresh rays of the crown of the image of Yakṣa on the pillar erected by him.”

Notes: This verse states that Cāmuṇḍa Rāya had erected a pillar dedicated to a Yakṣa whose crown was studded with jewels. I would suggest that this verse probably refers to Tyāgada Brahma-deva Pillar¹⁴ at Śravaṇa Belgola which, according to tradition, was erected by Cāmuṇḍa Rāya; and this tradition is confirmed by an important inscription thereon partly effaced now. Some commentators have implied that the verse refers to a very tall pillar, but the Tyāgada Brahma-deva Pillar is not so tall.

Karmakāṇḍa, Gāthā No. 972 :

गोम्मटसुत्तङ्गिहणे गोम्मटरायेण जा कया देसी ।

सो राओ चिरकालं नामेण य वीरमत्तंडो ॥

“Eternal [victory] to that (Cāmuṇḍa) Rāya by whom (viz. Gommaṭarāya) was composed a Deśi (i.e. a Kannaḍa Vṛtti or com-

mentary) *Vira-mārtanḍi* by name, while the *Gommaṭa-sūtra* (i.e. *Gommaṭasāra*) was being written.

Notes: The syntax of this *gāthā* is not quite satisfactory. *JP* perhaps reads *Vira-mattamḍo*, as it takes that phrase as an adjective of *rāo*. *JP* renders *jā kayā deśi* by *yā deśi bhāṣā kṛtā*; and *Pt.* *Toḍaramalla* and others take this as a reference to *Cāmuṇḍa Rāya's* *Kannāḍa* commentary on *Gommaṭasāra*. *R. Narasimhacharya* has not attributed any such work to *Cāmuṇḍa Rāya*:¹⁵ it only means that no Ms. of this work has come to light as yet. The opening verse of *JP* plainly says that it is based on a *Karnāṭa-vṛtti*. We have no evidence to say that this is a reference to *Cāmuṇḍa Rāya's* work. In *Kannāḍa* we know a commentary on *Gommaṭasāra*, *Jivatattva-pradīpikā* by name,¹⁶ composed by *Keśavavarṇi* who finished it in A.D. 1359. He was a pupil of *Abhayasūri-siddhānta-Cakarvarti* and wrote the commentary in obedience to the instruction of *Dharmabhūṣaṇa*. The reading *Viramārtanḍi*, as it stands, would qualify *Deśi*; and it would be the name of that *Vṛtti*. *Cāmuṇḍa Rāya* had a title *Vira-mārtanḍa*, which he got by displaying his valour on the battle-field of *Gonūr* in the *Nolamba* war; and it is not unlikely that he called his commentary after one of his titles. If our interpretation of the word *Deśi* is correct, it means that *Kannāḍa*, a *Dravidian* language, is being called *Deśi* by an author writing in *Prākṛit*.¹⁷

A. N. UPADHYE

¹⁵ *Karnāṭaka Kavacarita*, vol. I, pp. 46-50.

¹⁶ The Sanskrit commentary, *Jiva-tattva-pradīpikā*, on *Gommaṭasāra* is attributed by many scholars to *Keśavavarṇi*, but for this there is no evidence at all. My understanding of the available facts leads me to the conclusion that the author of the Skt. *Jivatattva-pradīpikā* is one *Nemicandrācārya*; his commentary is based on *Keśava-Varṇi's* *Kannāḍa* commentary of the same name; and this *Nemicandra's* commentary is perhaps later than *Mandaprabodhikā*. I have just stated my conclusion here, and the topic may be taken up later for an exhaustive study.

¹⁷ This paper is written during my tenure of the Springer Research Scholarship, University of Bombay.

Schorer's Account of the Coromandel Coast

(Transl. by Prof. Brij Narain)

[The following account of the Coromandel Coast was written by Ant. Schorer in 1616 in his retirement in Holland. It is preserved in the Dutch Archives at Hague. Professor Brij Narain translated the account into English when he visited Holland several years ago. The present writer has only indicated within bracket marks the identification of places, persons, commodities and institutions. Where the sense is not quite clear in the Dutch text, a few words have been put in within box brackets].

A short account of the coast of Coromandel, and the trade carried on there, chiefly at the Noble Company's factory at Masulipatnam, where I resided for seven years.

The coast of Coromandel extends from Menar (the gulf of Manaab) to the south of Narsapor, where the coast of Orissa begins. The Noble Company has 4 factories on the said coast namely, the first, on the way back from Ceylon, [at the place] called Tegnapatnam or Tieriepopelier (Tirupapuliyer), which is under the rule of the great Aya (Rai of Jinji), and is situated about 12 miles to the north of Negapatnam, which belongs to the Portuguese. There are about 5 persons in this factory. The trade that is carried on there consists in all kinds of cotton cloths, printed as well as woven. Saltpetre is also found there. Indigo is also grown there, but it is of very bad quality, and therefore it is little exported to other places. The commodities which are imported there are: pepper, nutmeg, cloves, sandalwood, *aglenhout*, lead, *speauter*, sulphur, alum, raw-silk from Aitchyn (Achiin in Sumatra) and from China, also silk manufactures, but little in demand, musk, vermillion, quicksilver, and camphor of China as well as Borneo, but that of Borneo is most in demand. Trade is done by means of Pardauws; 10 fanams are equal to 1 Pardauw, which is equal to about 2 Dutch gulden. A fannam is equal to 20 to 22 cassen, which is the smallest money. The weights used are bhaer, man and bitten. 1 bhaer is equal to 460

Dutch lbs.; 1 man or tolam is equal to 23 lbs.; 1 biss is equal to $2\frac{7}{8}$ lbs. The merchants wishing to sell their goods must be guided by the course of the market, or the prices current, in Negapatnam. The duties levied there are 4% namely 2% on goods imported and 2% on goods exported, but it should be noted that the duties on exports must be paid in money; those on imports may be paid in the same goods that are imported. The inhabitants are for the most part of black or yellowish complexion, and are Hindus.

The second factory on the coast is at Paleaicatta (Pulicat), which belongs to one of the wives of king of Velour (Vellore). It lies 7 miles to the north of St. Thome, or Maliapore, which belongs to the Portuguese. In the said Paleaicatta, the Noble Company possesses a fort named Geldria, in which there is a house called Both. There are in this fort 72 men, merchants as well as soldiers, with 14 to 16 black people who have deserted from the other (Portuguese) side. There are also 18 guns, of copper as well as iron, 4 falaons, or bassen with 4 steenstucken. There are made all kinds of cotton cloths, woven as well as printed and they are much better (in quality) than in any other places on the whole coast particularly the printed (cloths), as the Portuguese have been there for a long time. The best Saye is available near about this place, used for dyeing red; there are also leaves of certain trees which are used for dyeing green. The goods mentioned on the preceding page are also imported there. The bhacr there is 480 lbs. and the man 24 lbs. or ractel. Trade is there carried on by means of pagodas, fanams and cassen. A pagoda is 15 fanam, and a fanam is 20 to 24 cassen. Every year some ships come there in February or March from the coast of Gangely (Ganges) or Orissa, laden with rice, butter and gengely seed and return in April or May, laden with salt and some spices. The duties levied there on goods exported and imported are 2 per cent. In addition to this each ship must pay 15 pagodas for permission to lie at anchor. The inhabitants are of black complexion and belong to the Hindu religion.

There is also a river there where the Portuguese who live in St. Thome used to harbour such of their ships as were not very large.

Petapoly (Nirampatam), where [we have] the third factory, is 48 miles to the north of Paleacatta. It is under the jurisdiction of the King of Golconda, but is ruled by a Hindu governor. The King farms to him the government of this place for a certain sum of money. There are 4 men in this factory. Very few ships, excepting those of the Dutch and the English come there. There are made all kinds of cloths, printed as well as woven. The red dye which is made there is very good. There is a small island in the middle of the river where the best Saye of the whole coast of Coromandel is found. The commodities imported there are the same as in the places mentioned before, excepting porcelain for which there is a larger demand there than in the other two places, the reason being that some Persian merchants live there who eat from porcelain-ware, but not the Hindus. The inhabitants are the same as in other places, and mostly belong to the Hindu religion. There are also Bramenes (Brahmans) there who may not eat anything that has life. They are very clever in making calculations, and [in dealing in] all kinds of commodities. There are [some] among them who understand astronomy very well. The bhaer there is equal to 500 lbs., the man 25 lbs., and the biss $3\frac{1}{8}$ lbs., the pagoda is equal to 16 fanam; 1 fanam is equal to 8 to 9 nevels; 1 nevel is equal to 4 to 5 taer cassen. The duty levied on imports is $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, which must be paid in the same goods that are imported; and $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on exports, which must be paid in money or in commodities on which the Governors are able to make the greatest profit. The English also have a factory there.

Masulipatnam, called by some Bander, which means a town, lies to the north in $16\frac{1}{2}$ degrees. It is without doubt the most famous commercial town on the coast. It has been stated before that the Noble Company has a factory there. The Company has a hired lodge there in which 8 or 9 persons live. [Masulipatnam] has a

river, but ships and yachts cannot conveniently come up the river as it has very little water and is very narrow. The ships which come there, namely our ships and those of the English, must anchor at about a mile from the land because [the water] is very shallow and the ground is very soft. The ships lie at anchor in 3 or 4 fathoms. The town is situated half a mile up the river. It is ruled by a Governor to whom land is farmed by the King of Golcanda. In addition [to the Governor] there is a Sabandar (Havaladar?), and a judge whom they call Chasi (Qazi), before whom all disputes are settled. The King of Golcanda maintains great state. When he comes, he is followed by a large crowd of people, some riding on horses, others being carried in Pallenguyns. He has a great number of camels and elephants. He himself sits on an elephant when he goes out. He is no warrior but he carries on great warfare with Meleik Amber (Malik Ambar), Lieutenant General of the Great Mogol, or Acha Baer (Akbar), in which he (the King of Golcanda) is assisted by two other kings, the one called Nisaem Schae (Nizam Shah) and the other Adulschae (Adal Shah). The forts which are on the land side are very strong, and well furnished with soldiers, victuals and all kinds of ammunition—particularly those situated on the enemy's frontier. It is said that the King's annual revenue exceeds all his expenditure by 19 tons of treasure, each ton being equal to one hundred thousand Pagodas. He gives much charity, particularly to Persians of high family but of small means; many of them come from Persia. So far as I know, he is as well as, if not better than, inclined towards us as towards the Portuguese, and that is also true of his subjects. But the worst (thing) that I know is that those who give the most presents are most respected, although for some time we were much in favour on account of the victories that we several time won over the Portuguese in different places.

Justice for the most part is administered by the Governor. The offence which is most often punished there is theft. Besides, the

Governors much molest their subjects in order to extract money from them by fair or foul means: they must pay the King their annual rent; if they fail to do so, they are summoned before the King, who has them thrown before the elephants, unless they pay the sum they promised within such time as may be fixed. For this reason most of the Governors are Bramenes, or Hindus, and no Persians, because the King may not judge (i.e. punish) Persians, particularly those who are Sayed (Sayyid) or Mir (Pir) of origin, or in other words, descended from Muhammad, which is the religion of the King and most of his subjects. He has also many priests called Kahtiff, (Muftis?), living in his country and under his jurisdiction. They receive annually a certain amount of money for their maintenance, there are many of their churches in the town called Muschitt (Masjid), also in the villages both for travellers and inhabitants, because Muhammadans live throughout the whole country. The Hindus have also here and there some temples in the country, called pagodas, but because the land is mostly under the Muhammadans, many of their temples have decayed. Their priests or teachers are called Barmens who, as has been stated before, are very clever in all things. I have not seen the ceremonies observed in their temples. The ceremonies of the Moors are the same as those of the Turks, although there are some differences. There is a great difference between the religion of the Turks and of the Persians, although both follow the religion of Muhammed. The Muhammadans observe no special ceremonies in burying their dead. When a Hindu dies, the corpse is not buried, but thrown into the fire and burnt. Then their women come and spring into the fire with a cheerful countenance [and are burnt] with their dead husband. Friends throw wood and oil into the fire to free themselves from the pain as soon as possible. Women who do not do it are regarded as dishonourable, but all women do not have to do it as some (men) are buried. They marry very young. If the husband happens to die before reaching the age

of manhood, the widow must not marry again throughout her life. Her hair is shaved from her head, all her ornaments are taken off from her body, and she must not wear fine dresses any more.

When Muhammadans die, their widows, if they desire, may marry again. The Muhammadans have four lawful wives, and in addition as many female slaves as they can buy, with whom, when they so desire, they also sleep and have children who are regarded as true born as the others. A Hindu marries only one woman, but when he has no children by her, with her consent, he may marry again in order to have an heir. The children of the Muhammadans, when they are old enough, learn to read and write. The children of some of the Hindus also learn to read and write. When they are old enough to enter a profession, it must be the same as that of their father or caste. In house-keeping they are very extravagant, particularly the Muhammadans, who are allowed to eat almost every thing except pork. They some times hold great feasts but may not drink wine, although there are many Hindus who may not eat anything that has life, chiefly the Bramenes and the Banjaenes, (Banyas = Jains) who follow the law of Pitagoras. The others eat almost everything, excepting beef. They drink nothing but water; some of their women, however, being ill or in child-bed, may drink wine. The inhabitants there are mostly black, and some yellowish; but others, for example, Persians, Arabians, Turks and Peguers, of which 4 nations living there, are white, but not of the same colour, as people of this country (Holland). The marriage state among them is well kept, but better among the Hindus who may have only two wives, and the Muhammadans have four, and in addition may have as many female slaves as they can buy. Notwithstanding this, they go to public women, of which there is a large number there. Muhammadans, when their children reach the age of manhood, before they are married, buy a female slave for them, so that they may not go to public women. The children born of

these female slaves are regarded as true-born children. The trade and traffic carried on there is great on land as well as water; the Muhammadans and Banjaenen carry on trade in various places on land as well as water, but the Hindus do not much go to the sea. Every year the ships go to the coast of Bengal, Arracan, Pegu, and Tennassery (Tennasserim), taking with them all kinds of cotton-cloths, glass, iron, cotton-yarn, white as well as red, tobacco and certain shells which are used as money in Bengal and Arracan. They also take with them some spices and sandalwood, and bring in return rice, butter, oil, gingely seed, sugar, all kinds of woven cloths, some pretty knitted bed-covers (quilts), rubies, sapphires, gumlac, black oakum, *benjeuyn*, *raidx* [tori from China], gold, tin, *aglenhout*, *pausapon*, with which they dye red large pots which they call *martavan*, and a certain drink called *nypa*. These commodities are carried all over the coast, as far as Cochin. Further, their ships also go to Atechyn, Priamam, (Priaman in Sumatra), Queda (Kedah in Malay States) and Perae (Perak in Malay) taking with them all kinds of printed cloths and rice, bringing in return sulphur, camphor, silk, tin and some Guzerat cloths; also pepper from Priamam and some porcelain which they buy there from the Chinese. These commodities are again sold on the coast. Some ships also go to Ceylon and the Maldives, taking with them coarse cotton cloths and bringing from there coir, from which Indians and the Portuguese make ropes, and cocoa-nuts. Cocoa-nuts are found in certain places in the Maldives which are very good against poison. In my own time I have seen one sold for 200 larryns, each larryn being equal to about 9 stuyers. They bring from Ceylon cinnamon, finely woven mats, cocoa-nuts and some (precious) stones, which commodities are again sold on the coast, chiefly in Masulipatnam. Here trade is carried on by means of pagodas, each pagoda being equal to 15 fanam; 1 fanam being equal to 8 to 9 nevels. The smallest money used in the market is cassen, 70 to 80 being equal to 1

fanam (and) taer, each taer being equal to 4 small cassens. The goods produced or manufactured there are all kinds of cotton cloths, printed as well as woven, cotton yarn, cotton, iron, steel, and indigo. The best (indigo) is made in a place further inland called Negelwaensa and is sold by the littel, each littel being equal to 12 man of Masulipatnam, each man being equal to 24 Dutch lbs. The price of indigo is 28 to 39 pagodas per littel. The bhaer in Masulipatnam is 480 lbs., the man 24 lbs; the biss or 5 seers equal to 3 lbs. The Muhammadan ships which go from Masulipatnam to Bengal, Arracan, Pegu, Tennassery, Atchyn, Pïamam, Queda and Perac, generally sail in the month of September, for if they wait longer, they run the risk of not being able to finish their voyage. The ship for Mecca generally leaves in January or at the end of December. Ordinarily our ships sail from the coast to Atchyn and further to Bantam in May, or in the beginning of June, because then the winds are blowing from the west. The ships from Masulipatnam go to Arrimogam, (Armagon) Paleacatta, St. Thome, Tegenapatnam, Porto Novo, Negapatnam and so on to Ceylon, and then as far as Cochyn. They start in the month of January. The commodities imported into Masulipatnam and the prices at which they were sold in my time are the following so far as I remember, for my books and papers are all at Masulipatnam:—Pepper, 25 pagoda per bhaer; Mace, 8 to 12 pagoda per man; Nutmeg, 33 to 60 pagoda per bhaer; Cloves, $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 12 pagoda per man; Sandalwood, 100 to 120 pagoda per bhaer; *Aglenhout*, 7 to 9 pagoda per man; Lead, 17 to 20 pagoda per bhaer; *Speauter* or tintenago, 25 to 60 and 70 pagoda, per bhaer; Tin, 75 to 80 pagoda per bhaer; Sulphur, 20 pagoda per bhaer; Alum, 12 pagoda per bhaer; Haw Chinese silk, 40 to 45 pagoda per man; Twisted silk from China, 1 pagoda per seer; Untwisted silk (not so much imported as twisted) 1 pagoda per seer; Musl, 10 to 12 pagoda per seer; Vermillion, much in demand, but not imported in my time; Quicksilver, 20 to 25 pagodas per

man; Camphor of Borneo, according to size and whiteness, 5 to 20 pagodas per seer; Chinese camphor, 4 pagodas per man.

All kinds of porcelain-ware are also imported, chiefly little things, and are sold at great profit, each according to its quality; and for this reason I am not quoting their prices.

Red crimson cloth, 6 pagoda per gass, gass being equal to $1\frac{1}{4}$ Dutch ell. Red Carmosynen Kerdeys, 2 to $2\frac{1}{4}$ pagodas per gass. Other colours of cloth as also of Kardeys are not much in demand, particularly black. Chinese velvet, 1 to $1\frac{1}{4}$ pagodas per gass; Chinese rolled damask, 5 to 6 pagodas per piece; Chinese plaited damask, $2\frac{1}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ pagodas per piece; Chinese gold-wire, 1 pagoda each paper; Chinese *armosynen*, $1\frac{3}{4}$ to 2 pagodas per piece, Chinese lacquer work is not much in demand. Some round closed boxes have been sold for $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 pagoda per piece, but not many. Tortoise shell, 70 to 80 pagodas per bhaer; Tinsel was sold in my time at from 3 to 4 pagoda per man, but it was very much soiled. There is also a demand for pretty beer glasses made of crystal, 2 or 3 of which are sold for 1 pagoda. Pretty mirrors could also be sold, but it is to be noted that the glass should be pretty, if it is not so, they want another to be put into the frame. *Benjeuryn*, 6 to 8 pagoda per man; Wax, 2 to $2\frac{1}{4}$ pagoda per man; Sugar, 5 to 6 pagoda per bale, each bale weighing about 6 man.

The rubies brought there are sold according to their size, quality and weight; gold also; (in the same manner). Great number of rubies are carried from Masulipatnam far into the interior, even to Persia, where they are sold. For the most part gold is consumed in or round Masulipatnam. About 10 to 12 miles to the south of Masulipatnam there is a river there where the Muhammadans, Portuguese and also the Hindus build their ships, as wood, iron and other materials are available there in sufficient quantities, and wages are low. Shortly before I left Masulipatnam, an English ship, named the *Globe*, about 170

last, was covered there with an additional layer of planking. There are made there some coarse woven cloths of cotton, also printed [cloths], because many weavers live there and thereabouts; there are also many weavers on whole coast, also printers. There are some other craftsmen, as smiths, carpenters, goldsmiths, tailors, and a few other different crafts, but not so many as of those. The land roundabout Narsapor Petta, as also about Masulipatnam, yields much rice and various kinds of fruits, and there is an abundance of all kinds of animals. Butter and cheese are also made there. Good wheat is grown further inland from Masulipatnam. It is sold in Masulipatnam at 3 or 4 pagoda per bhaer; rice is sold at 1 to 1½ pagoda per bhaer; butter 7 to 10 fanam per man; an ox, 1 to 2 pagodas; a goat, 1 to 2 fanam; 60 to 70, sometimes 80 fowl for 1 pagoda; a pig 4 to 5 fanam; 80 eggs for 1 fanam, and other things correspondingly, because there is an abundance of all things also oranges and apples, lemons and all kinds of other fruits and fish. There is a little island in the river of Petapoly, where many spotted deer are caught, and are sold sometimes for 2 to 3 fanams, sometimes also for ½ pagoda. Roundabout Narsapor Petta, as also in other places inland, there are many deer, but not spotted, as in the river of Petapoly. There are also large numbers of elephants. There are many crocodiles in the rivers. which sometimes do much damage to cattle when they are going along [the banks] of the rivers. Good material is available in Masulipatnam for making gun-powder; also ropes which are made from coir, of which some are sent every year to Bantam for ships which go to the Moluccas. Sail-cloth is also made there, but it is not so good as here (in Holland), but one may get along with it there and the Portuguese, the Muhammadans as also the Hindus, when they go from one place to another with their ships and commodities, use no other ropes and sail-cloth except those made there. In order to inflict losses on the Portuguese, in my judgment [subject to correction], it will be necessary to have some

fast-sailing yachts well provided with guns and soldiers, as the Portuguese (ships) are now better equipped than before. They ordinarily sail from Cochyn (Cochin), Negapatnam and St. Thome in the months of August and September, to Bengal, Arracan, Pegu and Tennassery (Tenasserim), going along the coast, and return in March or April. So they must pass our ships, which are about this time under Ceylon where the Dutch ships ordinarily touch on the return journey. Some times the Portuguese come with their ships to Masulipatnam. The duties that they must pay there are 4 per cent on imports and 4 per cent on exports; so also the English. In addition, the Governor wants them to pay tschapadallaly, (brokerage), which amounts to 11 per cent, unless by means of presents they are able to get this duty [remitted?]. The inhabitants of the place, the Muhammadans and the Hindus, do not pay it, for, a few years ago, the King remitted the duty, but, inspite of this, they must give presents to the Governor in order to get their goods earlier out of the Customs house. The Noble Company pays no duties there because Wemmer van Berchem has made a contract with the King of Golconda to pay 3000 pagodas annually for goods imported as well as exported. Still, when our ships arrive, one must give presents to the Governor, Sabandaer and other great lords in order to secure their friendship. It is otherwise difficult to trade there, particularly if one has not secured the friendship of the Governor.

This, my Noble Masters, is what is known to me about the coast of Coromandel, to the best of my recollection.

SRI RAM SHARMA

The Temple of Shola-pua-mā

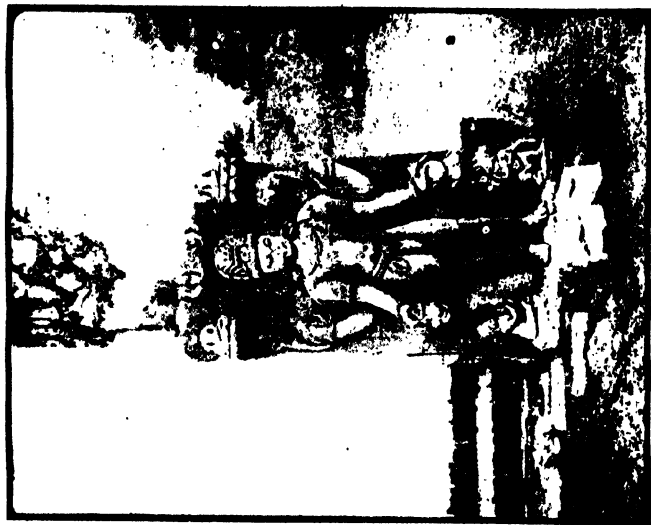
The temple of Shola-pua-mā stands near the bank of the Tāldandā canal at the distance of a stone's throw from the West Hostel of the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack. Formerly it was situated just inside what is now the compound of the Station Master's bungalow B.N.Ry.; but when quarters were built there for the Station Master the dilapidated temple was removed to the bank of the canal and the Railway Company paid to the *Sebayet* (priest) a compensation of Rs. 100/- towards the cost of constructing a shed of bricks and mortar for housing the deities. About ten years ago a beautifully sculptured door frame brought here by John Beams from Udaigiri (in Cuttack district) was removed to the Patna Museum.

In the temple are to be found a male figure of Padmapāni and a female figure with broken limbs, two horrid-looking bearded figures with sunken eyes and a few blocks of stones so liberally smeared with vermilion that it is impossible to identify them. In front of the temple, subject to all the vagaries of weather, stand two colossal statues of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

The figure on the right hand side of the temple is a four-armed Avalokiteśvara seated cross-legged in *Padmāsana* on a full-blown lotus. It has matted hair, an indistinct figure of (Amitābha) above the centre of the forehead, a sacred thread round the body, a rosary in the upper right hand, a *kalasa* in the upper left hand and a lotus stalk and a trident near the upper left hand. The right and left lower hands are crossed with the palms one above the other in *Dhyāna Mudrā*. Four devotees are found sitting below the lotus seat and two Gandharvas carrying garlands on the top. No such god is described in Dr. Bhattacharyya's *Buddhist Iconography*. It has two inscriptions in Kuṭila character on the top and back, the top one giving the Buddhist formula *ye dharmā* etc., while the back one consisting of two or three lines is obliterated. The size of the image is

10" × 1' 9" × 1' 0"

ĀVALOKITEŚVARA IN THE TEMPLE OF ŚHOLA-PŪĀ-MĀ



I.H.Q., Dec. 1940.

The figure on the left is a standing four-armed Avalokiteśvara with matted hair and a crown with an indistinct figure (of Amitābha) on it. It has a sacred thread. The lower right hand is stretched out (in *Varada Mudrā*), the upper right hand carries a rosary, the left lower and upper hands carry a *kalasa* and a lotus stalk respectively. On both sides at the top of the statue two Buddhas are sitting in *Bhūmisparśa Mudrā* and two Gandharvas (winged nymphs) are carrying a crown in the centre. The statue has long ear-rings, necklace, armlets, bangles and *nupura* on the legs. The symbols tally to a great extent with those of Jātāmukuta Lokeśvara.¹ A standing four-handed male (Sucimukha) is looking up at the bottom left and a two-handed female is sitting on the bottom right below the main image. There is also a kneeling devotee below the pedestal. His image has also two inscriptions in Kuṭila character on the halo round the head and at the back. The former repeats the Buddhist formula, while the latter quotes some *dhāraṇī*. The size of the image is 4' 7" × 2' 2½" × 0' 8".

I have taken estampages of all the inscriptions on the images and sent them to the Government of India Epigraphist for deciphering. The presence of an image of Padmapāni inside the temple leads me to surmise that the temple was originally a Buddhist one and the chief image in it was of a Buddhist deity. If the mantras specially used in connection with the worship of the goddess Shola-pua-mā were known, it would be possible to identify her but the illiterate middle-aged barber *sebayet* does not recite any mantras while performing the Pūja. The temple has no endowment now, and so the deity lives on the uncertain charity of her devotees.

Shola-pua-mā is worshipped by all the Hindus. The South Indian residents of Cuttack hold her in particular esteem and they visit the temple more than a dozen times annually in batches of

¹ Bhattacharyya's *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 178, pl. XLV, no. 12, p. 160.

hundreds. On festive occasions they sacrifice thousands of cocks and hens and occasionally goats to propitiate the deity.

It is interesting to speculate why the Shola-pua-mā is so much respected by the South Indian population of Cuttack. We know that during 1750 to 1803 the Marathas were in occupation of Cuttack. The Maratha barracks which are to be seen to this day owe their origin to this occupation. It may be that the goddess was brought to Cuttack by the Marathas and a temple built here in her honour. Or, the Marathas might have had an idol of their goddess made at Cuttack, and consecrated her for worship by all. The connection between Shola-pua-mā and Sholapur Ammā or mā (mother) of Sholapur, the Maratha city, seems to be not insignificant to be left out of account.

There is an inscription² on black chlorite (*muguni* stone) in three languages, Persian, Tamil and Oriya, to the effect that on Friday, the 16th July, 1841, one Meghraj, Subedar of the 6th Regiment of the 5th Company (East India Company?) made some kind of endowment to the Shola-pua-mā at Chauliaganj near Cuttack. This stone is now in the possession of the *Sebayet*, whose father took it away from the original temple of the Shola-pua-mā when it was demolished to provide quarters for the B.N. Ry. Station Master. Meghraj is, I am told, a Maratha name, and the devotion of this Subedar to the Shola-pua-mā lends some support to my tentative hypothesis that the deity is probably a Maratha deity. Had one of the three inscriptions been in Marathi instead of Tamil, we should have no hesitation at all in concluding Meghraj to be a Maratha. But the fact that it is in Tamil need not necessarily go against our hypothesis, since the Tamil influence in South India at this time was quite considerable, and Tamil has special significance as being the most important Dravidian language.

² This inscription has been published in the *Journal of the Orissa Academy*, vol. III, no. 1.

Meghraj of course might have come from Tanjore where the ruler was a Maratha, but most of the people were Tamils.

It is of course not unlikely that Shola-pua-mā has some kind of connection with Padmapāni placed inside her temple. In this case she must be a Buddhist goddess, and is perhaps a variation of the Buddhist Hārīti, mother of five hundred sons and the deity specially worshipped by barren women.³ But though the Shola-pua-mā is also worshipped by barren women and the name means literally (mother of sixteen sons), the facts that (i) she is worshipped with bird and animal sacrifice, and (ii) she is specially worshipped by the South Indians, have to be satisfactorily explained.

Now the presence of the two Avalokiteśvaras in front of the temple is to be explained. Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda was told at Udayagiri that Mr. John Beams had removed to Cuttack not only the door-frame (of Udayagiri) but a few sculptures too. One of these was a four-armed standing Avalokiteśvara (4' 7" × 2' 2") in almost perfect state of preservation bearing an inscription on the back in characters of the 8th century A.D. which seemed to Mr. Chanda to embody an extract from a Buddhist text. There were also a seated Avalokiteśvara (2' 8" × 1' 9"), a twelve-armed seated Prajñāpāramitā and an image of Gaṅgā. The last two images have either been stolen by some art collector or taken refuge in the Patna Museum and the first two are lying in front of the temple of Shola-pua-mā suffering from the inclemencies of weather.⁴

G. S. DAS

³ Vide Watter's *Yuan Chwang*, vol. I, p. 216.

⁴ *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 44 by Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda.

Rūpa—a dramatic spectacle

In my book¹ *The Types of Sanskrit Drama* I have suggested that, in its evolution, drama has combined into it three distinct arts called नृत्त, नाट्य and रूप. नृत्त, I said, is dance, नाट्य acting and रूप taking the form or rôle of another.

I now find that a kind of spectacle (possibly called रूप) performed before an audience on some kind of stage and having actors taking various forms or rôles seems to have been known in the later² Rgvedic days. Rv., I, 115, 5 is this:

तन्मित्रस्य वरुणस्याभिचक्षे सूर्यो रूपं कृणुते योरूपस्थे ।
अनन्तमन्यदुशदस्य पाजः कृष्णमन्यद्वरितः संभरन्ति ॥

Sāyaṇa's commentary on this verse is:

तत्तदानीमुद्यसमये मित्रस्य वरुणस्य एतदुभयोपलक्षितस्य सर्वस्य जगतो अभिचक्षे आभिमुख्येन योर्नेभस उपस्थे उपस्थाने मध्ये सूर्यः सर्वस्य प्रेरकः सविता रूपं सर्वस्य निरूपकं प्रकाशकं तेजः कृणुते करोति । अपि च । अस्य सूर्यस्य हरितो रसहरणशीला रश्मयो हरिद्वर्णा अश्वा वा अनन्तमवसानरहितं कृत्स्नस्य जगतो व्यापकं रुशदीप्यमानं श्वेतवर्णं पाजः । बल-नामैतत् । बलयुक्तम् । अतिबलस्थापि नैशस्य तमसो निवारणे समर्थम् अन्यतमसो विलक्षणं तेजः संभरन्ति अहनि स्वकीयागमनेन निष्पादयन्ति । तदा कृष्णं कृष्णवर्णमन्यतमः स्वकीयापगमनेन रात्रौ अस्य रश्मयोप्येवं कुर्वन्ति ।

But apart from Sāyaṇa's help, we can translate the verse as follows:

'On the surface of the sky (योरूपस्थे) the Sūrya takes form (रूपं कृणुते), so as to be seen by मित्र and वरुण. (Surya takes two forms³ out of which) one is lustrous (पाजः) and extremely shining (अनन्तं रुशत्) and the other dark: horses effect (these forms).

1 *The Types of Sanskrit Drama*, published by Urmi Prakashan Mandir, Gujaratnagar, Karachi; p. 33-34.

2 Because the reference is found in the first मण्डल.

3 Sūrya's one form is day and another night. Thus मित्र and वरुण may here refer to day and night—or lustre and darkness.

The hymn describes how day and night recur, and in this verse the poet's imagery seems to be something like this: The Sun is like an actor who takes different forms. यौ is the stage (उपस्थ) on which he shows his forms. मित्र and वरुण are his audience (अभिचक्षे shows this). Thus like a रूपी (an actor) who takes different forms before an audience on a stage, the Sun comes on the stage in the form of the sky and shows his different forms before his audience which is here formed of मित्र and वरुण.

So far we knew that only नृत्त (dance) was known in R̥gvedic days. This verse proves that even रूप was known then.

D. R. MANKAD

REVIEWS

VERELST'S RULE IN INDIA by Dr. Nandolal Chatterjee, M.A., PH.D., D.LIT. Lucknow University, Indian Publishing House Ltd. Allahabad.

The period from 1767 to 1772 in Bengal is generally ignored by historians, who generally pass from Clive to Warren Hastings, taking practically no notice of Verelst and Cartier who were Governors during these five years. But the period is not without importance and Dr. Chatterjee has done well in drawing attention to it. The author's treatment of the subject is fairly exhaustive. Verelst, however, was a second-rate administrator and could not rise above the traditions of a civil servant. Such a man is not a very inspiring subject to write about. The author has to a certain extent exaggerated the Abdali menace to Bengal but was the menace a reality?

The title of the book is not very appropriate, for Verelst's rule, if that expression is to be used, never extended beyond the Subah of Bengal. Theoretically he was not even the ruler of Bengal. The Nawab, though a phantom, was still the Governor of the Subah, while the East India Company were the Dewan.

The book lacks an introductory chapter, and therefore the background against which the events are portrayed is missed and the chapters of the book appear disconnected. A few words on Verelst's career upto 1767 and on the political and economic situation in Bengal on the eve of his assumption of Governorship would have been very welcome.

The book on the whole is a useful contribution to the history of Bengal and will thus be welcome to all scholars.

S. K. DUTT

CITRACAMPŪ by Bāṇeśvara Vidyālaṅkāra, with a foreword by Mm. Gopinātha Kavirāja, M.A. Edited with Introduction by Ramcharan Chakravarti, Headmaster, Jaynarayan's High School, Benares. 1940. pp. 40 + 4 + 90.

We welcome this important addition to the *Campū* literature in Sanskrit from the pen of one of the greatest poets of Bengal. Bāṇeśvara's stray verses are familiar to the Sanskrit students of Bengal. It was, however, the learned editor of the book under review, who rescued from oblivion a large number of complete works by the poet and published for the first time a devotional lyric of his, named *Tārāstotram* (vv. 42). Thanks to his extraordinary devotion and zeal, he has succeeded, in spite of the heavy duties of a Headmaster, to give us one of the major works of the poet. The *Citracampū* was finished in Oct., 1744 A.D. and its publication was eagerly awaited, as it was known to contain a valuable reference to the 'Bargi' raids in Bengal. We have no hesitation in commending this valuable work to the reading public, whose generous reception will, we doubt not, enable the editor to publish the remaining works of the poet, including a seven Act drama and a *Mahākāvya*. The classical diction and high poetic imagery combined with the semi-historical character and the spiritual background, so ably explained in the Foreword, make the *Citracampū* a unique production, which, we venture to suggest, should find place in the Sanskrit curriculum of our Universities, specially in the poet's own province.

The learned editor has collected all available information about the poet in the Introduction. The approximate birth-date (1665 A.D.) of Bāṇeśvara fixed by him from a local anecdote is, however, untenable. As stated by Halhed (*A Code of Gentoo Laws*, London 1776: Preface, p. lxviii), among the eleven scholars who compiled the code only one was aged above 80 and there are reasons to believe that the list, headed by Rāmagopāla Nyāyālaṅkāra (of Navadvīpa), was arranged according to seniority of age. Bāṇeśvara, who was 4th

in the list, was certainly below 80 in May, 1773 when the compilation was begun and was born probably in the first decade of the 18th cent. Bāṇeśvara seems to have been a prominent figure during this period, as we find him answering questions from the Supreme Court already in April, 1773 before he was called upon to compile the code and in May, 1775 when the compilation was finished. (*Selections from State Papers*, vol. II, p. 376). In 1788 the question of the succession to the *Nadia Raj* was referred among others to Bāṇeśvara's son Harinārāyaṇa Sārvabhauma, showing that Bāṇeśvara was then probably dead. The genealogy printed by the editor also requires to be revised and corrected in some places. We give a more reliable table from a Ms. in our possession, starting from Halāyudha who was a foremost Kulīna of the times of Lakṣmaṇasena (Dhruvānanda's *Mahāvamśa*, p. 2).—

Halāyudha, Priyaṅkata, Śobhākara. Vādali, Setho (Siddheśvara?), Mādhava, Śrikara, Vaśiṣṭha, Śrikaṇṭha, Rāma Bhaṭṭācāryya, Rāghavendra, Viṣṇu Siddhānta, Rāmadeva Tarkavāgiśa, Bāṇeśvara. Halāyudha's descent from Dakṣa has not yet been authentically fixed.

D. C. BHATTACHARYYA

THE BHRAMARA-DŪTA-KĀVYA of Rudra Nyāyapañcānana; edited for the first time with English Introduction and Appendices by Prof. J. B. Chaudhuri, PH.D. (Saṅskṛta-Dūta-kāvya-saṅgraha, work No. 1). Published by the author from 3, Federation Street, Calcutta, 1940.

The author intends to edit critically a series of the Dūta-kāvya, of which this forms the first. No consistent attempt has been made as yet to trace the history of the development of the kāvyas. Considering the large number of the Dūta-kāvya that are known to exist to-day, very few really have been as yet published; of those

published, few are critically edited. Prof. Chaudhuri is to be congratulated on his happy choice of undertaking to edit some important Dūta-kāvyas in this Series, particularly, for the first volume. The *Bhramara-dūta*, was composed by Rudra Nyāyapañcānana of Navadvīpa, Bengal, in the 17th century A.D. The work, as the editor remarks, serves as a good specimen of the contribution of Bengal to Sanskrit poetry in the 17th century A.D. The editor also rightly emphasises that Rudra Nyāyapañcānana, a logician of high order, combined in himself the rare gift of a poet as well.

The critical apparatus of the edition is complete. The present edition is prepared from a single manuscript belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. The large number of emendations of the editor shown in a tabular form in Appendix B at once shows the difficulties he had to face and the conscientious and learned way in which he has discharged his duties in reconstructing an important text. In his learned introduction he has given a biographical sketch of the poet, his family, the subject-matter of the work, its geography, etc. The data collected in this connection are interesting and new and the arrangement too is happy. The editing work has indeed been done in a scholarly manner. The Appendices, particularly, Appendix C on geographical notes, are useful.

The printing and get-up of the book are attractive. This excellent edition of the *Bhramara-dūta* is sure to commend itself to all the lovers of Sanskrit poetry and particularly, to those who are interested in the contribution of medieval Bengal to Sanskrit literature. We eagerly look forward to the forthcoming volumes of the Series.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI

BĀṆA'S KĀDAMBARĪ, door A. A. M. Sharpé, Leuven : N. V. De Vlaamsche Drukkerij, 1937. Pp. i-xvi, 502.

This elaborate work of five hundred pages, submitted as dissertation for the doctorate degree of the University of Utrecht,

modestly claims to be an introduction to the study of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's well known work, but is in reality a fairly full and up-to-date survey of the entire literature connected with Bāṇabhaṭṭa and his works. The fact of its being written in Flemish will, however, make it unfortunately inaccessible to a large number of readers in India.

The introduction fully summarises (pp. 1-127) all that is known of Bāṇa and of his works, both genuine and ascribed (including the *Pārvaṭīpariṇaya*), and gives a list of verses passing current under his name, as well as references to him and his works in later literature. There is an analysis of the contents of the *Kādambarī*, and a discussion of its literary sources with a list of additional passages. Bāṇa's romance is then subjected to a detailed examination in regard to its interest and importance from the historical, literary and cultural points of view. The bibliography which follows contains a careful and exhaustive list of editions, studies and translations of the work.

The bulk of the treatise is then devoted to a translation of the Uttara-bhāga (pp. 129-281) and those parts of the Pūrva-bhāga (pp. 283-364) which are yet untranslated, with notes and observations justifying the translation. An important part of the essay is the lexicographical Appendix containing a list of words not found in the St. Petersburg Dictionary and its supplements. The author remarks, not without justification, that no attempt has yet been made to produce a really critical edition of the *Kādambarī* on the basis of the large number of manuscripts available. In view of this remark, the addition of a concordance of the editions of the *Kādambarī* will be found interesting and useful. Let us hope that this painstaking and valuable study, which brings together an abundance of material, will lead to further investigations, and ultimately give us the much needed critical edition of a work, which is not only Bāṇa's masterpiece but also a highly important Sanskrit text.

VARĀṄGACARITA edited for the first time from two palm-leaf Mss. with various readings, a critical introduction, notes, etc. by Prof. A. N. Upadhye M.A., Rajaram College, Kolhapur. Published by the Secretary, Māṇikacandra D. Jaina Granthamālā, Hirabag, Bombay 4.

KAMSAVAHO. Text and chāyā critically edited for the first time with various readings, introduction, translation, notes etc. by Dr. A. N. Upadhye M.A., D.LITT. Professor of Ardhamāgadhi, Rajaram College, Kolhapur. Published by Hindi Grantha Ratnākara Kāryālaya, Hirabag, Bombay 4.

The above two volumes contain critical editions of two little known poems dealing with more or less popular mythological themes. The first one in Sanskrit is supposed to be 'one of the earliest Jain poems in Sanskrit written in a semi-epic and semi-kāvya style' (Introduction, p. 41), while the second one in Prakrit 'belongs to the closing period of Prakrit literature' (Preface, p. v). The *Varāṅgacarita* describes in 31 cantos the life-story of the prince Varāṅga-a contemporary of Neminātha, the twenty-second Tirthaṅkara of the Jains. Incidentally it refers to various doctrines of Jain philosophy, which are sought to be justified while an attempt is made to criticise and refute the views of other schools. As a matter of fact, the work, like the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghōṣa, is a religious poem. It aims at elucidating the Jain view of life. No name of author is available in the Mss. utilised for the edition. But the learned editor concludes, on the basis of references in other works to a work of the same name by one Jaṭila as also to a verse attributed to one Jaṭānandyačārya occurring in the present work, that it was composed 'by Simhanandi, alias Jaṭāsimhanandi, who was popularly known as Jaṭila or Jaṭācārya' (Introduction, p. 12). Similarly it is surmised that the poet 'flourished at the close of the 7th century A.D.' (Introduction, p. 22). The poet, whatever might be his name and date, writes in an elegant epic style with occasional traces of poetical flashes.

The *Kaṁsavaho* is a small work in four cantos, composed by Rāma Pāṇivāda who flourished in the beginning of the 18th century and was the author of a large number of works in Sanskrit, Malayalam and Prakrit. The present work, as the title indicates, narrates the story of the slaying of Kaṁsa by Kṛṣṇa.

Both the works are critically edited, each on the basis of two manuscripts. The text as preserved in the Mss. being far from satisfactory the learned editor had to work hard for reconstructing a satisfactory and readable text. And, it seems, he has been successful in carrying out his task. The plans followed in the preparation of both the editions are generally of the same nature. Both the volumes contain exhaustive introductions, scholarly notes, exegetical and textual, as well as indexes of verses and proper names. The *Kaṁsavaho* has, besides these, an index of important words and a complete English translation of the whole poem. The introductions begin with descriptions of the critical apparatus on which the editions are based and then proceed to bring together all available information about the lives and works of the authors, give summaries of the poems and discuss their characteristic features, including the linguistic peculiarities possessed by them. On the whole, these beautiful editions bear eloquent testimony to the scholarship and patient labour of the learned editor, who has earned the gratitude of the world of scholars by bringing to light and editing these as well as a number of other Jain works in Prakrit.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

THE TANTRARĀJATANTRA with the Commentary Sudarśanā of Prāṇamañjari, critically edited for the first time with introduction, appendices etc. by Jatindrabimal Chaudhuri, PH.D. (The Contribution of Women to Sanskrit Literature, Vol. V.) Calcutta 1940.

The first chapter of the *Tantrarāja* with the commentary called Sudarśanā by the woman Tāntrikā Prāṇamañjari of the early eighteenth century, who had her schooling from her erudite husband Premanidhi, an inhabitant of Kumaun and a prolific writer, is for the first time presented to Sanskrit scholars in a critical edition. We have every reason to believe that the work will be welcomed with delight on account of its intrinsic merits and the scientific editing. Dr. Chaudhuri's reputation as an author and editor is now well-established, and the high standard achieved in the present work has amply confirmed his credentials. I have read the book with care literally from cover to cover and I confess that but for his learned introduction and illuminating notes the work bristling with technicalities could not be easily understood by me in its proper perspective and detail. As regards the literary graces and scholarly traits of the original commentary the editor has stated everything in detail. The commentary, however, opened a new vista before my eyes. I did not expect such finished scholarship, such facile command over the Sanskrit idiom and such easy mastery of the logical technique and terminology that have been put in vogue by the neo-logicians of Bengal and have since become the current idiom of scholarly compositions, from a woman-scholar. The topics discussed in the commentary reveal not only her original outlook and independent approach and the critical, intimate and wide knowledge of the Tantra literature together with its technique and philosophy, but what is more and causes an agreeable surprise is the evidence of her close acquaintance with the *Dharma-śāstras*, the *Upaniṣads*,

the *Gītā* and even the latest conclusions thrashed out by the Neo-Vedāntists of Śaṅkara's school. She had two predecessors, Nīdhikāra and Subhagānandanātha, two crude commentators on the *Tantrarāja*. She frequently quotes them and exposes the unsoundness and untenability of their interpretation, proving thereby that her undertaking was not superfluous or uncalled for. A critical student will see that the arguments of our author are irrefutable. The matter has been thoroughly discussed by the learned editor in his introduction. The editor gives a masterly survey of the subject matter, which demonstrates his intimate and at the same time extensive knowledge of the niceties of Tantra literature. The analysis of contents is of great help to the understanding of the text and his notes in English and his profuse quotations from other Tantras are really illuminating. The critical apparatus given is complete and leaves nothing to be added. In a word, we have got a scholarly and scientific edition. I cannot help stressing a particular point which has greatly impressed me. The editor had access only to a single manuscript and that again not free from imperfections. The readings I found to be embarrassing have not escaped the editor's vigilant eye and the emendations he has suggested in the appendix are singularly happy and apt. I congratulate Dr. Chaudhuri on his success and the sound and extensive scholarship he has brought to bear on his task. I wish that after he has completed his series of Women's Contribution, he would bring out similar editions of the works of Premanidhi, the husband of our author, whose scholarship and help have been so handsomely acknowledged by our present author.

SATKARI MOOKERJEE

THE SUCCESSORS OF THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS IN THE LOWER DECCAN by Dr. D. C. Sircar, M.A., PH.D., Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University; published by the University of Calcutta.

In spite of the work done during the last century, there are still some dark periods in the realm of ancient Indian history. One such period is the history of the Deccan after the downfall of the Āndhras and before the rise of the Cālukyas. It is therefore but in the fitness of things that Dr. Sircar should have essayed the task of reconstructing the history of the period in the above work. The present volume deals with the history of the Lower Deccan; the author promises us a second volume also where the history of the Upper Deccan of this period will be dealt with.

Sources for the history of the period are mainly inscriptions belonging to the various dynasties that were ruling at the time. These inscriptions were of course already before scholars, but they were published in different journals and at wide intervals of time and the historic data supplied by them remained to be considered as a whole with a view to find out what light they threw upon the history of the period. Many of the records were not dated and the thorny problem of determining the relative chronology of the kings mentioned in them remained to be tackled. It is gratifying to note that all such problems relating to this period should have been properly attempted by the author. He is quite fair to his predecessors when he states their views even for the purpose of refuting them. Conflicting data of the records are ably and critically shifted with a view to get a consistent picture if possible. In describing the history of the Ikṣvākus, in discussing the genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyanas and the Viṣṇukūṇḍins, and in reconstructing the history of Kāñcī before its Pallava occupation, the author throws considerable new light upon the subject. He is at particular pains to discuss the relations of these rulers with their contemporaries with a view to bring

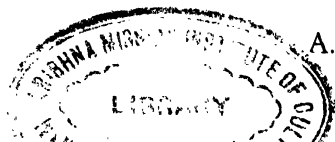
out fully the history of the period. The explanations suggested of the expressions *Hiraṇya-garbha-prasava*, *talavara*, etc. and the learned appendices on the *Divyās* and the *Kāvya* style in inscriptions show the author's mastery over Sanskrit literature and throw welcome light on subjects, which were but imperfectly or incorrectly understood. Some kind of definite order is introduced in the history of the early Deccan by the author's effort to establish an approximate contemporaneity among the *Sālaṅkāyana* Devavarman of the Ellore grant, *Kadamba* Mayūraśarman of the Chandravalli inscription, *Viṇhukaḍa* Sātakarṇi of the Malavalli record and *Brihatphalāyana* Jayavarman of the Kondamudi grant. These have been placed in the first half of the 4th century A.D. (p. 168).

Ancient Indian history is a growing subject and it is but natural that the conclusions we arrive at should sometimes be displaced by later discoveries. This observation holds good about the author's statement at p. 87 that South India was more enthusiastic about the Vedic sacrifices than North India and that *Samudragupta* derived his inspiration to perform the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice from his connection with the south. The evidence of a number of new inscriptions along with the data of some old ones now makes it clear that North India was as enthusiastic about Vedic sacrifices as South India during the 3rd century A.D. The *Yūpa* inscriptions from *Isāpur*, *Badvā*, *Barnālā*, *Nāndsā* and *Kośambī* make it quite clear that Vedic sacrifices like the *Dvādaśa-rātra*, *Trirātra*, *Āptoryāma*, *Sapta-Soma-saṁstha*, *Garga-Trirātra*, *Ekaśaṣṭi-rātra*, etc. were being performed in U.P. and *Rajputana* not only by kings and generals but also by commoners during the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. If the Vedic sacrifices were so common in northern India and at *Kosambi* and *Mathura* during the 3rd century A.D., *Samudragupta* need not be supposed to have derived his inspiration only from the south.

In a number of recent monographs written about the history of several dynasties, the method is followed of giving a summary of

the inscriptions of a king after his history is discussed. Dr. Sircar follows this method in the present work. This method is in a way convenient; it sometimes obviates the necessity of referring to original journals, which in many places may not be even available. It must be however admitted that this method breaks the flow of the narrative and the reader sometimes cannot avoid the impression that unnecessary matter is being incorporated to take more of his time. When, for instance, the names of donees are also given along with the abstracts of inscriptions (as at pp. 43, 62, 291) or when the exhortation to the inhabitants not to disturb the donee is also summarised (as at p. 192), or when even imprecatory passages threatening the obstructor with the sin of the *Pañca-mahā-pātakas* are translated (as at p. 292), such impression cannot be altogether blamed. This method of writing monographs is no doubt followed by more than half a dozen scholars in recent years, but that does not mean that it is flawless from the point of methodology. In the opinion of the present reviewer the flow of the historical narrative should never be allowed to be broken by the sudden emergence of inscriptional summaries; these should be given at the end in appendices to the book. Dr. Sircar has to some extent followed this method; for his appendices II to V give some of the important inscriptions of the period. This method should be followed throughout in order to make the account more readable.

Dr. Sircar has promised a second volume dealing with the successors of the Sātavāhanas in the northern Deccan. We hope that it will deal with the cultural history of the period also and give us a picture of the social, religious, educational and economic condition of the age. In the meanwhile, we would congratulate him for the present volume, which considerably advances our knowledge of the history of the Lower Deccan.



A. S. ALTEKAR

THE SANTAL INSURRECTION OF 1855-57, by Dr. Kali Kinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Patna College; published by the University of Calcutta, 1940; pages 103.

The monograph under review gives an elaborate account of the Santal insurrection that forms an important episode in the annals of Bengal and Bihar during the middle of the nineteenth century. It is divided into four chapters. Chs. I and II deal with the causes and the outbreak and progress of the insurrection, while chs. III and IV describe how it was suppressed and what effects it produced. The monograph has a map, an index, and several interesting appendices two of which give copies of original documents in Bengali. Appendix C which is the copy of a proclamation in Bengali, dated the 17th August, 1855, is not only important as a specimen of our language prevalent in the Santal Parganas during the mid-nineteenth century, but is an additional proof that parts of that district together with the adjoining portions of Bihar and Orissa really belong to Bengal both culturally and linguistically.

The Santal insurrection is well-known to students of Indian history from such popular works as Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal*, pp. 230-55. Dr. Datta however has given a fuller account after studying all available records published and unpublished. Proofs of hard labour and patient research, characteristic of the author, are noticeable on almost every page of the monograph.

In connection with the unpublished records utilised by the author, reference has been made to a Bengali ballad by Rāy Kṛṣṇadās (p. x). This ballad was however published many years ago by the late Dr. D. C. Sen in the *Pūrva-vaṅga-gītikā*, vol. II, part II (Calcutta University, 1926), pp. 313-19. Some of the persons and incidents referred to in the ballad cannot be traced in Dr. Datta's narrative.

This monograph is interesting and valuable for all students of Indian history.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

A HISTORY OF TIRUPATI or a History of the Holy Shrine of Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśa in Tirupati, vol. I, by Rājasevāsakta Dewān Bahādur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar; published by the Commissioner, Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthānam, Madras, 1940; pages 467 + 23.

The temple of Lord Veṅkaṭeśa on the Tirupati hills belonging to the range called the Veṅkaṭācalam is an old and famous shrine of South India. The temple has a very large property and income and is one of the most sacred spots in the Deccan. The Devasthānam Committee may therefore be congratulated on their attempt in getting a written history of the holy shrine as well as of the locality in which it stands. It is again in the fitness of things that the services of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, the doyen amongst the historians of the Madras Presidency, have been requisitioned for the purpose.

The book under review is divided into seventeen chapters. The earlier sections deal chiefly with references to the Tirupati locality, its shrine and its deity, in early Tamil works, while subsequent chapters delineate the history of that region under different dynasties, such as the Pallavas, Cōlas, Yādavarāyas and the rulers of Vijayanagara. The book contains as many as seventeen interesting illustrations and an index; but a map of the district is wanting.

The book is a storehouse of important materials, containing many interesting details. It may not however be possible to agree with the learned author on some important points, especially in the earlier half of the work. Nobody can deny that the Tirupati shrine is very old; but the author's attempt to place its foundation between 57 B.C. and 78 A.D. is not convincing (pp. 44-45), as it is based on a late tradition (referring to the Śaka and Vikrama eras) of no value. Throughout the work, Dr. Aiyangar has tried to prove that the deity in the Tirupati temple is recognised, from the earliest times, as Viṣṇu and not as Śiva. It however seems to us that the deity is neither Viṣṇu nor Śiva. Like Minākṣi of Madura, Jagannātha of

Purī and many other deities in different parts of India, Lord Venkateśa of Tirupati is very probably the deity of a primitive people of the South, subsequently identified with one or other of the well known divinities of the Brahmanic pantheon.

In the historical sections of the book, especially in chapter IX which deals with the early history of Tondamaṇḍalam, there are some statements which we find it difficult to accept. The author thus speaks of the British Museum grant of Cārudevī, "This is a Prakrit charter issued by the queen-regent in the name of her minor son Vijayabuddhavarman, sometimes read as Buddhyaṅkura, son of Mahārāja Vijayaskandavarman" (p. 218). The record however reads: सिद्ध । सिरिविजयखन्दवम्ममहाराजस्स संव्वच्छरा...युवमहाराजस्स भारद्वायस्स पल्लवाणं सिरिविजयबुद्धवर्मस्स देवी बुद्धिकुरजनवो(नी). चारुदेवी कडके वीय..., etc. (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 143). The informations derived from the British Museum grant are therefore: (1) Cārudevī was the wife of the crown prince and not a queen regent; (2) Buddhavarman was not the minor son but the husband of Cārudevī; (3) Buddhyaṅkura was the son of Cārudevī and was different from his mother's husband Buddhavarman; (4) neither Buddhavarman nor Buddhyaṅkura is called the son of Skandavarman; (5) there is no mention of a minor son.

In spite of a few drawbacks here and there the book is well worth perusal by students interested in the history and culture of South India.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE PAṆHĀVĀ-GARAṆĀIM the Tenth Aṅga of the Jaina Canon by Amulya Chandra Sen, M.A., B.L., D.PHIL. (Hamburg), Würzburg, 1936, royal octavo, pp. 67.

Though earlier in origin than Buddhism, Jainism did not receive from scholars the scrupulous attention it deserves. The comparative

negligence in which Jain studies have still been allowed to remain is nowhere so evident as in a lack of critical edition of the complete set of Aṅgas, Upāṅgas and Chedasūtras etc. Individual canonical works like the Ācārāṅga, Upāsakadaśā, and Uttarādhyayana have indeed been critically edited but in the absence of properly constituted texts of the remaining works scholars are much handicapped in using a vast measure of linguistic and historical material which Jaina works surely contain.

Hence it is a matter of genuine pleasure to see Dr. Sen's critical introduction to the tenth Aṅga, which will surely facilitate the proper reconstruction and study of the *Paṇḍavāgarāṇām*. This work prepared under the supervision of Prof. W. Schubring the greatest living authority on Jainism is the very model of what this kind of work should be. An examination of the contents of the *Paṇḍavā*, was made by Weber (*Indische Studien*, XVI. pp. 326-335). Since that time this text received but scanty attention. Schubring made some references to it in his introduction to '*Worte Mahāvīras*'. In Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature* Vol. II. (pp. 452) as well as Schubring's *Die Lehre der Jainas* (p. 66) earlier views on the text have been revised. Besides these, the text has been casually mentioned by scholars who had occasion to give some general account of Jain canonical works. In spite of all this there is still need for a fresh critical study on the text and such has been offered by Dr. Sen.

This work is divided into three sections each of which is full of much useful material. The most interesting part of the section I (General Remarks) is the discussion of the prose written in *Vedha* metre and the determination of a comparatively late date for the present text on the study of its metrical contents. Discussion on its borrowings from other texts is also equally interesting and valuable.

Section II (Special Investigations) of the work begins with a short description of the last five chapters of the *Paṇḍavā*, together with an enumeration of some matters of secular importance in them.

Then follows the first five chapters of the original work in an abridged form. Along with this abridgement author's thoughts have been indicated and difficult and rare works as well as matters of secular interest have been quoted and discussed.

Section III contains extracts from the commentary together with valuable critical notes.

We congratulate the author on the production of this important work and may hope that he will continue work in this line and will further the cause of Jain studies which is in need of attention from Indian scholars.

DOHĀKOṢA (Apabhraṃśa Texts of the Sahajayāna School) Part I (Text and Commentaries) edited by Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, M.A., D.LITT. (Paris), Calcutta, 1938, super royal octavo, pp. ii + 164.

The present volume included in the Calcutta Sanskrit Series (no. 25 c.) contains sayings (*dobās*) of Tillo, Saraha, Kānha and other mystic teachers of Sahajayāna School together with commentaries on some of them. Written most probably sometime at the close of the first millennium A.C. these sayings have not reached us unharmed. Readings of some of them are in an exceedingly corrupt state. But fortunately for us their number is not great. Nearly one hundred and forty of them (Saraha's 110 and Kānha's 32) have been already edited by Dr. Sahidullah (*Les Chants Mystiques de Kānha et de Saraha*) and he has made an improvement on them. But due to want of sufficient materials some difficulties inevitably remained. Then fortunately for Dr. Bagchi he came in possession of materials which enabled him to make further improvement on the same text, and his materials included also some 66 new sayings (Saraha's 32 and Tillo's 34) by Sahajayāna mystics. Among these appears a master named Tillo who was very imperfectly known up till now. From the Ms., however imperfect, of these sayings Dr. Bagchi has given us a tentative edition of the text which contains some of the most valuable utterances of the Sahajayāna

mystics. Besides these Dr. Bagchi has included in his work nearly 25 sayings from other sources. All these make his work a pretty comprehensive collection of doctrines followed by mystics who flourished in Bengal about 1000 A.C. Commentaries available to *dobās* of Tillo and Saraha have also been edited in the present work and will greatly facilitate the understanding of the texts.

Though his materials were not in an ideal state Dr. Bagchi seems to have done his work with the best possible care. His restoration of texts from the Commentary are mostly very satisfactory. It is only in a few places that one will have reasons to differ from him. We are giving below some instances where it is possible to suggest alternate readings :

In Tillopāda's *dobā* 3 *paṣiā* might have been *muṇiā* to rhyme with *baṇiā*, without the loss of meaning.

In *dobā* 5 *indīa* might have been *indī-* (cf. *dobā* 1) which reads metrically as *indī-*.

In *dobā* 10 *bhaṅga* might have been *maṅga* (= *magga* < *mārga*). This would make this *dobā* very easily intelligible.

In *dobā* 11 *rabia* may be read as *rabitta* for the sound *tta* is quite permissible in Apa. for *ta*. This change will save the rhyme.

In *dobā* 15 *ki bujjhāi* should be read as *kāhi pāvai* to rhyme it with *paribhāvai*. This will fit in with the sense given in the commentary.

In *dobā* 23 *jahi* should be changed for *jai* (see the commentary).

In *dobā* 24 *paluttā* might be changed for *ṇa luttā* (= *na luttā*) rendering the sense clearer.

In *dobā* 25 the second half may be read as *kamme parama ānanda hoī* without any loss of meaning.

In *dobā* 26 *viāri* may be changed for *viāhi* (= *vyādhī*).

In *dobā* 27 *bujjhaī* may be changed for *māṇai* (= *manyate*).

In *dobā* 28 *bhaṇijai* may be changed for *bhāṇai* (*bhaṇṇai* < *bhaṇyate*).

In *dohā* 31 *ṇāi* should be read as *ṇāi* (*jñāyate*) restoring the rhyme as well as sense.

In *dohā* 32 *hoi* may be inserted after *so*.

In *dohā* 33 *ṇimmala* may be read as *ṇimmūla* (*nirmūlya* = 'priceless').

Apart from these few instances Dr. Bagchi's reconstruction of the texts leaves little room for improvement. For this very valuable work in the studies of Indian mysticism Dr. Bagchi has earned thanks of his fellow scholars in the field.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

ŚAIVA SIDDHĀNTA IN THE MEYKANḌA ŚĀSTRA
by Violet Paranjoti, M.A., L.T., PH.D., Isabella Thoburn College,
Lucknow. Luzac & Co., London.

The book under review embodies the thesis submitted by the author for the PH.D. degree of the Madras University. The subject-matter is the Śaiva school of religion and philosophy as embodied in Tamil and in subsidiary Sanskrit literature—a subject which is for the first time presented in English in a systematic manner. As the title of the book indicates it does not concern itself with the Kashmirian Śaiva schools or even with the philosophy of Śrīkara and Appayadikṣita. In the last chapter there is a comparative account of other schools of Śaiva doctrine, but it is too meagre and sketchy. However one cannot expect in a single book an exhaustive treatment of all the ramifications of Śaiva philosophy; and the concentration on one school in particular, which is not widely known owing to its being written in a language to which few people can have access, has made it possible for the author to be fairly exhaustive and critical in treatment. The interest of the book is mainly philosophical, though the first chapter supplies the historical background in the shape of a survey of the literature and contributions of the exponents of the school. The author is guided throughout by a critical spirit and has

not taken the rôle of a pure advocate. The criticism offered by the author appears to be fair though destructive. The philosophy of Śaiva Siddhānta is frankly and unreservedly a pluralistic realism of the Sāṅkhya pattern and the author has not hesitated to take full advantage of the loopholes and angularities to which a pluralistic system is inevitably exposed. It must be acknowledged that however unpalatable the criticism may savour to an orthodox adherent of the school, the cogency of the arguments employed by the author is indubitable. But we are afraid that we have more of hostile criticism than sympathetic evaluation. Even pluralistic philosophy has its points of strength and pluralism has been vindicated both in India and Europe. The author however appears to be much dominated by Bradley and this accounts for the constructive solution offered in more than one place which obviously savours of Bradleyan influence. Thus in one place the author observes in criticism of the unmitigated pluralism of Śaiva Siddhānta which holds God and the world and the individual souls distinct and different, "unless they become parts of a whole in which they are somehow transmitted, they will continue to remain isolated elements which no śakti can bring together" (p. 242). The author here reproduces rather uncritically the solution of Bradley without passing to consider how the relation of part and whole can steer clear of the opposition she complains of, if part and whole insist on maintaining their distinctive individualities. The theory of transmutation seems to be an argument of mysticism, which is tantamount to negation of reason. To be fair to the author one must admit that the pluralistic conception of reality is open to all the criticism that can be and has been advanced by a monist. Though personally my philosophical convictions are that of an uncompromising monist of Śaṅkara's type and so on that score I cannot but have fundamental agreement with the author's criticism, the point on which I would like to lay stress is that we should lay aside our convictions for the time we approach a philosophical system which

proposes to establish a body of principles entirely different from what enlists our personal sympathy. The author asserts in the preface that she has kept her Christian convictions in the background in the interests of an objective presentation and we have nothing but appreciation for this studied detachment. In order not to be misunderstood we must declare our feelings that the author has been more critical than appreciative and her presentation of a noble school of thought in spite of its undeniable merits as an ethical and religious discipline is calculated to leave an impression of its inadequacy as a philosophical system.

The real philosophy of the school comes to be discussed from chapter II. It is obvious even to a plain understanding that the philosophy of the school is much indebted to Sāṅkhya not only in its cosmogonical and cosmological speculations but also in its epistemology. The author deserves our thanks for drawing attention to this aspect and also to its departure from that ancient school. The author's evaluation of *Sabdapramāṇa*, wherein she shows that the recognition of this source of knowledge does not degenerate to dogmatism, is proof of her insight and correct vision. Her discussion of other *pramāṇas* shows critical understanding, though it is felt that her criticism of the Nyāya view of negation both as an organ and as resultant judgment does not go deep enough. The same remark holds of her treatment of *Upamāna* and *Arthāpatti* and particularly the treatment of the latter carries the impression of haste. The discourse on inference and verbal judgment shows ability and understanding though an advanced student of Indian epistemology would expect a deeper treatment in view of the advance of philosophical studies in recent times. Chapter III deals with the conception of God. The chapter is ably written, though the criticism of Personal God seems to be rather conventional. We agree with the author that no argument can demonstrate the existence of God as has been shown by Kant. But though a positive proof may fail to reach the level of

demonstration the necessity of God is capable of being proved by a *reductio ad absurdum*. The dogmatic assertion of Śiva's supremacy over Viṣṇu and Brahmā has not been substantiated on philosophical grounds and it would have been gratifying had the author indicated that names are but labels and their value is only derivative and vicarious in so far as they represent the Real Essence, which is bound to be nameless. Again, the fact that Śiva like the Naiyāyika's God is only an organizer and engineer and has no agency with regard to individual souls and the primal world-stuff need not detract from, far less be a limitation to the infinitude of God, unless the conception of infinity is moulded on the analogy of space. The relation of Śiva to His Śakti need not cause a difficulty either. These are ultimate concepts, which are necessitated by a *reductio ad absurdum* and we wish that the author had addressed herself to discover their underlying philosophical necessity and not been content with a rather facile criticism. 'Māyā and its evolutes' is the subject of chapter IV. It is an exhaustive account. But here also we are painfully conscious of the want of a philosophical defence of the different stages of evolution and in its place we are given in abundance adverse criticism. Criticism is the life and soul of a philosophical work, but sometimes it is apt to develop the weakness of the opposite position and to leave its strong side inadequately represented. From the author's treatment one derives the impression that the Śaiva system is based on a weak metaphysical foundation and it is more of religion than philosophy. The author has succeeded in creating a situation which will be a cause of felicitation if it provokes a follower of the school to meet her criticism and present the Śaiva Siddhānta with an adequate philosophical vindication. A sentimental refutation will fail to shake the author's position, which is much too critical and philosophical for that. The remaining chapters are replete with new information and data. The chapter on Release gives a detailed exposition of the Siddhāntin's standpoint. The last chapter deals with the alien

schools and due to the immense range of subjects dealt with, the treatment has turned out to be scrappy and fragmentary.

The book on the whole is a solid contribution to Indian philosophy, and though we could not refrain from calling attention to what appeared to be the limitations of an otherwise worthy publication, we must admit that the merits of the work far outweigh its defects. It is a thoughtful work and gives proofs of sturdy originality and independent approach. We commend the book to all lovers of Indian culture.

SATKARI MOOKERJEE

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Acta Orientalia, vol. XVIII, pars II

- H. GOETZ.—*Late Indian Architecture*. The writer attempts to show that Indian architecture did not lose its vigour even in the period following the building of the Tajmahal, but changed only in direction.
- P. H. L. EGGERMONT.—*The Date of Asoka's Rock Edict XIII*. The Rock Edict XIII was published before or in 255 B.C. in which year the death of Alexander took place.

Adyar Library Bulletin, vol. IV, pt. 3

- C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*A Sanskrit Letter of Mohamed Dara Shukoh*. A letter written in Sanskrit to Gosvāmin Nṛsiṃha Sarasvatī by Dara Shukoh, son of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan, is published from a manuscript deposited in the Adyar Library. The letter reads like an address composed in an extremely ornamental language.
- The following serial publications continue in this issue:
- Jivānandanam* of Ānandarāya Makhin.
- Sāmaveda Saṃhitā* with commentaries of Mādhava and Bharata-svāmin.
- Saṅgītaratnākara* with commentaries of Catura Kallinātha and Siṃhabhūpāla.
- Āśvalāyanagrhyasūtra* with Devasvāmi-bhāṣya.
- T. R. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR and S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.—*The Sāmānya Vedānta Upaniṣads*. In this instalment of the English translations of the smaller Upaniṣads, the last portion of the *Ātmabodhopeniṣad*, the whole of the *Ekākṣaropeniṣad* and a part of the *Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇopeniṣad* have been published.

- K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA.—*The Rājamṛgāṅka of Bhoja*. The *Rājamṛgāṅka* is a Karaṇa work containing astronomical calculations attributed to Bhoja. The work has been published on the basis of a unique Ms. deposited in the Adyar Library.
- H. G. NARAHARI.—*The Śaddarśanasamuccaya of Haribhadra with a Commentary of his Pupil*. A fragment of a new commentary, believed to be the earliest one, on Haribhadra's *Śaddarśanasamuccaya*, has been published from a rare Ms. containing only the Buddhist section of the compendious work on different systems of Indian philosophy.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, vol. XX, pts. III-IV

- IRAWATI KARVE.—*The Kinship Usages and the Family Organisation in Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda*. The terms used in the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda* for kins and relations have been discussed in detail. This kinship terminology reflects, as argued in the paper, a stage of society when there was little restriction as to sex-relations between the members of the family, which was governed by one man, and in which women were polyandrous. The *Atharvaveda* shows a wider range of this terminology and a more ethical turn towards sex-relations, showing that the family organisation was undergoing a new orientation.
- P. K. GODE.—*Some Verses about the Kāyastha Parabhūs composed by Keśava Paṇḍita by the order of king Sambhaji son of Shivaji—c. A.D. 1675*. The author records and discusses here some verses from the *Parabhū-prakarāṇa*, probably composed at the time of the Maratha king Sambhājī. He has tried to prove by advancing some contemporary evidence that Keśava Paṇḍita, who composed the verses is identical with Keśava Paṇḍita, the author of *Rājārāmacarita*.
- V. M. APTE.—*The Āśvalāyanamantrasaṃhitā*. Two manuscripts of a mantra compilation called *Āśvalāyanamantrasaṃhitā* de-

posited in the India Office Library have been described. This is the only work of its kind, which gives all the Ṛgveda mantras cited by their pratikas in the *Gr̥hya* and *Śrauta* sūtras of Āśvalāyana.

N. M. BILLIMORIA.—*The Script of Mohenjodaro and Easter Island*. In Rupa Nui, belonging to the Chilean territory, called Easter Island, some architectural remains have been found. They contain a few tablets bearing scripts resembling those of Mahenjodaro and are similar in many respects to the seals discovered in the various parts of ancient Sumer, Susa, and the borderland of the Tigris.

S. M. KATRE.—*New Lines of Investigation in Indian Linguistics*.

R. N. DANDEKAR.—*New Light on the Vedic God—Savitṛ*. The writer tries to prove that Savitṛ is not a creation of the Vedic poets, and can be traced back to pre-Vedic Indo-Germanic mythology. The God is also found represented pictorially in the Nordic rock-paintings of the ancient bronze age. In the opinion of the writer, Savitṛ cannot be identified with Sūrya. He is an aspect of Varuṇa.

P. C. DIVANJI.—*Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra on non-Vegetarian diet*. In answer to a question put by Rāvaṇa, Buddha is said, in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, to have enumerated the demerits of the non-vegetarian diet, details of which have been given in the paper.

Annals of Oriental Research of the University of Madras,
vol. IV (1939-1940), pt. 2

T. R. CHINTAMANI.—व्यवहारशिरोमणिः. The *Vyavahāraśiromani* edited here for the first time deals with the rules of legal procedure and is a work by Nārāyaṇa, a pupil of the famous Vijñāneśvara Yati.

V. RAGHAVAN.—*Women Characters in Kālidāsa's Dramas*.

R. P. SETHU PILLAI.—*Place-name suffixes in Tamil*. (In Tamil).

K. RAMAKRISHNAIYA.—*Andhrabhāṣābhūdāyayamu* (The development of the Telugu Language). In Telugu.

- S. MUHAMMAD HUSAYN NAINAR.—*Hindi, High Hindi, Urdu, Dakhni, Hindustani*. The paper gives a brief account of the salient features in the development of Hindi and Urdu through different stages.

Annals of the Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati,
vol. I, pt. 3 (September, 1940).

- P. K. GODE.—*Use of Ganges Water by Muslim Rulers from A.D. 1300 to 1800*. It has been shown from the evidence of Ibn Batuta, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Bernier and Edward Moor, that the Muslim rulers—Muhammad Tughlaq, Akbar, Aurangzeb, and the Nawab of Savanur used to drink Ganges water.
- K. C. VARADACHARI.—*Śrī Vedānta Deśika on the Buddhistic Schools of Thought*. Vedānta Deśika, the great exponent of Rāmānuja's Viśiṣṭādvaita School of Vedānta in the early 14th century, displays in his *Paramatabhaṅga* written in a mixture of Sanskrit and Tamil, great dialectical ability by pointing out absence of self-consistency in every system of thought except his own. The present paper contains an English translation of a section of the *Paramatabhaṅga* refuting the Buddhistic doctrines of the Mādhyamika, Yogācāra, Sautrāntika and the Vaiṣṇāvika systems.
- P. S. NAIDU.—*The Expression of the Emotions*—As analysed by Bharata in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and as portrayed in the Chidambaram Temple sculptures.
- K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA.—*Śabdadhātusamīkṣā: A lost work of Bhartṛhari*. While criticising the Sphoṭavāda as expounded by Bhartṛhari, the *Śivadr̥ṣṭi* of Somānandanātha mentions a work called *Samīkṣā* which is fully named as *Śabdadhātusamīkṣā* of Bhartṛhari. Evidently this work of Bhartṛhari is lost.
- N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI.—*Śaṅkarācārya on the Buddhist Idealism*. References to the tenets of the Idealistic school of Buddhism found in Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya on *Brahmasūtras* II, 2, 28-32 have

been examined in the paper to determine how far they are accurate representations of the ideas of the system.

- M. RAMAKRISHNA KĀVI.—*Works on Arthaśāstra in Telugu*. Several Telugu treatises on Nīti or polity have been briefly noticed here. Some of them deal with topics that fairly represent the contents of the *Kautiliya*, except in the fact that they leave out matters contained in the chapters dealing with the administration of justice (*dharmasthīyam*). The Telugu works also omit discussions of unfair means for putting down an enemy as detailed in the *Kautiliya*.

Bhāratiya Vidyā, vol. V, pt. II, May, 1940.

- DHARMANANDA KOSĀMBI.—*On the Life of Buddhaghōṣa*. In refutation of the belief that Buddhaghōṣa was a native of Bodhi Gaya, and the author of *Aṭṭhasālinī* and came of a Brahmin family, the writer says that he belonged to the farmer class and was a native of a village called Moraṇḍakhetaka in Southern India from where he went to Ceylon in the reign of Mahānāma, wrote *Visuddhimagga* and translated from Sinhalese, the authoritative and orthodox commentaries into Māgadhi.
- K. M. MUNSHI.—*From Rāma Jāmadagnya to Janamejaya Pārikṣita*. The main historical events from Rāma Jāmadagnya to Janamejaya Pārikṣita have been discussed here. They have led the writer to the following conclusions:—A great war between the Aryan tribes lasting for generations took place and in one of its later campaigns the Vītahavya king Arjuna was killed by Rāma Jāmadagnya, a definite break occurred in the genealogies and the literary and religious traditions of the R̥gvedic Aryans, and thus the mantra period came to an end. The war was continued thereafter with the effect that the Inner band Aryans spread upto Narmadā; when this war was concluded Janamejaya Pārikṣita was the king of Kuru Pañcāla ruling at Asandivant.

G. S. SARDESAI.—*Career of Ranjit Sing and its Effect on Indian Politics*. In this paper, the writer has discussed and explained the salient features of Ranjit Singh's inspiring career, his services to India and his far sightedness in the domain of politics. Ranjit Singh watched the careers of Napoleon, Tipu Sultan and Rammohan Ray, and understood well how to maintain friendly relations with the English instead of undertaking the hazardous task of resisting the all-sweeping British supremacy.

BOOLCHAND.—*The Platonic Concept of Justice compared with the Hindu Concept of Dharma*. By comparing the Platonic justice with the Hindu Dharma, it is found that the Platonic concept of justice is essentially idealistic, while the Hindu concept of Dharma is a practical one. The Platonic concept is conceived primarily in relation to the purpose of man in society, but the Hindu view is that the existing social order is in itself the manifestation of the Dharma.

A. S. GOPANI.—*Characteristics of Jinism*.—Some important and striking features of Jinism have been dealt with, namely Syādvāda, Nayavāda etc.

A. D. PUSALKAR.—*Historical Data in Bhāsa*. It is found that Bhāsa supplies us with historical data of the Buddhist period, most of which are corroborated by other independent sources.

MANI LAL PATEL.—*The Ninth Mandala of the R̥gveda*. This continued article describes in detail the virtues and efficacy of soma juice dealt with in the R̥gveda particularly in the ninth mandala. He says that in the later rituals, the sacramental soma preparation and offering became a mechanical formality, but at the time of the R̥gveda, the preparation of Soma was looked upon as a special art.

Buddha-prabha, vol. 8, no. 2, April, 1940

R. G. GYANI.—*The Buddhist Stūpa at Sāñcī*.

K. A. PADHYE.—*Emperor Asoka and Buddhism.*

SHRI YOGINDRAJI.—*Outlines of Buddhist Yoga.* Origin of Buddhist Yoga, its metaphysical basis, process of inducing meditation, acquisition of supernatural powers and forces and meaning of prayer and its place in Buddhism are discussed here.

Bulletin of Phonetic Studies, no. 1 (October, 1940)

N. SIVARAMA SASTRY.—*The Vedic Circumflex.* The nature of the Vedic accent of *svarita* as found in the accounts of Pāṇini and the *Prātiśākhya*s, and as revealed from its enunciation in the present day Vedic recitations in Southern India, has been discussed.

Calcutta Review, vol. 76, no. 1, July 1940

KALIDAS NAG.—*Art and Archaeology of Indo-China.* The successive stages of the cultures of Indo-China are given here. From the inscriptional and iconographic evidence it is shown that the Indian cultures e.g.—Brahmanic, Śaivite, Vaiṣṇavite, Buddhist etc. have influenced the Art and Archaeology of Indo-China.

ASHIRBADI LAL SRIVASTAVA.—*Was the Abdali Invasion of 1766-67—a real menace to Bengal?* The theory that the Abdali invasion of 1766-67 constituted a menace to the safety of Bengal and was undertaken at the instigation of Mir Qasim is said to be devoid of foundation. The English preparation made by Verelst, the then Governor of Bengal was mere precautionary measure and there was, in fact, no real danger to Bengal.

JYOTIRMAYEE DEBI.—*The Proto-type of Śiva in the Pre-historic Age.* The theory of Sir John Marshall, that the figure of a deity seated in a Yogic attitude with an animal by his side at Mohenjodaro is the proto-type of Śiva is considered here as difficult to accept in its entirety unless more definite evidence be

forthcoming. The Mohenjodaro deity lacks many characteristics of the post-Vedic Siva.

SUDHAKAR CHATTERJEE.—*A note on the Geographical Concepts of the Ancient Indians.* The nomenclature and concepts of the ancient Indian cosmography as found in epigraphic records are given in this short note.

Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University, vol. I, no. 1 (September, 1940)

M. H. KRISHNA.—*The Brahmagiri Site.* The archaeological importance of the Brahmagiri hill, the find-spot of Aśoka's minor rock edict no. 1 in the Mysore State, has been pointed out in the paper, and the 'Isila' of the Mauryas in this region has been particularly described. A surface study of Isila suggests the existence of five stratified layers in the site that bears marks of (1) the Cālukya-Hoysala activities, (2) a Mauryan town, (3) a pre-Mauryan town, (4) a neolithic settlement, and (5) a pigmy flint culture of the pre-historic period.

Indian Art and Letters, vol. XIV, no. 1 (1940)

P. R. T. WRIGHT.—*Græco-Buddhist Art in the Swat Valley.* The Swat Valley art helps to have a clearer Gandharan chronology and shows its contact with the Mediterranean traditions.

MRS. RHYS DAVIDS.—*Aśoka, Heir of the Way.* The edicts of Aśoka show that he was a true heir of Gotama's 'Way of the Word.'

Indian Culture, vol. VII, no. 1 (July, 1940)

H. C. RAYCHUDHURI.—*The Chain of Justice.* For affording free access to a complainant, Jahāngir caused a large bell to be hung up with a long rope that could be pulled by anybody for attracting the attention of the Emperor. A similar expedient had been adopted earlier by Iltutmish and later by Muhammad Shāh. But the institution of the 'Chain of Justice' can be traced further back in Indian history. An analogous device was introduced in

Ceylon in the 2nd century B.C. by a Tamil chief named Elāra hailing from the Coḷa country of Southern India.

- A. GHOSH.—*The Age of Kaḷacuri Imperialism—Gāṅgeya and Karna*. The paper forms an estimate of the two powerful Kaḷacuri kings of Cedi, Gāṅgeyadeva and his son Karṇadeva, who in the 11th century extended their sway over territories of imperial dimensions. The information has been gathered from inscriptions of different rulers belonging to the dynasty as also from many literary and epigraphic records.
- A. N. UPADHYE.—*Jivatattvapradīpikā on Gommatasāra: Its Author and Date*. Evidence has been adduced in the paper to show that the *Jivatattvapradīpikā*, a Sanskrit commentary on the well-known Jain work *Gommatasāra* of Nemicandra Siddhānta-cakravartin was written in the beginning of the 16th century by another Nemicandra. Keśavavarṇi had written in 1359 A.C. a Kannada commentary on the *Gommatasāra*. It was called *Jivatattvapradīpikā* on which Nemicandra based his Sanskrit version.
- S. K. SARASWATI.—*The Date of the Paharpur Temple*. It is conjectured that the main fabric of the temple standing in the centre of the monastic quadrangle at Paharpur had been originally constructed by Dharmapāla, the second Pāla king of Bengal in the 8th century A.C., but many of the niches and the sculptures of Brahmanical deities were added later on in successive periods when repairs and renovations were made.
- V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR.—*Some Jain Teachers in Śrāvāṇa Belgola*. The available data regarding the dates and activities of the Jain teachers Kundakunda, Umāsvāti, Balākapiṇcha, Samantabhadra, Śivakoṭi, Pūjyapāda and Akalaṅka have been discussed.
- J. C. DE.—*Śivaji's Surat Expedition of 1664: Some of its historical Aspects*.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.—*Birth of the Gods*. The writer is opposed to the acceptance of a purely phenomenological interpretation of the Vedic deities. The natural phenomena alone cannot account for the constitution of the Vedic pantheon. A variety of conceptions originating within or coming from outside must have therefore combined to act upon the minds of the Vedic R̥ṣis in the formation of their idea of a god. The word Asura and the names of the Vedic gods Varuṇa, Mitra and Indra, have been analysed in this religio-philological study to show that the ideas associated with these names as found in the Veda came to be conceived from impressions sometimes received from outside.

E. V. VIRA RAGHAVACHARYA.—*South Indian Authorship of some Verses attributed to Raghunātha Śiromani and Others*.

K. R. PISHAROTI.—*Nāgara, Drāviḍa and Vesara*. Details about the three main styles of Hindu Temple architecture—Nāgara, Drāviḍa and Vesara are found collected in this continued paper from the texts on the subject.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.—*Greek and Sanskrit*.

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA.—‘*Pacati Bhavati*’ and ‘*Bhaved api Bhavet*’ in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Two new types of sentences not known before developed in the time of Patañjali, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, thus proving that Sanskrit still continued to be a spoken language. The nature of a sentence as discussed in different texts has incidentally been examined in the paper.

Journal of the Annamalai University, vol. X, no. 2 (December, 1940)

N. V. MALLAYYA.—*Studies in Sanskrit Texts on Temple Architecture with Special Reference to the Tantrasamuccaya*.

V. VRIDHAGIRISAN.—*The Nayaks of Tanjore*.

Journal of the Benares Hindu University, vol. V, no. 1

RAJ BALI PANDEY.—*The Educational Samskāras of the Hindus*. Many of the samskāras originated in the sūtra period but the

vidyārambha did not come into existence till late. Sanskrit was then a spoken language and the *upanayana* marked the beginning of the primary education. In course of time when Sanskrit became the literary language, and the literature of the Hindus became complicated, *upanayana* could not mark the beginning of the primary education. It was done at the commencement of the secondary education; so a new *saṃskāra* was needed to solemnize the start of the primary education. Thus the *vidyārambha* *saṃskāra* came into existence.

FATAH SINGH.—*The Interpretation of Indra Myth.* The birth of Indra through the side of his mother in an oblique way as referred to in the *Rgveda* is explained here by saying that Indra is regarded as the first light of dawn which is visible in a circular way.

B. C. BHATTACHARYA.—*Lumbini, the Birth-place of Buddha.*

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,

vol. XXVI, pt. II (June, 1940)

A. BANERJI-SASTRI.—*Mauryan Sculptures from Lohānipur Patna.* Two pieces of sculptures, one a head, the other a fragment of an arm or a leg in greyish buff sandstone—both in a mutilated condition and believed to be of the Maurya period have been discovered at Lohānipur near Patna.

RANJIT SING SATYASRAYI.—*Āṅgiras.* This is an account of the ancient sage *Āṅgiras* and his family as mentioned in the *Vedas* and *Purāṇas* as also the part played by them in the propagation of the Vedic culture.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI.—*A Stone Inscription from Maksudpur.* An inscribed stone discovered in a jungle near Rajauli in the Maksudpur estate of the district of Gaya contains an unknown script that bears some resemblance to the signs of the Indus script.

ADRIŚ BANERJĪ.—*Two Hero-stones of Bankura*. Two stone slabs found at Chhatna in the district of Bankura, containing human figures curved on them, are considered to be memorials of some distinguished persons.

Ibid., vol. XXVI, pt. III (September, 1940)

A. BANERJĪ-SASTRĪ.—*Ninety-three Inscriptions on the Kurkihar Bronzes*. Among the images of gods and goddesses of northern Buddhism obtained from Kurkihar, ninety-three images contain inscriptions in characters belonging to the period from the 9th to the 11th century A.C. The inscriptions record the gift of images from various donors.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. 16 (1940)

H. D. VELANKAR.—*R̥gvedic Similes: Similes of the Atris*. To arrive at the true meanings of the R̥gvedic stanzas through an analysis of their rhetorical aspects, the writer has been discussing them for some time. Here he has translated into English and annotated the similes of the Atri hymns contained in 5th Maṇḍala of the R̥gveda.

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, vol. V, no. 2

S. K. GOVINDASAMI.—*The Army of the Later Cōlas* (900-1200). The size, and the main components of the army, the provincial army, the militia, feudal troops, recruitment, division of the army, military ranks, cantonments and ports, actual campaigns, morality of war, rewards and honours for military service, and the peace time work of army under the Cōla rulers of South India have been discussed.

P. P. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRĪ.—*Tanjore Manuscripts and their Value for Marāṭhā History in the South*. The paper gives names and summaries of several manuscripts that may be helpful in the reconstruction of the history of the Marāṭhā rulers of Tanjore.

J. CASTETS.—*How Negapatam in 1642 became the first Portuguese Possession on the Coromandel Coast.*

LAKSHMINARAYANA HARICHANDAN JAGADEB.—*Genealogy of the Gaṅga Dynasty of Kalinga.*

Journal of the Greater India Society, vol. VII, no. 2 (July, 1940)

J. HACKIN.—*The Buddhist Monastery of Fondukistan.* [Translated into English by U. N. Ghoshal]. In this instalment of the paper, two niches of the sanctuary with their outer decorations, ornamental arcades, walls, corridors and statues have been described.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.—*Hittite People and Language.*

U. N. GHOSHAL.—*A Rare Indian Temple-type in Cambodia.* The writer of the paper deals briefly with types of temples and buildings in general as classified in the different Sanskrit treatises, and points out that the Nandika type of temple mentioned in the Purāṇas, though without any concrete evidence of its existence in Indian literature, has been referred to in an inscribed foundation stélé of a temple in Cambodia as having been constructed there by a king. The temple belongs to the reign of Indravarman I (877-889 A.C.).

Journal of Indian History, vol. XIX, pt. 2 (August, 1940)

ATINDRA NATH BOSE.—*Origin of Slavery in Indo-Aryan Economy.* The paper deals with slavery in ancient India, which first originated from the early customs relating to war. The relation of the slaves to their masters, their legal position, social status etc. are discussed on the basis of evidence culled mainly from Sanskrit and Pali documents.

JAGANNATH.—*Some Observations of the Character and Achievements of Candragupta II Vikramāditya.* The contention of the writer is that Candragupta II had to show his superior ability at every stage of his career. He could not ascend the throne un-

opposed, nor was he able to retain the sovereign position without hard fight.

GANDA SINGH.—*Nanak Panthis or the Sikh and Sikhism of the 17th Century*. (Translated from Muhsin Fani's *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* with Notes).

H. GOETZ.—*The Fall of Vijayanagar and Nationalization of Muslim Art in the Dakhan*.

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. XIV, pt. I

K. GODA VARMA.—*Vajralepa and Wood-preservation*. References to *Vajralepa* in Sanskrit works and the occurrence of the word and its metamorphosed forms in the different languages of India show that the *lepa* had nothing to do with wood-preservation, but was used as cement or plaster in the construction of houses, stone images, etc.

V. RAGHAVAN.—*The Virūpākṣavasantotsava Campū of Abobala*. The work has been described, and the persons and articles referred to in it enumerated. It is of some importance to students of the history of Vijayanagara.

M. R. RAJAGOPALA IYENGAR.—*Phonetic Changes in Tamil Words borrowed from Classical Sanskrit*.

Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society,
vol. XIII, pt. I (July, 1940)

J. HACKIN.—*A New Campaign of Excavation at Begram (Afghanistan) 1939*. The paper gives details of some of the discoveries made recently as a result of excavations conducted in Afghanistan. The objects described are mostly in close relation with the art of Mathurā.

VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA.—*Place-names in the Inscriptions of Darius*.

S. K. BANERJI.—*The Capture of Qandahār by Humāyūn, September 3, 1545*.

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA.—*The Text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

The conclusions reached by the writer are that the text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* has been preserved free from much corruption, and the changes that have crept in are only few in number.

VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA.—*Agriculture as known to Pāṇini*.

Muslim University Journal, October, 1940

SYED MAHMUD.—*Hindus under Muslim Rule*. The purpose of this 'historical survey' is to show that the condition of the Hindus during the Muslim sovereignty of India was not unsatisfactory. The Muslims in general were not slow to recognize merits in the Hindus, nor were the Muslim rulers in any way less forward in practising toleration in religious matters, and the Mughal Government in fact proved a nationalising force in India, offering equal treatment to all.

New Indian Antiquary, vol. II, no. 12

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA.—*Śrī Rāghavendra Svāmin*. The paper gives an account of the life and work of Rāghavendra Tirtha, the famous exponent of the Madhva school of Vedānta flourishing in 1623-71 A.C.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.—*Two Sanskrit-Chinese Lexicons of the 7th-8th Centuries, and some Aspects of Indo-Aryan Linguistics*.

SIDDHESWAR VARMA.—*Criteria of Prepositions used Adnominally in the Language of the Brāhmaṇas*. There is a variety of prepositions that are used as prefixes before verbs, but can also govern nominal cases. The writer of the paper examines the uses of those prepositions in the Brāhmaṇa literature, and discusses how they can be distinguished from other varieties of their class.

Poona Orientalist, vol. V, nos. 2 & 3 (July & October, 1940)

H. G. NARAHARI.—*Kumārila's Contribution to Philosophy and Mythology*. The scientific acumen of Bhaṭṭa Kumārila is proved from the fact that in the 7th century he was aware that there are words in Sanskrit which had been borrowed from other

languages, and that every language is not derived from Sanskrit. He also knew that many of the mythological stories had originated from the anthropomorphic descriptions of the natural phenomena. His explanation of the myths that ascribe immorality to gods and saints is noteworthy inasmuch as he reads in them nothing but the behaviour of the solar and storm phenomena.

DASARATHA SARMA.—*The Ancestry and Caste of Candragupta Maurya according to the Mudrārākṣasa*. In opposition to the view that Candragupta Maurya was not related to Nanda and that 'Vṛṣala' used as his appellation stands for a royal title and not for a Śūdra, the writer of this article asserts that in the drama *Mudrārākṣasa*, Candragupta is depicted as Nanda's son by a Śūdra woman, and the term 'Vṛṣala' connotes a man of low birth.

KUMAR PAL.—*Psycho-analytic Approach to Indian Yoga*.

V. N. GOKHALE.—*Studies in Pāṇini, Part II*. In this part of the paper, the author discusses the progress of Aryanisation, and the condition of the Sanskrit language at the time of Pāṇini as revealed from the names and words occurring in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. He also dilates on the inherent power of a word and explains the process by which it produces an idea in our mind.

BHOGILAL J. SANDESARA.—*An Unpublished Inscription of King Kumārapāla of Gujarat from Junagadh Museum*. This Sanskrit inscription of the early 13th century contains the information that Kumārapāla of Anahilwad erected a temple of the Sun-deity Dharmāditya and quelled a rebellion of the Ābhiras.

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA.—*Kātyāyana*. This is an attempt to show that Kātyāyana's object in writing the Vārtikas was not to find fault with the rules of Pāṇini. He was actuated by a sincere motive of clearing ambiguities in, and making additions to, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

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